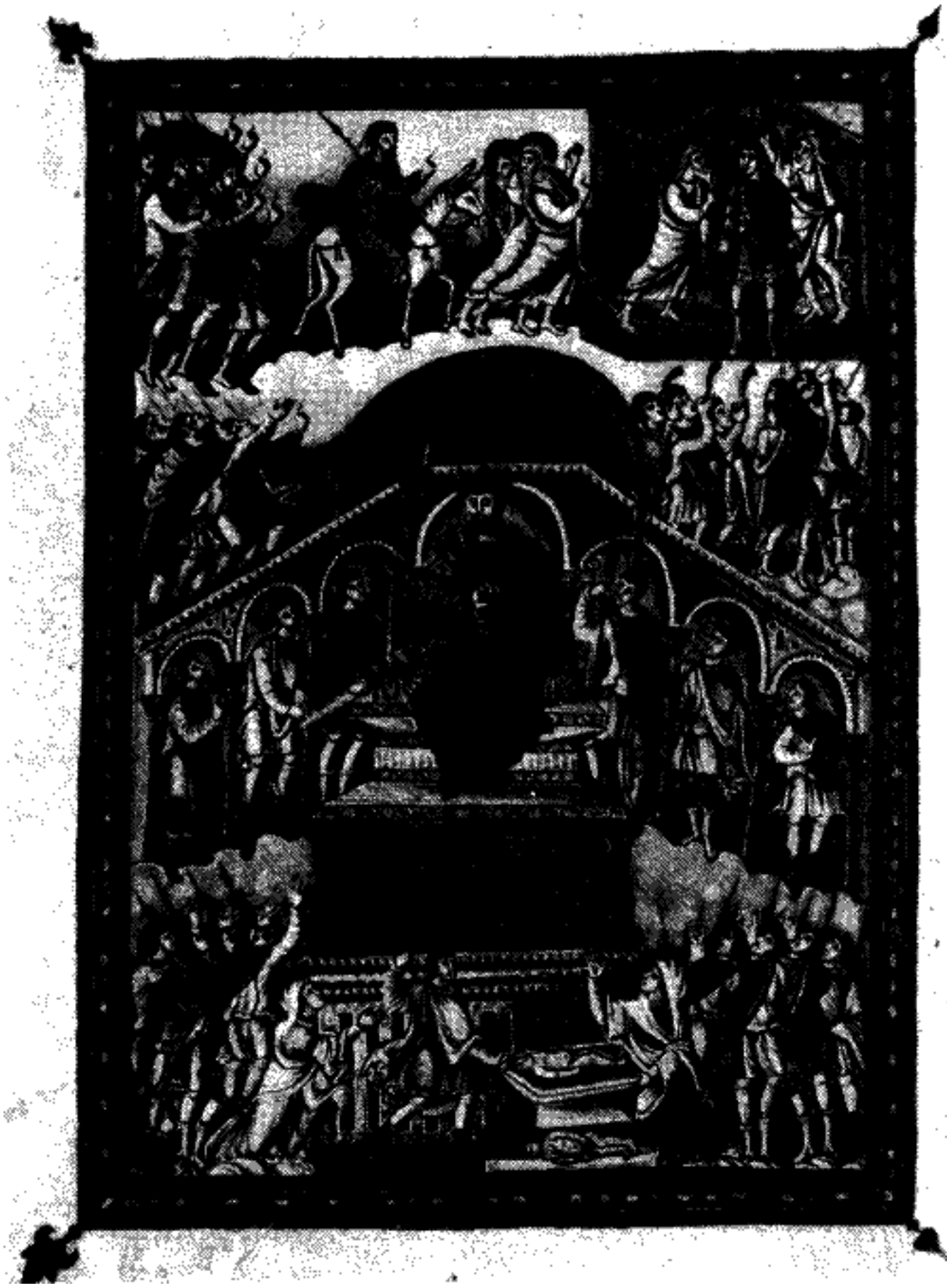
POLITICS AND RITUAL IN EARLY J\1EDIEVAL EUROPE



The Judgement of Solomon. as described in I Kings. iii. verses 16-28 (centre). Solo1non being led to his royal consecration (1op left): his anointment (I Kings, i. verses 39-40) (top right).
(Bible of San Paolo Fuori le 1\1ura, fol. 188v: Frontispiece to Proverbs)

POLITICS AND RITUAL IN EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE

JANET L. NELSON

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I *Medieval Women: Essays Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind /,1.T. Hill,* edited by D. Baker. *Studies in Church History: Subsidia*, vol. I (Blackwell, Oxford, I978), pp. 31-77.

2 *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977), pp. 51-67.

3 *Studies in Church History*, 10 (1973), pp. 39-44.

4 *Studies in Church History*, 16 (I979), pp. I03-18.

5 *Ideal and Reality. Studies in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill*, edited by **P.** Wonnald (Blackwell, Oxford, 1983), pp. 202-27.

6 *Studies in Church History*, 20 (1983), pp. I5-30.

1 *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), pp. 241•79.

8 *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, edited by M. Gibson and J.L. Nelson, BAR International Series, IOI (Oxford, 1981), pp. 15-36.

9 *Speculum*, 60 (1985), pp. 251-93.

IO *Studies in Church History*, 7 (I971), pp. 41-59.

11 *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), pp. 97-1 I9.

12 *Early Medieval Kingship*, edited by P.H. Sawyer and l.N. Wood (School of History, University of Leeds, 1977), pp. 50-7 I.

13 *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 18 (1967), pp. 145-63.

14 *Studies in Church History*, 11 (1975), pp. 41-51.

J5 *Authority and Power: Studies in Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullmann*, edited by **B.** Tierney and **P.** Linehan (Cambridge, I980), pp. 29-48.

16 This appears here for the first time.

17 *Proceedings of the Fourth Battle Conference on Anglo· Norman Studies* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 117-32, 210-21.

PREFACE

Anyone who studies early medieval history is aware of the difficulties and gaps in the evidence: conclusions have to be provisional. The essays in this book span nearly twenty years, and I make no apology for having sometimes changed my mind. But readers will be aware of a larger shift in perspective, and for this I owe an explanation.

I will put it in terms of three debts. The first is to the late Walter Ullmann who taught me as an undergraduate and supervised my research. My Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, *Rituals of Royal Inauguration in Early Medieval Europe* (1967), and the publications that came out of it, ,vere very strongly influenced by his teaching. It was he who first directed rny attention to the coronation *Ordines* as important evidence for ideas about kingship in the early Middle Ages. The second debt is to the historians of my own generation with whom I came into contact after becoming a university teacher myself in 1970, especially Tim Reuter, Pauline Stafford, Jan Wood, and my colleagues in the University of London, John Gillingham and Wendy Davies. Their published work, and their willingness to discuss and criticise mine, sharpened my interest in political history and in the source-criticism on which it must depend. The third debt is to the undergraduates and research students I have taught, and learned from, over the years. They have shared my fascination in the early Middle Ages, in kingship and queenship, and in the sources of Carolingian history. Their comn1itment, and their questioning, have contributed constantly to my own research. Ienvisage them, and their successors, as the sort ofaudience this book may have: I hope that they will find its varying views, and its omissions, a spur to working out their own views and criticisms.

Nine of the seventeen papers that follow arose out of the work on my Ph.D. The one previously unpublished paper (no. 16) is a revision of the final chapter ofmy thesis: the impetus to write it came from an invitation to the International Conference on Medieval Coronations at the University of Toronto in February 1985. There I had the pleasure of n1eeting Paul L. Ward whose articles, over forty years ago, set thestudy of theearly English *Ordines* on firm foundations. It has taken far too long for the building to go up - though Dr. Ward was nice enough not to complain about this[1]The plans I had in 1967 to prepare an edition of the Anglo-Saxon *Ordines* have longsince been shelved. The last four papers in the present collection are a contribution on that subject. Others, I

hope, will soon write the full history of medieval English king-makings and produce the long-desired edition of the *Ordines*.[1]

My own interests, as the remaining papers in this book show, have increasingly moved towards Merovingian and Carolingian history. Several of the papers are prolegomena to thestudy of thereign of Charles the Bald on which I am currently engaged. Though coronations have ceased to be the focus of my work, I am more than ever convinced of the importance of ritual to an understanding of early medieval politics. King-making rituals themselves are one segment of a large terrain for which modern maps scarcely exist. The title of this book suggests not just two subjects but an interaction between them, which Iand othersare only now beginning to explore.[2] I want to forestall disappointed expectations: the papers in this book do not deal systematically with the problem of connecting politics and ritual. But anyone determined enough to read on should feel encouraged to make connections of his or her own.

The picture usedasa frontispiece to thisbookillustrates its twinthemes. This complex piece of Carolingian ruler-iconography comes from a Bible made on the orders of Charles the Bald c.875 and presented to the pope.[3] In the central scene, Solomon sits enthroned giving the famous judgement described in I Kings (III *Reg.)* iii:16-28. On either side, and slightly below, warriors hear and approve, while beneath them, the judgement is carried out. The two smaller scenes above the throne show how Solomon got there: in the first, Solomon is led on David's mule to Gihon, and in the second Zadoch the priest and Nathan the prophet anoint him king:

> And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save king Solomon.
> And all the people came upafter him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them.
>
> (I Kings, i:39-40.)

In the consecration scene, the king is recognisably a Carolingian; priest and prophet evoke their 'successors' the bishops, and the people the 'new Israel' - the Franks.

A book is the place to acknowledge, in this case belatedly, the helpand

[1] George Garnen of St. John's CoUege, Cambridge, and Richard Jackson of the University of Houston, Texas, have these projects well in hand.

[2] A paper of mine on broader aspecrs of Carolingian royal ritual is forthcoming in *Rituals of Royalty*, edd. D. Cannadine andS. Price (CUP1986). Important new work can be looked forward to from such scholars as Stuart Airlie and Nikolaus Staubach.

[3] Frontispiece 10 the Book of Proverbs, Bible of San Paolofuori le Mura: F. Mutherich andJ. Gachde, *Carolitigiatr Paitrting* (London, 1977), plate 44.

patience of library staff: I am very grateful to those of the British Library, the London Library, and the libraries of King's College, the Warburg Institute, the University of London, and especially **that** most congenial of workplaces, the Institute of Historical Research. My special thanksare due to Martin Sheppard without whom this book would never have been conceived or produced. Finally, I want to thank my family for a lot of moral support, and Lizzie, Billy and Helen, in particular, for help with theindex.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAWL	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*
AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AJ	*Ample[orth Journal*
Annales	*Anna/es: Economies. Societes, Civilisations*
ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
BEC	*Bibliotheque de /'Ecole des Chartes*
BL	British Library, London
BS	*Byzantinos/avica*
BT	*The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. F.M. Stenton, 2nd ed. (London, (1965)
BZ	*Byzantinlsche Zeitschrift*
CC	*Corpus Christianorum*
CCM	*Cahiers de Civilisation Medieva/e*
CHJ	*Cambridge Historical Journal* (subsequently *Historical Journal)*
DA	*Deutsches Archiv*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de Theologie Catho/ique*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HE	*Historia Ecclesiastica*
1/Jch	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical Hi.rtory*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LThK	*Lexicon fur Theologie und Kirche*
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima col/ectio*, 3 I vols. (Florence/Venice, 1757-98)

MGH	*Monurnenta Germaniae Historica*
	-. *AA* *Auctores Antiquissimi*
	-. *DD* *Diplomata*
	-. *Epp* *Epistolae*
	–. *SSRM* *Scriptores rerum rnerovingicarum*
	-, *SSRL* *Scriptores rerum langobardicarum*
MIOG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts fur osterreichische Geschichtsforschung*
MStn	*Mittela/terliche Studien*
NA	*Neues Archiv*
PhK	Philosophisch-historisch Klasse
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
pp	*Past and Present*
REPH	*Revue Beige de Phi/ologie et d'Histoire*
REB	*Revue des Etudes Byzantines*
RGG	*Die Religionen in Geschichte und Gegen11Jart*
RH	*Revue Historique*
RH£	*Revue d'Htstoire Ecc/esiastique*
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
SS Spoleto	*Settimane di Studio su//' alto medioevo,* Centro sull' alto medioevo, Spoleto

To my mother, Leila Muir *(nee* Laughland),

and in memory

of my father, Billy Muir

1

QUEENS AS JEZEBEl.S: BRUNffiLD AND BALTHILD IN MEROVINGIAN HISTORYI

SINCE they got a toe-hold in universities, the achievement of women in the field of medieval his ory has been high. So1ne female historiography may have been justly criticised for a certain breathlessness of style, a narrowness of concern, a subjectivity, even romanticism, of approach: faults produced, no doubt by the pressures of most women's early socialisation.[2] But the work of Rosalind Hill has shown an exemplary freedom from the faults and contributed substantially to the achievement. The combination of good sense and judgement with breadth of vision might perhaps have been expected from that rare person (of either sex) who can combine scholarly excellence with prowess in mountaineering. And so, despite its title, the paper that follows, in which I deal with the careers of two very active and intelligent women who commanded both the respect and the affection of many contemporaries (however unfairly posterity has treated them) will not, I hope, be thought a wholly inapt tribute.

That women played a 'large role' in Merovingian society is a commonplace of the historiography of the period. Queens Brunhild and Balthild[3] have been cited as cases in point. But ifit is important to stress at the outset the obvious point that queens are not typical of women in this or any other period, it is also worth pursuing a little further the banal observation about the 'large role' of women to inquire *which* women appear as significant actors in the later sixth and seventh centucies, and why they do so. Son1e women sometimes found

[1] I am very graceful to Ian Wood, John Gillingham and Pauline Stalford for friendly criticism, and to Paul Fouracre for keen discussion of Merovingian matters.

[1] On some problems (if nor the faults) of historical work *by* and about women, sec the cornmentS of [Susan Mosher] Stuard in her introduction to *Womm* [in *Medieval Socitty)* (Univcrsiry of Pennsylvania Press 1976) pp 1-12. For som.- lively criticisms of the malMominated historiography of women, sec the ren1arks of Ria Lemaire in *CCM* 20 (19n) pp 261-3.

• For the sake of simplicity I have used angliciscd spellings of these and other familiar names.

thentselves in positions of wealth and potential power: they were those who belonged to a land-based aristocracy whose me1nbers generally married within their own ranks.• These women-as \Vives, bringers of dowries and receivers of bride-wealth, as widows and mothers (or stepmothers) custodians of family estates, as daughters heiresses to some or all of their parents' wealth-shared the status of their male kin, and had to be protected and provided for. If women loon1 so large in the history of Colu1nbanan 1nonasticisn1 in seventh-century Gaul, this was not, I think, because 'women, especially, were seduced by the rigours of Columban's teachings',*C*• but because, rather, these were new monastic structures eminently adapted to, and thus adopted by the managers of, land-based familial structures in which \VOtnen already and necessarily occupied key positio1ts. The number of sixth-century women's houses had remained low parely because monasticisn1 on an

• This statement seems to nie essentially true botb for the Gallo,Roman and barbarian aristocracies in the period covered in this paper. On the former, **see [K.** F.) Stroheker, *(Der senatoristhej Adel* (i111 *splita111iken Gallien)* (Tilbingen 1948); on the latter, [R.) Sprandel, (Der) *merovi11gisd1e Adel* [,md *die Gtbiett ostli<h tk, RheinsJ, Forsclnmge11 zur oberrheinis,hen Landesgtscl1itl1te, 5* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1957), **and** 'Struktur und Geschichte des merovi.ngischen Adels', *HZ,* 193 (1961) pp 33-71; **K. F.** Werner, 'Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen', in *Karl der Gro55t, Lebe11swtrlt muJ Nachleben,* ed W. Braunfels, *5* vols (DUsseldorf 1965-8) I **pp** 83-142, with full bibliography. The jural status of women differed as between Roman and various barbarian laws, but the long-term trend was towards heavy influence on the latter by the former and by canon law. Changes from the second half of the sixth century onward, made for an improvement in the status of women under the Salic law, especially in the matter of inheritance of ancestral land in which females could now share under certain circumstances, and in the women's control of her own *do,* or brid price. On all this see [F. L.) Ganshof, '[Le) statut [de la femme dans la monarchic franque)', *Rtc11eils Jean Bodin,* 12 (1962) pp s-s8, esp 15-17, 25-35. The specific politic-al and social developments which, as Ganshof observes, (p 57) lie behind these legal changes have yet to be thoroughly examined. But see meanwhile F. Beyerle, 'Das legislative Werk Chilperics l', *ZRG GAbt* 78 (1961) esp pp 30-8. For particular aspects of women's legal position see K. F. Drew, 'The Germanic Family of the *ugts Burgundionum', Medievalia et H11mn11istica* 15 (1963) pp 5-14 and [J.-A.) McNamara and (S. F.J Wemple, '[Marriage and] Divorce [in the Frankish kingdom)', in Stuard, *Wome11,* pp 95-124. For a broader comparative view see two recent works of J. Goody: *Production and Reproduction* (Cambridge 1976), and his introductory chapter to *Family and foheritanc,: Rural Society* ill *Westtrn Europe, 1200-1800,* edJ. Goody, J. Tb.irsk and E. P. Thompson (Cambridge 1976), both offering characterutically stimulating insights and analys.is for historians as well associal scientists. Seealso his *Suue5s/o11 [to High Office)* (Cambridge 1966) esp pp 1-56.

[1] (P.) Riche, *Edueation* (and *Culture* in , *Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centurie,,J* trans J. J. Contrcni (University of North Carolina Press 1976) p *32.9.* For details of women's participation in mona..tidsm, see (F.J Pri02, *[Friihts) Monchtum (im Franlunreich)* (Munich/Vienna 1965); the good short survey in the first chapter of (G. A. de Rohan Chabot, marquise de] Maille, *(us Cryptes* de] *Jo11arrt* (Paris 1971). There remains, however, a basic problem of explanation.

urban, or suburban, episcopally-directed model could not readily be acconunodated to the requirements (for solidarity and biological continuity) of aristocratic families: witness the complaint of the mother of Rusticula, her 011.ly child, who had entered the convent of St John at Aries: 'I look at the possessions of our house, the in-numerable multitude of our *fa,nilia* and whon1 I shall leave it all to, I don't know ... Who will look after me in 1ny old age, now that the one daughter I had is lost?'[6] In theseventh century, Sada.lberga, whose hagiographer writes glowingly of contemporary fow1dations *per heremi vastitatei11* established her first convent in *liereditate paterna* having first conveniently converted husband and children to the monastic life;[7] while Moda, widow of the magnate Autharius, moved in \vith her own kin to take over control of her stepson Ado's recent foundation at Jouarre.[8] The in1portancc of such family connexions is equally, and poignantly, shown in the case of Wulftrudc, daughter of Gri111oald and abbess of the Pippinid foundation at Nivelles, whose removal from office was attempted by Merovingian *reges* and *reginae* 'out of hatred for her late father', their fan1ily's ene111y.[9]

No *Fraue11Jrage* of the deprived or alienated arises, then, in reference to theseventh-century nw1s and abbesses of Gaul. It is rather a matter of families' deployn1ent of their personnel. The one function that critically distinguished masculine fron1 fe1ninine roles, that of warfare, was conspicuously absent from the monastic life: monks like wo1nen were *i11ermes*. Conversely, within the monastery, a woman could transcend the 'weakness' of her sex and become, not perhaps 'virilised',[10] bot desexualised. Thus tl1e same literary and spiritual culture was offered in monasteries to both girls and boys; and in this sa1ne asexual milieu, a ,voman as abbess of a double monastery[11] could exercise the political authority which in the secular world, at all levels including the

• *MGH SSRM* 4, cap *5,* p 342. *See* Riche, 'Note d'hagiographie mtrovingienne: la *Vita S. Rusticulu', AB 72.* (1954) pp 369-77, showing thi.s to be a seventh-century text.

' *MGH SSRM 5,* caps *8* and 12, pp *54, 56.* For the site, a *villa* in the *pagus* of LangrC$. see Krusch's comments *ibid* pp 43, *56* n 2. Could paternal *saltus* be classed as *tremus?*

• *].* Guerout, 'Les Origines ct le pren1ier siecle *de* l'Abbaye', Y. Chaussy *L'Abbayt royalt Notre-Damt dt Jouarrt,* ed Y. Cha11$$y (Paris r961) pp I-67.

• *Vita Ctretrudis,* cap 6, *MGH SSRM* 2, p 460. For *Sipptnklosttr* ('kin-group monasteries') as aristocratic cult-centres, see Prinz, *Mo,uhtmn,* pp 489-503.

•• So, Riche, *Ed11cation,* p 457, with, however, valuable comments on the place of women in monastic culture.

[11] Sec Gucrout, 'Origincs', esp pp 34 *s,q;* aha]. Godfrey, 'The Double Monastery in early English history', *A]* 79 (1974) pp 19-32.

monarchic,[11] was formally monopolised by men. The point to stress is the absence of any principle of matriarchy.[12] Aristocratic women propose and dispose *ex officio* in a context where their sex is irrelevant. If through the contingencies of 1nortality or inheritance they temporarily wield power in secular society, they do so primarily in virtue of, and by means of, biologically-ascribed status which marital status will normally match and reinforce.[13]

To all of this, the position of a Merovingian queen, at any rate from the later sixth century, stands in so1nething of a contrast. For it *co11/d* be (not necessarily, but usually-and the mere possibility is what matters here} achieved and constituted exclusively through her husband. This happened when it became royal practice, first in Burgundy, then in Austrasia and Neustria, to choose as consort a low-born wo1nan or even aslave.[1'] From this sa111e period we haveevidence that the birthor status (whether queen or concubine) of a king's bed-fellow could not affect the status or succession-rights of her sons,[15] and it may be that

[11] Ganshof; 'Statut', p *54,* stresses the inability of women, despite their *Recltts fiihigkeit* in private law, to receive or transmit royal power in their own right: Kingship was an *hcreditas aviatica.* (For one small caveat, see below p 7). G3nshof's point inust modify the notion that the Merovingians treated their realm simply as personal property, in view of the changes made in inheritance law by Chilperic I (561-84), on which see Ganshof, pp *34-5.*

[11] This is certainly not to deny the importance of ties with and through maternal kin. See **K.** Leyser, 'The German aristocracy front the ninth 10 the early twelfth century', *PP* 41 (1968) pp *25-53,* and 'Maternal kin in early medieval Germany: **a** reply', *PP* 49 (1970) pp 126-34, though Leyser deals with periods 13ter tbatt the Mcrovingian.

[10] This seems true of the seventh-century marriages on which details are given **in** hagiographic sources. I have found only one clear case of an asymmetrical marriage in Gregory of Tours' L(ibri) *H(istoriarum]* (the so-called *History of tJie Franks)* and here the mother's status is higher than the father's: see *LH* x, 8, ed B. Kruscb attd W. Levison, *MGH SSRM* 1 (2 cd Berlin 1937-51) p 489 (the parents of Tetradia - *nobilis tx ma/rt, patrt inftriort.)* For an alleged attempted exception to this conjugal matching by a Frankish aristocrat see below p 17.

"For details see [E.J Ewig, 'Studien [zur merowingingischen Dynastic)', *Friihmitttlalttrlicht Studim* 8 (1974) pp *15-59* at *39 stq. LH* iv, 25 and 26, pp *156-7,* provides confirmation that low-born queens were not usual in the mid-sixth century. *"LH* v, 20, p 228. See [Ian) Wood, 'Kings, [Kingdoms and Consent)', *Early Mtditval Kingship,* cd P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (University of Leeds r977) pp 6-29 at p 14. On the distinction between queen *(regitUJ)* and concubine *(concubina)* in Gregory and Fredegar, see Ewig, 'Stndien', pp *38-9,* .µ.-4. There is only once certain case of a concubine's son succeeding to the kingship in the later sixth century and through the whole later Merovingian period: Tbeudebcrt II. See below p 15. But Sigibert Ill is another probable case. Pauline Stafford rightly points out to me that the queen-concubine distinction is too simple, betraying an ecclesiastical perspective: m:ttters were often morecomplicated. Butin the light of the very scarce Mcrovingian evidence it seems impossible to say how much more so in the Ca$CS that have concerned me here.

the principle enunciated by Gregory of Tours reflected a new situation. Certainly, from the time of Guntramn and Chilperic, the typical Merovingian king expressed the uniqueness of his monarchic status, his freedom from the norms that constrained his aristocratic subjects, by marrying a woman who, far fro1n bringing him potent affines or rich dowry, owed everything to her relationship with him. Even if the royal bride was, as occasionally in the sixth century, a foreign princess,[16] her situation in practice might be little different from theex-serving maid's. Her dependence on her husband's generosity and favour, when her own kin were far away and her people reckoned, perhaps, the enemies of the Franks, n1ight be similarly complete. A Visigothic princess (Spain being one source of foreign brides for Merovingians) might keep in touch with her fatherland, but dynastic discontinuity there 1night in the f.'lirly short run cut her personal **link** with the reigning house.[17] The fate of the Spanish princess Galswinth at Chilperic's hands[18] was no different from that of the ex-slave Bilichild at Theudebcrt II's.[1] And Galswinth did not find her avenger in any Spanish king.

The wife of a Merovingian, then, enjoyed a position both dependent and precarious, resting as it did on her personal, sexual association with a husband whose interests or fancy could all too easily attach him to her supplanter. A Merovingian ex-wife often cuts a pathetic figure, especially if she was sonless, or if her sons quarrelled with, or pre-deceased, their father.[20] Radegund, opting for ascetic virtuosity,[21] is an exception that also proves the rule. A Merovingian wife 1night have the title of queen, but there is no evidence that she underwent any special inauguration ritual (apart, presumably, from the marriage-ritual itself) that \.vould have paralleled her husband's to his kingship.

11 Ewig, 'Studien', p 39.

17 Sec below p 9.

'**LH* I·V,28, pp100-1.

"I *Tht Fourth Book of lht Chronick ofJ Frtd{tgar),* cd J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London 1900) cap 37, p 30.

•• *LH* iii. 27 (Deuteria-thougb sbe did h•vc • son, Theudebald); iv, 25 (Mucotrude -cliildless); iv, 26 (lngoberg -sonleu); v, 39 (Audovcra-$CC below p 8 n 29). Nantechild, ex wife of gobert, retained her queenly status and re-emerged to prominence ot hcz husband's de,ith because she had an infant son (Clovis 11) for whom she become regent, wbereos the two queens who superseded bcz in Dagobert's favours both seem to have been childleu: *Fred* caps *6o,* 79, pp *50,* 67,

11 *LH* iii, 7, p 105. It is probably significant that Radegund was childless. On ber spirituality see E. Delaruelle, 'Sainte Radegonde, son type de saintete et la c:hretientc de son temps', *Etudts Mtrovingien.us,* Actes desJoumees de Poitiers, 1952 (Puis 1953) PP *65-74-*

Yet the very limitations on the extent to which the queen was enmeshed in political and familial structures could also give her, under certain conditions, a paradoxical freedom. We can look at this under two aspects: the economic and the sexual-genetic. Whereas a female aristocrat usually inherited some wealth in land or retained a stake in family estates, a queen of low or servile birth acquired wealth exclusively from or through her husband; and because afair proportion of such acquired wealth tended to be in movables,[22] there was probably rather less contrast in practice between the resources of a Bilichild and a Galswinth than the difference in original status might seem to suggest. The association of queens with treasure is a recurrent theme of Merovingian history, and the uses of treasure were ,nanifold. First as gold-bringer or gold-receiver, then as guardian of the royal hoard in a primitive 'capital' during the king's absences at war, a queen could personally control sufficient treasure to support political activities on her own account. Fredegund was generous enough in deploying hers to taunt the Franks for their niggardliness;[23] plotters against Clothar II solicited his queen's alliance, asking her to send them secretly 'all the treasure she could[24]. Given the indispensability of treasure to political success in the Merovingian world, in the seventh and the eighth centuries no less than in the sixth,[25] the queen's access to such resources could put her in a strong position, despite her relative weakness in terms of the direct control of land. Politically as personally, a queen's

u This seems to havebeen true of the bride-price *(dos-to* be distinguished from dowry) in barbarian laws: seeGaruhof, 'Statut', p 28 with nn 66-8. It *is* not clear from *LH* ix, 20, p 437 wlut proportion of the five *civitatts* given to G;i.lswinth *by* Chilpcric constituted the *dos* and what was morning-gift. But it is clear that kings gave land as well as moveables to their wive,: sec *LH* vi, 45, p 318 (Fredcgund). For Balthild's e,tates, sec below, p 40 n 204.

,. *Uf* vi, 45, p 318. Con1pare *LH* iv, 26, p 159 (Theudechild), and vii, 4, p 3.2.8 (Frcdcgund again).

"*Fred* cap 44, pp 36-7. The bishop of Sion asks Bertetrudc 'ut thinsauris quantum potebar secretissime ad Sidonis suam civitatcm transfcrrit, co quod essct locum tutissimum'. Perhaps epucopal treasuries bad something of the function of banks. On the Burgundian background to this episode see Ewig, '[Di• *friinkischt) Ttilttick* (im *7. Jahrhundnt* (613-714))', Tricrcr *Ztitschrifi* 22 (Trier 1953) pp 85-144 at p 106.

"*Frtd* cap 45, p 38; cap 67, p *56;* cap *75,* p 63; cap 84. p 71. The Continuator of Frcdcgar, *ilnd* cap 9, p 88 shows the importance of treasure for Plcctrudc, widow of Pippin n,in 714-5. Hincmu, *Ordine Palatii,* cap :2.2., *MGH Cap* 2, p *525,*shows the continuing intimate connexion of the queen with treasure in the ninth century. See below n .2.34- For the continuance of uxation and tolls throughout *this* period, **sce** F. Lot *L'lmpot fontier ti la capilalion pcrsonntllt sous le &s-Emplrt ti a /'epoqut frantp#* (Paris 1928), and Ganshof, 'Apropos du tonlieu sous!es rn rovingicns', *Studi in h°"""t di Aminlort Fanfam* (Milan 1962) I, pp 291-315.

'rootlessness' might mean the advantage of greater freedom of manoeuvre.

The queen's initial offer to her husband of sexual services could obviously serve as a power-base as long as she retained his affections. Fredegund's is probably the best-documented case of a king's passion giving his consort long term political ascendance.[26] Aside from such personal predilections, however, the strength of the conjugal bond-a point on which Germanic and ecclesiastical attitudes converged, though from different premises[27]-meant that a monarch's status rubbed offon his bed-fellow so that, while no queen could reign in her own right, a queen as widow could become a repository of royal powers for the time being apparently quiescent, a vehicle on which claims to the royal succession could be carried to a second husband. Admittedly, in every such case known to me, the queen was not low-born but herself of noble or royal family.[28] Still, her capacity to transmit a claim to rule seems to have arisen from her association with a reigning king; and in the interregnum created by his death, given an indeterminate succession system (whether dynastic or elective), the queen would function as an inhibitor of conflict if her second husband could make his claim stick.

u *LH* iv. 28, p 161; v.18, p 240(Fredegund had 200 pounds of silver to offerasabribe); v, 34, p 220; etc. For a caution about Gregory's bias. sec below p 10. Fredegund is vividly evoked in the novel of M. Brion. *Frldlgondt tt Bruneh ut* (Paris 1935).

[17] Garuhof, 'Statut', pp 15 *seq,* cites evidence not only from the Jaws but from legal acts (wills; bnd-gf3Jlts) showing the rights of wives and widows in conjugal property. Roman law here influenced barbarian laws. Of course divorce was allowed in barbarian as in Roman codes. But McNam:tra and Wemple, 'Divorce', pp 98 *stq,* seem to overstress both the disadvantaged position of wives ascompared with tlu.t of husban&, and the importance of the divergence between barbarian and ecclesiastical law on this point. Divorce and inheriu.nce need to be treated together, as do law and practice, in both areas. I am not convinced by those who argue that the cases of Clothar I *(LH* iv, 3) or Dagobert *(Frtd* cap 6o, p so) show the practice of royal polygamy, though chese two kings offer the most conspicuous examples of ser l monogamy.

[11] For the Lombards, *seeFrtdcaps* 51, 70, pp 42, *59;* and thecomments of[K. A.) Eckhardt *Studia [Mtrovingica), Bib/iothua Rerum Historicarum* r 1 (Aalen 1975) p 141. For the Anglo-Saxons, the evidence is conveniently assembled by W. A. Chaney, *Tk Cull of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester 1970) pp 25-8, though the inferences there drawn concerning matrilineal royal succession are quite unwarranted. For the Merovingians, see *LH* iii, *6,* iv 9; and perhaps *Fred* cap 44, p 37; also below p 10. The men concerned in all these cases where information is available already bad a clain1 to the kingship, wb.ich suggests that marriage with the late king's widow strengthened, but did not co11Stitute, such a claim. See also [R.J Schneider, *Kiinigsovahl (und Kiinigstrhtbung im Friihmltttlalttt)* (Stuttgart 1972) pp 246-8, where however the notion of *Einhtirat* ('endogamy') seems of doubtful relevance.

In Gaul, however, unlike Lombard Italy or Visigothic Spain, filial succession remained normal. Thus the only way a queen could secure her position, both in her husband's lifetime and especially after his death, was to produce a son who survived.[29] Because of the frequent succession of minors, regents might govern for relatively long periods (even though the age of majority was fifteen)[30] and a queen-mother clearly had a strong claim to the regency. Hers was not the only claim: the role of *nutritor,* literally 'male nurse', which in fact contained that of a regent, thereby illustrating once again the political significance of personal closeness to the king even when he was a child,[31] was appropriated by mayors of the palace on several occasions in the sixth and seventh centuries.[32]• But a dowager queen could normally hope to act as regent for her own son. If a dowager queen were childless or had only daughters, then her husband's death would obviously n1ean her exclusion from po\ver. But even if she had a young son, she might have difficulty *in* maintaining that physical proximity to him on which a regent's power depended. An infant prince might be reared on a country estate;[33] he would probably be in the care of a nurse. The moment of his father's death might find his mother far away. In any event, what determined a boy-prince's success in claiming the royal succession also directed his mother's future: namely, the attitude of the aristocracy, or, immediately, of a few well-placed aristocrats. A widowed queen was thrown back on the personal ties she had formed during her husband's lifetime, and on her own political skill: for on these depended how 1nuch treasure and influence (the two were not unconnected) she might beable to salvage.

18 For the position of **a** widowed queen with only daughters, see *LH* iv, 20 {Ultrogotha). For the risks of sonlessness during the husband's lifetime see *LH* iv, 26 (lngoberg) and possibly iii, 7 (Radcgund). See also below p 18, and for another probable seventh-century example (Gomatiude), see *Fred* cap *58,* p 49- There were the additional risks of very high infant 1nortality (Fredegund lost four sons in infancy) and of sons growing up to quarrel with their father and being killed oo his orders (Audovera lost two of her three sons this way, and the third also predeceased his father).

•• Ewig, 'Studien', pp 22-4-

11 Por the potential importance of the nurse's position, see *LH* ix, 38, pp 458--9, where a royal nur>e and her male assisunt compire with powerful aristocrats.

н Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm/n,2* vii, 16, *MGH AA* 4, pp 170-1 (Condan, preceptor of Theudebald and *dtfacto* mayor oftbe Austrasian palace); *LH* v, 46, p 256 (Gogo-see below p 41); *Frtd* caps 86, 88, pp 72, *75* (Otto; Grimoald). On Otto see [H.) Ebling, *Prosopographit (dtr AmtSlrifgtr dts Muovingtrrtlchts (61_1-741))* (Munich 1974) pp 66-7.

11 *LH* vi, 41, p 314--

Throughout Merovingian history, the fates of widowed queens in intcrregna highlighted the persisting power of bishops and *le11des.*[34]

So far I have laid stress on the precariousness and contingency of queens' positions rather than any inherent advantages accruing from their associations with monarchy, and on the relatively small extent to which the queen's powers were integrated into ongoing political or social structures: beyond personalities, episcopacy, aristocracy, kingship can be said to have existed as institutions, but it is much harder to identify anything that could be called 'queenship'. I want now to consider in more detail two queenly careers, not simply to illustrate but to amplify, and perhaps qualify, the above generalisations, and by exploring more fully the mechanisms of queenly activity to get at what seem to me some of the main forces and fundamental continuities in Merovingian politics. I begin withsome basic biographical information on each.

First: Brunhild.[35] A Visigothic princess \vho maintained links with Spain tiff her last years, Brunhild's kinship link with the ruling dynasty there was severed when Liuva II was murdered in 603. Sisebut (612-21) whose *Vita* ofDesiderius ofVienne[36] is the earliest surviving source for Brunhild's regency and is also violently hostile, was therefore norelative of hers. Nor was Witteric (murderer of Liuva II) whose daughter Ermenberga wassought asa bride for Brunhild's grandson Theuderic in 607.[37] These facts, I shall argue, are relevant to the unfolding of Brunhild's Spanish connexion.

Born *c545-50,* Brunhild \Vas sought in marriage by Sigibert (apparently continuing an Austrasian tradition of foreign dynastic marriages)[38] in *566.* Her Arianism was no obstacle, and she swiftly abandoned it. Gregory of Tours, our chief source for Brunhild's life up to 591, has no unfavourable comment to make on her: he introduces her on her arrival at Sigibert's court asgood-looking and shrewd with a

14 *LH* v, 1, p 194; vii, 7, p 330. Sec Wood, 'IGngs', pp 6-7, 10-11; also below pp 12, 19.
"The best scholarly study remains (G.) Kurth, '(La reine) Brunehaut', in *Buules Franquts,* 2 vols (Paris, Brussels 1919) I, pp 265-356, with full refetenccs 10 the nineteenth-century literature. (Kurth's paper first appeared in 1891). See also Ewig, '(Die frank:ischenJ Teilungcn (und Teilreiche (5n-613)]'. *AAWL,* Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, *9* (Wiesbaden 1952) pp *689 seq.* For the chronology of Brunhild's life, I have relied on Ewig, 'Studien'.
"MGH *SSRM* 3, pp 620-7. Sec below pp 27-8.
17 *Fred* cap 30, p 20.
18 Ewig, 'Studien', p 40.

large dowry of treasures.[39] But Gregory's view of Brunhild rnust be set in a literary as well as an historical context: Chilperic figures in Gregory's dra1na as 'the Nero and Herod of our time',[40] Fredegund is his female counterpart in villainy, and Brunhild for whose sister Galswinth's death the evil pair are rcsponsible[41] is therefore an avenger on the side of the angels. Twenty years after Galswinth's murder, the mutual hatred between Brunhild and Fredegund was as strong as ever.[42] Clearly the pursuit of this vendetta is one main theme in Drunhild's ,vhole life.[43]

But another, equally significant, is Brunhild's identification with the family into which she had married. Of the various aspects of her collaboration with her husband and, later, her son praised in the courtly verse of Venantius Fortunatus, none is more revealing than her patronage of the cult of St Martin, the Merovingians' *Reichsheiliger*.[44] It was said after Sigibcrt's death thaJ she had 'held the realm under her husband.'[45] She had joined him on his last campaign against Chilperic, bringing treasure to him at Paris. She was there, with treasure and children, when the news of his assassination arrived.'[46] But though deprived of this treasure and of the custody of her children and exiled to Rouen, she retained an impressive quantity of personal creasure[47] as well as the special association with kingship adhering even to the widow of a Merovingian king. Vcry soon, Merovech, son of Chilperic and stepson of Fredegund, came co Rouen and married hcr.[48] *Airna-t-elle reelen1ent Merovee?*[49] Kurth's delightful question lllUSt remain WI-aJlSWered. But it is not fanciful to guess that Merovech's motive ,vas

u *LH* iv, 27, p 160: '.. puella eleg1UlS opere, venust:1 aspccru, honesra moribus atque decora, prudens cousilio cc blanda colloquio . . . cmn magnis thesauris. .' For Gregory's own personal relations with Brunhild, see below p 13 n S9, and p 24. He is hardly, therefore, a dispassionate witness.

-o *LH* vi, 46, p *319*.

" *LH* iv, 28, p 161.

u *LH* ix, 20, p 439:• ... odium, quod inter illas olim st:itutwJI est, adbuc pullulat, non aresc•tt.•

0 This is rightly stressed by (J. M.]Wallace-Hadrill, (The) *Long-Haired Kings* (London 1962) pp l 34-5, 20$.

•• Venantius fortunarus, *Carmina* x:, 7, pp 239-41. See Prinz, *Miimhtum*, pp 32-3.

o *LH* vi, 4, p 268.

.. *LH* v, 1, p 194.

41 *LH* v, 18, p 221: Brunhild had left five buncllcs with the bishop of Rouen for safe-keeping. of which two were alleged to be •tuffed with 'species ct diversis ornamentis . . . quae praccicbantur amplius quam tria milia solidorum; scd et saccolum cun, nummismati auri pondere, tcnentem duo milia'.

"*LH* v, 2, p *195*.

•• **Kurth,** 'Brunehaut', **p** :z.So.

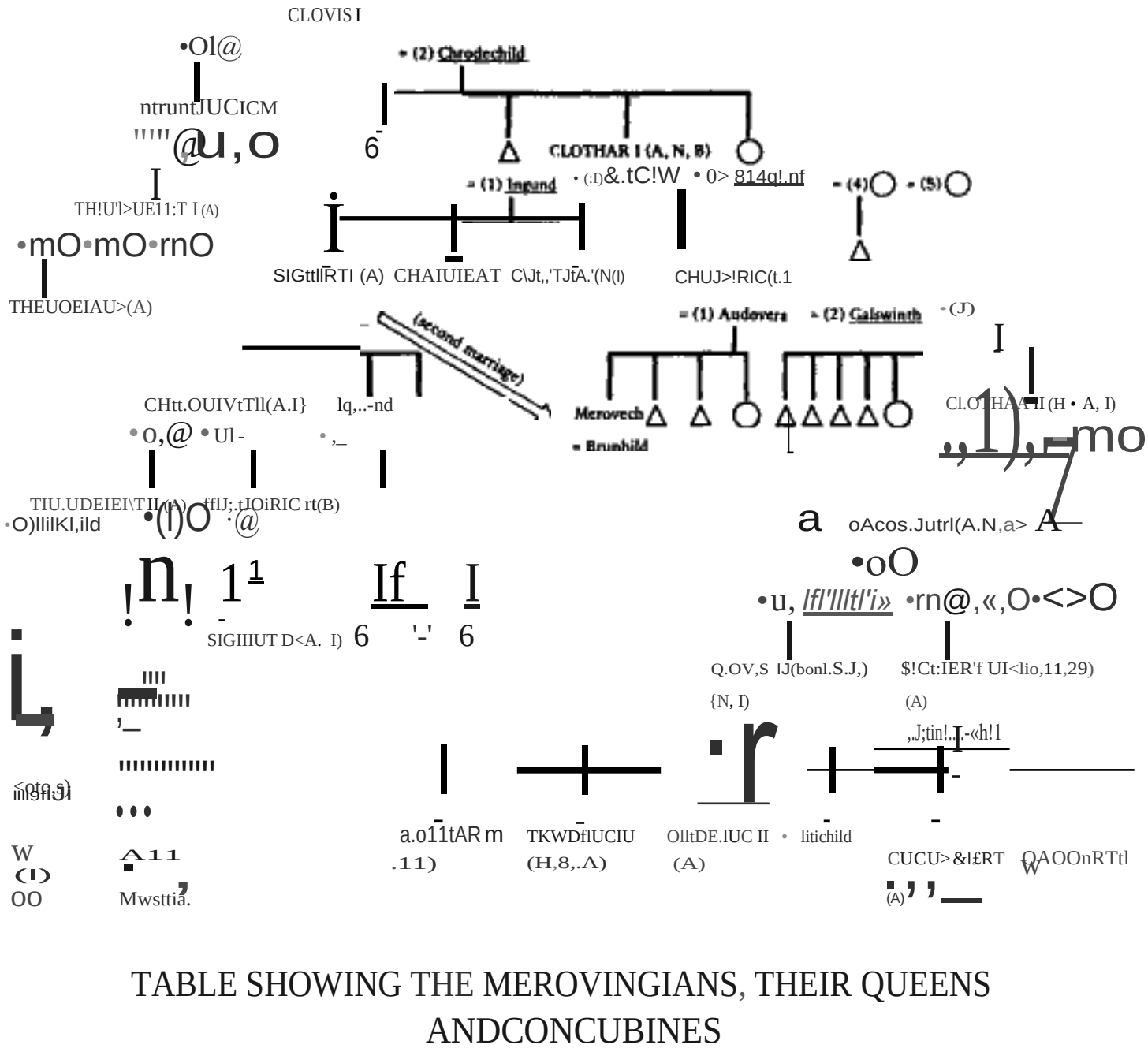

TABLE SHOWING THE MEROVINGIANS, THEIR QUEENS ANDCONCUBINES

the staking of a claim to Sigibert's kingdom.[50] As it turned out, Sigibert's young son Childebert proved more acceptable to a majority of the Austrasian magnates. Brunhild herself commanded enough personal loyalty from son1e of those magnates for them to request and get her liberation from Chilperic.[51] And Merovech's rejection by 'the Austrasians' when he attempted to rejoin Brunhild (577) may not, as Kurth surmised, have meant her humiliation but the carrying out of her wishes. For as long as her son was king, she could hope to retrieve her position. Kurth portrays the period 576-84, that is, until Childebert attained his majority, as 'eight years ofhumiliation' for Brunhild at the hands of the Austrasian aristocracy.[52] But there is no evidence that Childebert's *n11trici11s* Gogo was hostile to her: he 111ay, indeed have been her appointee both in this capacity and in the royal chancery.[58] Brunhild could conduct her own relations with Spain, using the bishop of Chalons as an envoy.[5,] Even the driving into exile of her 'faithful supporter' duke Lupus of Champagne was the work of a faction, not an 'anti-royal'aristocracy asa whole. Brunhild had been strong enough to prevent faction-fighting fron1 erupting into open warfare in a threatened attack on Lupus when, in Gregory's fine phrase, 'girding herself n1anfully, she burst into the midst of the opposing ranks', and her *industria* prevailed. Against these facts, Ursio's taunt that Childebcrt's realm 'is being kept safe by our protection, not yours' should not be understood as implying Brunhild's eclipse.[55]

When Childebert reached his majority in 585[66] however, Brunhild's position became a commanding one. Dispensing with a 'tutor', she now took over her son's guidance herself,[57] and pope Gregory the

[0] Ewig, 'Studien', p *33.*

[11] *LHF* cap 33 p 299. e Kurth, 'Brune ut', pp 281-2.

u Kurth, 'Brunehaut', p 28.

[63] For the letter written for Childebert *to* the Lombard king Grasulf by Gogo, **see** *MGH Epp 3,* no 48, p I 52. Riche, *EducaJion,* p 222, suggests that Brunhild 'brought Gogo into the royal chancellery'. For Gogo **as** *nutridus,* see *LH* v, 46, p 256. According 10 the *Chronidt of Frtdegar,* iii, cap *59, MCI-I SSRM* 2, p 109, Gogo **was** one of the envoys sent *to* Spain *to* fetch Brunhild.

,. LH v, 40, p 247. The date is *58o.*

u LH vi, 4, p 268: '... "Recede a nobis, o mulicr. Snfficiat tibi sub viro tenuisse regnum; nunc autem filius tuus regnat, regnumque eius non 1ua, sed nostra tuitione salvatur . . . "Haec et alia cum diutissime inter *se* protulissent, obtenuit reginae industria, *ne* pugnarcnt.'

[14] Ewig, 'Studien', p 22.

"LH viii, 22, p 389: •... rcgina nuter curam vellit propriam habere de filio'. As Ewig points out this did not, of course, involve a formal legal position, but rather a personal relationship.

Great would soon afterwards treat 'both thegovernment of the realm and *the* education of your son' as evidence of Bnmhild's qualities.[68] A family compact between the Austrasian and Burgundian branches of the dynasty was achieved at Andelot (586) where her continuing hostility to Fredegund is transparent.[69] Frcdegar niakes her responsible for Chilperic's assassination and names the man she hired for the job:[60] against this, the argument from Gregory's silence, given his bias, may not be as telling as Kurth supposed-which is only to say that Brunhild carried out her family duties according to her Gern1anic lights. Family duty marched with political interest within Austrasia: those Austrasian magnates who had opposed Brunhild not surprisingly found support in Ncustria.[61] But no\,v able to back her aristocratic supporters with *the* full weight of royal resources, the queen mother crushed her opponents within Austrasia, de1nonstrating then and later her capacity to exercise the en1inently royal virtues of rewarding loyalty, avenging wrongs done to those under her protection, and revenging herself on personal eneinies.[62] Her famous 'foreign relations' with Spain and with Constantinople were in fact extensions of fanlily relations, on the one hand forging further links with die royal dynasty in Spain and, after her daughter lngund's marriage to Hermenegild and his unsuccessful revolt ag 1inst his father Leuvigild,[63] trying to recover her little grandson Athanagild from the Byzantine imperial protectors to whom he had fled;[64] on the other hand identifying \Vith a new Frankish assertiveness expressed as clearly in Baudonivia's *Vita* of Radegund[65] as

•• Gregory the Great, Ep vi, *5,* in *MGH Epp* 1, p 383: 'Excellentiac vesttae praedicandan1 ac Deo placitam bonitatem et gubemacula regni testantur et edu tio lilii manifestat'. The date is *595.*

.. *LH* ix, 20, pp 434-9, for the text. For the date, see [W. A.) Eckhardt, '[Die] *Decrttio Childeberti* [und ihre Uberlicferung)', *ZRG GAbt* **84** (1967) pp 1-71 **at** *66 seq.* In the subsequent diplomatic exchanges betwoen Guntramn and Childebert and Brunhild. Gregory of Tours himself served as the latter's envoy. This closeness to the Austrasian court is noteworthy.

•• *Fred* iii, *93* in *MGH SSRM* 2, p u8: '... ab homine nomen Falcone'.

u *LH.* IX, *9,* p 421.

"*LH* ix, 9-12, pp 421-7. Bn1nhild's relations with Lupus. Ursio and Be.rthefried. illustrating the varieties of just deserts, should be compared with the earlier episode recounted in *LH* vi. 4, pp 267-8. Brunhild's concern for someone under her protection is shown in the story of Sicbar, *LH* ix, 19, pp 433-4,

0 SecJ. N. Hillgarth, 'Coinsand chronicles: propaganda in sixth-century Spain and the Byzantine background', *HisJoria IS* (Wiesbaden 1966) pp 483-508; and E. A. Thompson, *Tlie Goths* in *Spai11* (Oxford 1969) pp 64-73.

•• The evidence is connined in the *Epistolat A11st,asitiu,* nos 25-48, *MGH Epp* 3, pp 138-53.

u *MGH SSRM* 2, pp *358--95,* n cap 16at p 388: in acquiring a piece of the true cro",

in the diplomatic exchanges of earlier Austrasian kings,[86] and now epitomised in Brunhild's appeal to the empress Anastasia (wife of Maurice) to join with her in bringing the benefits of peace 'between the two peoples'!Gea; Beneath the Roman verbiage of *pax* and *caritas* is a thoroughly gentile consciousness of Frankish-Roman parity.

ChiJdcbert, who had inherited Burgundy on Guntramn's death in 593, himself died aged only tv,1enty-six in *596,* leaving Austrasia to the ten-year-old Theudebert, Burgundy to nine-year-old Theuderic.[67] Brunhild as de facto regent for both young kings now entered the last and most active phase of her career. She and her son had had their Austrasian supporters. Now she needed, and found, support from me1nbers of a n1ore southerly aristocracy, of mixed 'Roman' and barbarian origins, long used to collaboration with kings. Asclepiodotus, fonner head of Guntramn's chancery, had carried his expertise to Childebert, whose great *Decretu111* of *596* he probably drafted, and he re1nained influential during Brunhild's regency.[68] I shall exa1nine presently other bases of the old queen's continuing power, but here briefly consider her position in the royal £1mily. She had vetoed Childebert's marriage to the Agilolfu1g Theodelinda (the pair had been betrothed before 589) presumably to counter the hostile iuf1ue11ce of that princess's Austrasian and Lombard connexions.[69] But she seems to have approved Childebert's eventual marriage with his ex-mistress Faileuba, who nuy possibly have been a wo1nan of low birth.[70] If this was so, and Childebcrt was following Guntramn in raising a low-born concubine to queenship, we might speculate that Brunhild assented the morereadily because Faileuba, lacking powerful aristocratic connexions

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Radegund tells King Sigibert she will act 'pro totius patriae salute et eius rcgn' stabilitate'. 'Sicut beata Helena ... quod feeit illa in orientali patria, hoc fccit be.tta Radegundis in Gallia', comments Baudonivia. Radegund commends her foundation, *ibid* p *389,* 'praecellentusirnis dominis regibus et serenissimae dominae Bronichildi'.

•• *MGH Epp* 3, nos 18, 19, 20, pp 131-3, esp no 20, p 133, where Theudebert I lists 'quae gentes nosrrae sint, Deo adiutore, dicione subiectae', and asks Justinian **'ut ... in communi utilitatc iuogamur'.**

••• *MGH Epp* 3, no 29, p 140: ' ... dum inter utramque gentem pacis e.tusa conectitur, coniuncta gratia principum subiectarum generent bencficia regionum', and no 44, p 150, another appc.il to the empress to return Brunhild's little grandson Athanagild "et inter utramque gentem per hoc, proptitiante Christo, caritas multiplicetur et pacis terminus cxtendatur'. These letters date fro1n 584 and *585.*

" *Fred* cap 16, p 11, Paulus Diaconus, *Historia ungobardorum* iv cap I I, *Jl,[GH SSRL* p 120: 'Brunichildis tune regina cum nepotibus adhoc puerulis ... rcgebat Gillias'.

"Eckhardt, *'Decretio Child,bati',* pp 70-1.

., *Fred* cap 34, p 22. I accept the interpretation of Ewig, 'Studien', p 40, n 145.

10 Ewig, 'Studicn', p 42.

of her own, posed lessof a threat to Brunhild's ascendance than a noble-woman might have done. Over the marriage of her elder grandson Theudebert II, a concubine's son,[71] Brunhild had no control. His coming-of-age in 6oo saw, hardly coincidentally, her expulsion from Austrasia,[72] presumably because magnates hostile to her found the young king ready to assert himself. Soon after, he married Bilichild, a former slave of Brunhild herself with no kind feelings for her former mistress.[73] Once queen, Bilichild's position could not be affected by Brunhild's taunts about her base origin-so long as the Austrasian magnates approved of her. Had withdra,val of that approval, and perhaps also her lack of a son,anything to do with hermurder in 61r?7[4] The case of Bilichild could sho,v that a queen who was an ex-slave was just a bit more vulnerable to changing currents of aristocratic support than was a princess like Brunhild: certainly her fate was unusually harsh. Theuderic II (Faileuba's son)[76] provides a marked contrast to his half-brother. Having given a welcome to his grandmother when she sought hiscourt in 6oo,[76] Theuderic remained close to her for the rest of his life. That he never married wasdue to Brunhild's influence (I see no reason to reject the evidence of the *Vita Columbani* on this point):[77] the raising of a concubine to queenly status would have created a new power in the *au/a regis* and so weakened Brunhild's position in general and her freedom to choose Theuderic's heir(s) in particular. This freedom played a crucial part in the network of personal loyalties which upheld the old queen for loyalty required long-term prospects dependent, in turn, on predictions of who would control the royal succession. I shall return to this point below. Only one other action of Brunhild needs mentioning here: her renunciation in 613 of the allegedly 'traditional' practice of dividing a Merovingian's realm

71 L(i r] *H[ittoriae) F[rancorum),* cap 37 *MGH SSRM* 2, p 3o6.

,. *Fred* cap 19, p 12. The attempt of Kurth, 'Brunehau1', p 310, 10 gloss over this is unconv1nc1ng.

1. *Fred* cap 35, pp 22-3. On the probable date of this marriage (6o1-2), see Ewig, 'Studien', p 26.

" *Fred* cap 37, p 30: 'Delechildis a Teudebcrto interfecitur'.

1. *LHF* cap 37, p 3o6. Both Theudebcrt and Theuderic were sons ofChildebcrt according to *LH* viii, 37 and ix, 4. But there seems no reason to doubt that Brunhild goaded Theuderic to attack Theudebcrt *by* alleging that the latter wasa gardener'sson and thus no kin at all to Theuderic: *Frtd* cap 27, p 18. If Theuderic believed this, his subsequent treatment of Theudebert and his sons iseven less surprising: *Frtd* cap 38, p 32, and *LHF* cap 38 pp 307-9.

11 *Fred* cap *19,* p 13.

" *V{ita] C[o/11mbani)* I, cap 18, *MGH SSRM* 4, p 86. This chapter and much of the next two are borrowed almost verbatim by *Frtd*, cap 36, pp 23-9.

between his sons. Theuderic in 612 had defeated Theudebert and gained control of Austrasia. His sudden death just as he was ,narching against Clothar II ofNeustria (Fredegund's son) created an interregnum of the usual dangerous kind. How did Brunhild respond? 'Her endeavour was to make Sigibert (Theuderic's eldest son, then aged eleven] his father's successor',[78] in other words, to maintain, at least for the time being, the union of Austrasia and Burgundy. By this date there was no question, I think, of dividing Theuderic's inheritance among his *four* sons. But why was the two-fold division of *596* (already foreshadowed in 589) not followed in 613? Should not Brunhild have bought off rhe Austrasian 'separatists' and so forestalled their alliance with Clothar? The answer, in my view, lies not in the old queen's alleged 'centralising' an1bitions nor in her adherence to *Ron,anentum* against *Germane11/11n1,*[19] but in a short-term bid to rally her old and new supporters among the Burgundian and Austrasian aristocracy in a final thrust against Clothar II. There is nothing to suggest that, had she won, she would have resisted the inevitable pressures-since young princes were available-to redivide the *reg11111n* by allocating kings to the Neustrians and Austrasians. Her supporters among them \Vould surely have expected such a pay-off. Brunhild's mistake in 613 was, as Ian Wood has recently pointed out,[80] to overestimate the support she commanded among the aristocracy, especially and fatally the very Burgundian office-holders she had believed loyal. The politics were as ever those not of *raison d'etat*[81] but of family interests, of self-preservation, of manoeuvring among shifting aristocratic loyalties. Brunhild's game was the old one, only now she made her first bad miscalculation and lost all.

Before looking more closely at some key aspects of Brunhild's

•• *Frtd* cap 40, p 32: 'Brunechildis ... Sigybertum in regnum patris instituere nitens. . .

tt So, Ewig, 'Teilungen', pp *705-8,* 715. For a similar view, see H. Lowe, 'Austrieo im Zeitalter Brunichilds. Kampf wischen Konigturo und Adel', H. Grundmann, *Handbuch dtr deutschen C,schichte* (9 ed, rev B. Gebhardt Stuttgart 1970} pp 12.4-7. This view seems uandard in German historiography. The alleged evidence (the *chaussets Bruntitaut)* for Brunhild as a 'Roman' road-builder or maintainer was demolished by Kurth. *Histoitt poetiqut des Mbovingitns* (Paris 1893) pp 424 *seq.*

••wood, 'Kings',p 13.

u So, Kurth, 'Brunehaut', p 3o6 and 350-1: 'elle pretendit soumcttrc al'autorite d'une femme des gem qui ne recoMaissaient pas mcme cclle d'uo homme'. Kurth's contrast between the would-be despot Brunhild, aninevitable failure, and the *monarchie temperlt* of the Carolingians seems to have had a strong inBucnce oo francophone historiography: see H. Pircnne, *Mohammed 11nd Charlemagne,* tram B. Miall (London 1939} pp *265 stq,* and F. Lot, in F. Lot, C. Pfister and F. L. Ganshof, *us Dtstinies de /'Empitt tn Occidtnt dt 395 a 888* (2 ed Paris 1940-1} pp 265-6; 297-8; 314-15.

success, I tum now to Balthild,[82] and a sketch of her career which, much shorter than Brunhild's, is also less variously docu1ncnted, the main source being the *Vita Balthildis* written soon after her death (in 680 or soon after).[83] Born in England probably in the early 63os, Balthild '\Vas brought as a slave-girl to Gaul and bought (in 641 or after) by Erchinoald, mayor of the palace of Neustria.[84] Her hagiographer's stress on her low birth (she was one of those 'poor' who1n God 'raises from the dust and causes to sit with the princes of his people', and a 'precious pearlsold at a low price')[85] must be taken seriously, in view of the usual contemporary hagiographical delight in noble ancestry.[86] She was good-looking, (had doubtless caught Erchinoald's eye) and she was also *canny-prudens et ca11ta*.[87] Erchinoald himself is said to have wished to marry her after his wife's death, but this seems implausible, given all the other evidence of aristocratic marriage patterns.[88] The hagiographer introduced this detail. I suggest, in order to deploy the chastity motif obligatory in the *Vitae* of female saints[89] and otherwise unusable in the special case of Balthild. Divine providence caused the girl to spurn the king's minister so as to besaved for the king himself-Clovis II, son of Dagobert. Clovis probably married Balthild as soon

n The only usable biography remains [M. J.) Couturier, *Sainte Balthildt, [rtine des Francs)* (Paris 1909) which, despite its devout and rather ran1bli.11g style, should not be dismissed as by [L.) Dupraz, [Le] *Royamne [des Francs et !'ascension politiqut des maires du palais au dee/in du Vllt si c/e* (6.56-680)] (Fribourg en Suisse 1948) p 223 n J. For useful preliminary remarks on Balthild, see (W.) Levison, *&,gland (and the Continent in the Eighth Ctntury]* (Oxford 1946) pp 9-10 with a full bibliography of the source materials at p 9, n 4,

"MGH SSRM 2, pp 475-508, version 'A', with the ninth-century reworking, 'B', in parallel columns. For the dates of both versions, see Krusch's introduction, *ibid* pp 478-9. The 'A' *Vita* was evidently written by **a** nun **at** Chclles, and commissioned by some monks-perhaps those of Corbie?

u *MGH SSRM* 2, cap 2, p 483.

" *Ibid*. These are standard topoi in references to low-born holy people: the references arc to t Kings 2, 8 and Ps 112, 7,asisobserved by **(F.]** Graus, *(Volk, Herrschtr und} Heiliger* (im *Rtich de, Merowinger. Studitn zur Hagiographit der Merowingerztit)* (Prague 1965) pp 411-12. For another ex.ample, Gerbert writing of himself, sec *Lettres dt Gtrbert, 983-887*, cd J. Havct (Paris 1889) no 217, p 229.

11 See Prinz, 'Heiligenkult [und Adelsherrschaft im Spiegel merowingischcr H.tgiographic)', *HZ* 204 (19<>7) pp 529-44. Low birth was perceived as hard to reconcile with holiness. Version 'B' of the *Vita* makes Balthild into a noble lady: *c/aro sanguine;* and she waslater depicted as belonging to an Anglo-Saxon royal family! See Couturier, *Saintt Balthilde,* p 2, n 2.

•• *MGH SSRM* 2, cap 2, p 483; cap 3, p 48.s: 'prudens et asruta virgo'.

,. *Ibid* cap 3, p 484. Ian Wood suggests to nte, however, that Erchinoald, **a** kinsman of Dagobert on his mother's side, may have been deliberately imitating royal practice.

u Graus, *Heiliger,* pp 410 *stq*. The authoress of this *Vita* clearly had before her Venantius' *Vita Radtg11ndis.*

as he came of age in 648.[90] 'Astute' as ever, Balthild had no illusions about her position. Pregnant in 649, she confided her anxieties to Eligius, most influential of Dagobert's courtiers and a holy man still evidently at the heart of royal affairs: \vhat \Vould happen to the realm (did she mean, to herself?) if she carried only a girl-child? Eligius reassured her chat she would give birth to a son, and put his money where his n1ouch was: 'he had a piece of metalwork made which was suitable for a boy-baby and ordered it to be kept for his use until he was born'.[91] Balthild duly had her son-the future Clothar m, fol-lo\ved by Theuderic (III) and Childeric (II).[92] Already during her husband's lifetin1e, her great influence was evident: she seems to have organised the care of the king's entourage of young aristocrats at the court-that cradle of royal servants; and she controlled, with the help of her almoner Genesius, quantities of treasure for disbursen1enc to the poor and other pious causes.[93] The hagiographer paints the picture of a *palati11111* in which all revolves around the queen. Ocher sources stress the role of Erchinoald in 1naintaining peace throughout Clovis II's reign.[94] Balthild and her forrncr 1naster probably coexisted by each concentrating on different areas of activity, and the Neustrian aristocracy, ,vhether dazzled still by Dagobert's glories or gratified by the restitution of his unjust exactions after his death during the conciliatory regency of Nantechild (died 641/2),[95] were satisfied. But the best argument fron1silence for Bathchild's strong position during Clovis H's lifeti,ne might *be* that despite his womanising, he did not

•• *LHF* cap 43, p 315. On che dace, see Ewig, 'Studien', p 26.

[91] *Vita Eligii,* ii, 32, *MGH SSRM* 4, p 717. Riche, *Ed11ca1io11,* p 231 wich n 354, seeu1s slighcly 10 misincerpret chis passage: I cannot see that Eligius's present for che baby can possibly have been 'a teething-ring' which would have been equally suicable for a boy or a girl.

., For the birth-order of the chree boys, I follow that iniplied by tbe near-contemporary *Passio Le11degarii* I, cap 5, *MGH SSRM 5,* p 287, in preference 10 that given by *LHF* cap 44, p 317. See [L.) Levillain, '[Encore sur la) Succession (d'Austrasie au Vile siecle)', *BEC* 105 (1945,6) pp 29-30 at p 305, n J. *Thefilio/a* who lived wich Balthild at Chellcs and died just before she did must, as the 'B' *Vita* and Kn1Sch agree, have been a god-daughter. (After all, Clovis II bad died in 657!) Although Clovis II is said to have had other women (LHFcap 44, p 316) he is not known to have had any children except by Balthild.

"*MCH SSRM* 2. pp 485-7. 'Auri vel argenti brgissima mwiera' are disbursed. On the role of G<,nesius, see Ewig, '(Das Privileg des Bischof, Berthefrid von Arniens fur Corbie von 664 und die) Klosterpolitik [dcr Konigin Balthild)', *Francia* I (1973) pp 63-114 at pp 107-8 with n 86:• ... cine Art Grand AumOnier'.

H *Fred* cap 84, p 71. Contpare the aggressive and tightfisted Erchinoald depicted in the *Vita Eligii,* i, caps 20, 27, *MCH SSRM* 4, pp 711,714.

.. *Ibid* cap 80, p 68.

endanger her position (as Dagobcrt had done Nantechild's) by raising another wornan to the status of queen.[96] Both the 1noral and the politicil backing of Balthild's ecclesiastical connexions 111ust have helped her here.

Balthild'ssituation changed with thedeaths of Clovis and, soon after, Erchinoald (657, 658/9).[96]• She 110,v became regent for her son Clothar Ill, who significantly, succeeded to an undivided realm, excluding at least for the mon1ent his two little brothers. The *Vita B11lt/iildis* and the *Liber Historiae Francor14111*[97] both stress the decisive roles of the Ncustrian aristocracy. No doubt the 1n111y personal bonds forged during Balthild's years as 'nurse to the young men' in the *palatiu111* now stood her in good stead. The Neustrians' choice of Ebroin, a forn1er *111iles palatiuus*, to succeed Erchinoald as nuyor 1nust have had Balthild's consent.[98] le has been alleged chat Balthild and Ebroin between the1n pursued a syste1natic policy of reunifying the Merovingian *regn11111,* first by i1nposing the Neustrian prince Childcric II on the Austrasians, then by abolishing the Burgundian n1ayoralty of the palace thus uniting Neustria and Burgundy.[99] On an alternative hypothesis, the unification-policy was 'only neustro-burgundian, not pan-frankish'.[100] Neither view offers an entirely convincing interpretation of the *Vita's* account of Balthild's actions. The co1nplications surrounding the export of Childeric ll boil down to Merovingian fan1ily politics with two dowager queens playing typical roles. It is possible that the coup of Grin1oald and his son Childebcrt III was even part of the sa1ne fa1nily politics, in a broad sense, if indeed they too had Merovingian blood in them.[101] The n1ost plausible reconstruction of

,. *Ibid* cap 84, p 71.

"• Clovis II died between II September and 16 November 657: see Levison, 'Oas Nekrologium von dom Racine', in *NA 35* (1910) p 45. For the date of Erchinoald's death, see Oupraz, *Roya11me,* p 245 with n 1.

-[1] *Vita* cap *5, MGH SSRM* 2, p 487; *LHF* cap 44, p 317.

•• *LHF* cap *45,* p 317; *Frtd* (Continuator) cap l, p 80, *Vita Balthildis,* cap *5,* p 487. See (J.) Fischer, [Der *Ha<1smtier] Ebroin* (Bonn 1954) pp 82 *stq,* whose case for Ebroin's low birth seems, however, unproven and his cxp!anation of Ebroin's rise therefore unconvincing. (His pictllle of the regent and 'her' nu yor as two *Willensmt11.,cher1* risen from nothing through their own energies yet fated to clash because of the very strength of their wills, has a splendidly Wagnerian quality, at once romantic, epic and sexiSt: 'Frilhcr oder sp3ter n,usStc cs zwiscben ihnen zur entscheidenden Auseinandersetz.ung komn1en, und der wcnigcr Starke 1nusstc dem Starkercn weichen'l)

•• Dupraz, *Royaumt,* pp 239 *seq, 351 seq.*

[10] Fischer, *Ebroin,* p 87. See also Ewig, 'Teilreiche', pp 121 *stq.*

[101] On the evidence for Grimoald's coup, Levillain,'Succession', remains fundamental, and for a cogent restatement of his views in the light of subsequent research, see Ewig, 'Noch einmal zum "Staatsstreich" Grin1oalds', *Spec11/11,n Historiaft, FtsUchrift*

the events of 662, in 1ny view, is that Childeben's childless death left Grimoald in a dangerously exposed position rather like that of a dowager queen. He had exiled Dagobert, son of Sigibert Ill, in 656102 and to recall hi1n \Vould have been, at best,difficult and time-consu1ning for Gri1noald. With Austrasian ene1nies to cope with, Grimoald had little ti1ne to afford. But he did have custody of Dagoben's sister Bilichild and perhaps also of her mother, Sigibert's \Vidow Hi1nnichild. To play this 'tru1np-card', Grin1oald needed to find a Mcrovingian husband for Bilichild. There was no alternative but to seek him in Neustria. Thus the initiative in 662 was an Austrasian one,[103] and the outco1ne \Vas a Merovingian fa1nily compact: the seven-year-old Childeric II was sent (perhaps it was Balthild's decision to choose her third in preference to her second son) to be betrothed to his first cousin Bilichild-a unique case of Merovingian in-marriage-while her 1nother assu1ned the regency,[104] all with the backing of a powerful section of the Austrasian aristocracy.[105] At this point, Grimoald becaine expendable and thus the sole victim of these arrange1ne11ts. In him

J. Spi!rl (Munich *1965)* pp 454--7. But in wnat follows I have accepted so,ne revisions suggested by H. Thomas, 'Die Namenliste des Diptychon Ilarberuti und der Sturzdes Hausmeiers Grimoald', *DA 2.5* (1969) pp 17 3. and further modified by Eckhardt, *S111dia,* pp 152 *seq,* who also argues that Gri,noald wasdescended in the maternal line fron1 the Austrasian king Theudeb.tld. But even if levillam and Ewig arc right, and Grimoald was killed iu *657* rather than 662(see following note) my view of Balthild's actions in the latter year would be unaffected.

-o. *LHF* cap 43, p 316: 'Oeccdente vero tempore, defuncto Sigb.iberto rege, Grimoaldus filium eius parvolum nontine Oagobernun totundit Didonemque Pectavensem urbis episcopurn in Scocia peregrinandum eum direxit, filiun1 suum in regno constituens. Franci itaque hoc valde indignant.es Grimoaldo insidias preparant, ewnque exemcntes ad condempnandum regc Francorum Chlodoveo dcferunL lu Parwus civitare in carcere mancipatw, vinculorum cruciatu constriaus, ut erat morte clignus, quod in domino suo excrcuit, ipsius ruors valido cruciatu finivit'. Levillain argues that the *LHF* account must be accepted entirely: thus, Grimoald's death. must precede Clovis (1l)'s, in autumn *657*. Those who argue th.at Grimoald's cle.\th must be dated to 662, on the grounds th.at b.isson Childcbert III could not otb.crwise have been sustained as king in Austrasia until that date, must emend the *LHF's* 'Chlodoveo' to *'Chlodochario'* or *'Chlothario',* that is, Cloth:« Ill This emendation is not merely 'arbitrary' as Levillam alleges: for evidence of just this confusion of names in seventh- and eighth.-century *diplomata,* see Dupraz, *Royaume,* pp 382-4,

1.. *Vita Balthildis* **cap** *5,* p 487: '... Austr:uii paciiico ordine, ordmante domna Baltbilde, per consilium quidem seniorun, receperunt Cbildericum, filiurn eius, in rcgem Auscri'. Only by mistranslating 'ordinante' could Dupraz, *Royaume,* **p** *355,* infer that Balthild 'gave ordexs' and 'imposed' her own solution. See further, Schneider, *Konigswahl,* pp 163-4-

,oc Himnechild continued to subscribe Cb.ilderic II's *dip/omat4* until b.e came of age: see Ewig, 'Studien', p 2.3. For tb.e assassination ofCbilderic and Bilicb.ild in *675,*see *LHP* cap 45, p 318.

10. For tb.e role of Wulfoald, see Ewig, 'Teilreiche', p 123.

Merovingian blood, if any, was much diluted. Perhaps the narrower family of Dagobert I's descendants closed ranks against more distant kin, the *indignatio* of the Ncustrians against Grimoald was genuine, and his execution in Paris a kind of vengeance for the exile of Dagobert's grandson.[106] In all this, it is impossible tosee Balthild as i1nposing her son-still less Neustrian control-on the Austrasians. She acts with.in lin1its defined by the Austrasians themselves, and her response restores hannony within both family and *reg1111,11.* The *Vita's* depiction of her as a peace-bringer is not mere hagiographical convention.

As for her 'neustro-burgundian policy', it is possible to interpret Clothar Ill's succession in both Neustria and Burgundy as evidence of aristocratic interests in *both* regions, rather than only of royal design. The gradual cessation of the practice of dividing the rcaltn in thecourse of theseventh cennrry was not the result of kings'(or queens') decisions alone.[107] The *Burgundofarones* had son1ething to gain fro1n access to the *palatiu111* of a king who was theirs and the Neustrians' alike.[108] Nor can I see 1nuch evidence for a fonual extinction of the Burgundian mayoralty by Balthild. It is arguable, anyvvay, that their laws and custon1s 111attered 1nore to the llurgundians than a mayoralty.[109] Scholarly discussion of the whole issue has turned on the interpretation of a phrase in the *Vita Bait/ii/dis:* 'The Burgundians and the Franks ,vere made as one'.[110] What seems to have been unnoticed hitherto is that not n1erely this sentence but the ,vhole final section of chapter *5* of the *Vita* echoes a re1narkable passage in the Book of Ezechiel. The context (Ezechiel chapter 36) isa divine pro1nise to the prophet that the *gentes* shall be put to sha1ne and Israel renewed and exalted. In the follo,ving chapter, God sets Ezechiel down in the valley of the bones and brings thetn to life. He then tells the prophet to take t\VO sticks, one to signify Israel and the other Judah:

> And join then1 one to another into one stick; and they shall beco1ne one in thine hand .

·[04] Above n *1oz.*

·[07] This is a basic assumption in Dupraz's book. See also Ewig, 'Tcilrcichc', pp no *seq.*

[10]· *Fred* cap 44, p 37; cap *55,* p 46. For larer Burgundian resistance to Ebroin because he denied 1be1n direct access to the *palati,1111,* see *Pa.srio Lemfegarii* I, cap 4, *MGH SSR,\1 5,* p 287.

·[0]· *Fred* cap 54, p 46: the 13urgundians decide to do without a mayor of the palace after the death ofWarnacher (6z6), preferring cum *rege tra11sagert. Pa.ssio Le11degarii* I, cap 7, p 289, shows the Burgundians' concern to preserve their *lex vtl com11et11do.* The Burgundian 1nayor3lty seems not to have been revived after the death ofFlaochad, a Frankish appointee of Nantechild, in 642. See also Ewig, 'Teilreiche', pp 106-7, 120.

[110]*Vita,* cap *5,* pp 487-8: 'Durgundiones vero ct Franci facti sunt uniti'.

> And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee saying, Wilt thou not shew us what thou meanest by these?
>
> Say unto them, Thussaith the Lord God ... Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen ...
>
> And I will make them one nation ... and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two nations any more at all ...
>
> Moreover I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them: and I will place them, and multiply then1, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore.[111]

The hagiographer's purpose throughout his fifth chapter is to show Balthild as the instrument of divinely--0rdained concord between the once-warring kingdoms. The queen is presented, not as the author of specific new constitutional arrangements, but-in almost apocalyptic terms-as theinaugurator of a new era of peace. There is a significant contrast, as well as a similarity, here with the note caught by Ev,ig in the early eighth-century *Continuator* of Fredegar's identification of the Franks with Israel and of their war-leader Charles Martel with Joshua:[112] clearly the insistence on the Frank's providential role *is* a com1non theme, but a fe1nale ruler cannot be the lieutenant of a God of Battles. Here, in a warlike age, the obstacles to an ideology of 'queenship' arc as evident as the hagiographer's ingenuity.

One final point to make here concerns Balthild's loss of power, which, as with Brun.hild in Austrasia, coincided with her son's coming of age. Like Brunhild, Balthild found regency i1nposed its own time-limit and tenure was non-renewable. Balthild's retirement to her foundation of Chcllcs in late 664 or *665* was no voluntary move. Though her hagiographer glosses over it,[113] the threat of force is strongly suggested by the *Vita* Eligii.[114] Whether or not Ebroin was

111 Ezechiel 37; 17-18, 20-2, 26 (AuthorisedV.ersion).The vulgate reading of verse 17 is: 'Et adjungeillaunum adalterum tibiin lignwn unum; et eruntin unionem in manu rua'.

112 Ewig, 'Zum christlichen Konigsgedanken im Frtihmittelalter', *Das Konigu.m,* ed T. Mayer *Vortrage und Forschungen* 3 (Konstanz 1956) pp 7-73 at 51 *seq.*

11• *Vita Balthildis* cap 10, p 495: 'Erat enim eius sanct.i devotio, ut in monasterio (Chelles) ... ronversare deberet. Nam et Franei pro eius amore hoc maxime dilatabant neefieri permittebant ... Et exinde ... permiserunt eam subito pergerc ad ipsum monasteriwn. Et fortasse dubium non est, quod ipsi principe-s tune illud non bono animo permississent .. .'

'" *Vita Eligii* ii, 32, p 717: '... iure regio cxcmpta'. The last of Clotbar Hi's *diplomata* subscribed by Balthildisdated6 September 664: *MGH DD* 1, no 40, p 38.

directly involved,[115] thoseresponsible wereclearly a powerful section of the Neustrian aristocracy. The very violence of these *principes'* reaction implies the reality of Balthild's power: as her *Vita* puts it, they had acted against her will and feared her vengeance.[116] But their success '\lso showed how precarious ,vas a queen-mother's position if those 'whom she had tenderly nurtured' should turn against her. Her elimination could be more decorously handled, but, like Grimoald, she had become expendable. The dowager's phoney vocation, the 1nayor's judicial murder, could be arranged without the political upheavals of an interregnum.

So far, I have portrayed two queens acting in a thoroughly secular context of kingly courts and counsels, treasure, armed force and aristocratic politics. But other, equally important, non-secular types of power in the Merovingian world must now be considered if we are fully to appreciate these queens' activities, or their posthumous reputations. The saints-the holy dead-were believed to incorporate supernatural power which could seem random, inexplicable in its operations.[117] Those who could claim to mediate such power, to render it intelligible, to enable 'human strategy [to be set] at work on the holy'[118] were the bishops, the holy men and the monks in the towns and countryside of Gaul. Both the power and the exponents thereof predated the Merovingians: Clovis and his successors had to come to tcrn1s ,vith them. We must now examine how, first, Brunhild and then Balthild did so.

If the Frankish kings from the fifth century onwards wielded a territorial authority fro1n city bases, the collaboration of bishops was

[116] Judgements on this point have been very subjective. See Fischer, *Ebroin,* pp 98-10+

[11•] *Vita* cap 10, p 495: •… nee ficri permittebant, nisi commotio iUa fuuset per miserum Sigobrandum epi$Copum, cuius superbia intet Francos meruit morris ruinam. Et exinde orta intentione, dum ipsurn *contra eius 11ohm1attm* interfecerunt, metuentes *nt hocipsa domna contra eos g,aviterJerrel ac vindicare ipsamcausam •el/et,* permiserunt cam subito .. .' etc (above n 113.) A few lines further on, p 496, the *Vita* gives a further revealing glirnpse of Balthild's position: 'Habuit enim tune non modieam qucrelam contra eos, quos ipsa dulciter enutriverat, pro qua re falso ipsi cam habuissent suspectam, vel etiam pro bonis mala ei repensarent. d ct hoc conferens cum sacerdotibus citius, cis clementer cuncta indulsit .. .' For the Sigobrand episode, see below p 41.

[111] For a fine account, full of fresh insights, **see** now **(P.)** Brown, 'Relics (and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours}', The Stenton Lecture for 1976 (University of Reading 1977), with references to previous work. Also indispensable is Graus, *Heiliger,* Brown's paper muse be supplemented for the seventh century by Prinz, 'HciligenkuJt', and *Monchtum;* and Ewig, 'Milo **(et** eiusmodi similes)', *Bcnifatius-Ctdenkgabe* (Fulda 1954) pp 4r2-40, at 430*stq.*

[11•] Brown, 'Relics', p 14.

indispensable. Appointments of, and relations with bishops remained key aspects of royal action through the sixth and most of the seventh centuries:[119] and rulers had scope for action precisely because, though episcopacy was part of the 'Establishment', bishops, especially prospective ones, needed outside support to secure their local positions. Had 'senatorial blood, episcopal office and sanctity' *really* 'presented a formidable united front,'[120] Merovingian kings-and queens too-could never have been as formidable as they sometimes were. Brunhild is a case in point. Asa consort, she, like other sixth-century queens had probably used her influence in episcopal elections, notably, according to Venantius, that of Gregory of Tours himsel£[121] Better documented isher intervention at Rodez in 584, where her influence wasinvoked by one of the participants, count lnnocentius, in a po\ver-struggle in the nearby city ofJavols. When thecount transferred hisinterests to the see of Rodez, Brunhild's support secured him the bishopric in an election *which* scandalised even Gregory by the fierceness of the competition.[122] Brunhild's own interest here might have been connected, I suggest, with her continuing efforts to secure the restitution of her sister Galswinth's morning-gift which included the city of Cahors.[123] The dioceses ofRodez and Cahors werecontiguous, and bishop Innocenti us's harrassment of the neighbouring see[124] may have exerted so1ne of the pressure which achieved the transfer of Cahors into Brunhild's possession in 586. Her continuing interest in this region, in \vhich Frankish and Visigothic powers competed, and the key position of

11. D. Claude, '(Die) Bestellung der Biscbofe (im merowingischen Reiche)', *ZRG KAbt* 49 (1963) pp r-77. For some general aspects of episcopal collaboration, see Wood, 'Kings'. **It** is tempting to correlate the absence of queenly regencies in England in the seventh century (the year-long reign of Seaxburh, widow of Ccnwalh of Wesscx, apparently in her own right, in 672-3 is quite exceptional) or later, with the relative weakness of cpucopal power there as well as with the ubiquity of warfare: there was no substitute therefore for anadult warrior king. An obvious fu"hercorrelation would be with the persistancc of dynastic discontinuity in the English Jcjngdoms into the ninth century. See below p 46.

uo So, P. Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (London 1972) p 131, quoted and renounced, with admirable open-mindedness, by Brown himself: 'Relics', p 17. See also his reservations, 'Relics'. pp 1 20, about Prinz, '(Die bischofliche) Stadtherrschaft (im Frankenreich)', *HZ* 217 (1974) pp 1-35, which, however, remains an important article.

111 Vcnantius Fortunatus, *Carmina v,* 3, lines 11-1*S*, p 106: 'HuieSigibcrcthus ovans favat et Brunechildis honori'.

iu *LH* vi, 38, p 309. For the previous context at Rodez see *LH* v, 46.

12' *LH* ix, .20, see above n 22.

,,. *LH vi,* 38. p 309.

Rodez are still evident twenty years later.[125] The other vital area for **the** queen's control of episcopal appointments after 6oo was Burgundy proper. She must surely have been behind the elections of Aridius to Lyons and ofDomnolus to Vienne in 603. She appointed Desiderius to Auxerre in 6o5.[126] Gregory the Great complained in *595* that no-one obtained a bishopric in the *regnu,11 Francorum* without paying for it.[127] Assuming twelve to fifteen vacancies per annum, Claude has made the interesting calculation that the royal profits from simony over the *regnu,n* as a whole could have reached ten thousand solidi in the later sixth century.[128] Despite later accusations, I do not think that Brunhild's practice here was unusual, nor that she was responsible for a peculiarly bad attack of this 'contagion' in the late sixth century.[129] Of course the money was useful to her, as to the other strong rulers who profited from this source. But it was not the chief consideration. Whether or not they proved their devotion in hard cash, Brunhild needed episcopal allies and servants. They if anyone could control the cities, their very simony being proof of onevital attribute of power;[130] they could influence their aristocratic lay kinsfolk; and they could serve as counsellors and envoys, deploying their useful network of

,.. The evidence lies in three letters, two of them apparently addressed to the bishop of Rodez, by Bulgar, count of Septimania during the reign of the Visigothic king Gunthimar {610-2): *MGH Epp* 3, *Epp Wisigothicae* nos 11, 12 and 13, pp 677-81. The letters to the bishop of Rodez are violently hostile to Brunhild and Theuderic, accusing them of making an alliance with the pagan Avars. and making it clear that Gunthimar was sending money to Theudebert. The Auvergne region was, of course, **an** Austtasian enclave. Bulgar's third letter, evidently addressed to a llurgundian bishop (here Brunhild and Theudcric are *gloriosissimi reges).* rcveols that Brunhild was negotiating with Gunthin1ar for two towns in Septimania which had been granted to her personally by hercousin king Reccared but taken back by the Visigoths, presumably after Reccared's death in 6o1 or his son's in 6o3. Drunhild was tneanwbile holding two Visigothic envoys captive as a bargaining counter. For anti-Brunbild propaganda in this fcstcting Visigothic-Frankish conflict, see below p 27. The treatment ofBulgar's letters by Kurth, 'Brunehaut', pp 313-4, is ratbcr confused.

11. *Fred* cap 24, p 15; cap 19, p 13 with Wallacc-Hadrill's n 1. The case of l)esidcrius of Auxerre. and the inaccuracy of Frcdcgar's 'legendary' account, arc discussed by Kurth, 'Brunehaut', **pp** 308-10.

127 Ep v, *58, MGH Epp* 1, p 369. Compare *Ep* ix, 213, MGH *Epp* 2, p 198.

128 Claude, 'Bcstellung dcr Bischofe', p *59* n 290.

129 *Vita Eligii* II, 1, p 694: 'Maxime de te1nporibus Druncbildis infelicissimae reginae ... violabat hoc contagium catholicam fidem'. A similarly harsh view of llruuhild ('le mauvais genie de la maison de Sigebert .. .' !) is taken by E. Vacandard, 'Les elections episcopales', in *Etudes de Critique et d'Histoire* (Paris 1905) pp I*59 seq.*

13° For a nice exaniple from the 66os, of wcahh as a qualification for episcopal office, see the conreniporary *Passio Praejecti*, cap 12, *SSRM 5*, p 232: when Praejectus solicits the bishopric of Clermont, the *pkbs* ask hi,n 'si se sciebat tanta,u pecuniant auri argenrique metaIii habere, unde hoc opus queat subirc'.

personal connexions. The bishops, for their part, could achieve no concerted action, could widertake no moral reform, without royal sponsorship. This pope Gregory widerstood very well when he directed his appeals to Brunhild.[131] The collaboration of queen, bishop and pope is apparent in Brunhild's foundations at Autun: a nuns' house dedicated to the Virgin, a *Xenodocl1ium* associated with a male convent whose abbot was to be royally appointed, and a church dedicated to St Martin served by secular clergy and destined to provide the queen's tomb.[132] Brunhild's interest in Autun is significant. Continuing the eastward reorientation of the 'Burgundian' kingdom implicit in Guntramn's choice of Chaion for his *sedes regia,*[133] Brunhild, \vhile cultivating links with the Rhone cities especially Lyons, also entrenched royal influence firmly in a major centre of sixth-century cult and culture, a point of articulation between the two broad zones of Martinian and Rhone-based monasticism, a citadel, finally, of Gallo-Roman aristocratic power which was close to the frontier with 'barbarian' Gaul.[13,

Brunhild's association with Syagrius of Autun is only the most striking instance of what must be seen as a characteristic and inevitable mode of royal governn1ent in the Merovingian *regnum.* Bishops were there in the *civitates,* and kings, from Clovis onwards, who wanted to govern in and fro1n cities therefore had to work with bishops. This rather than any common commitment to *Romanentum* and Roman governmental principles, or any adherence to a *'parti romain',*[135] or any absolutist ambitions on the part of a cultured Visigoth grown into a 'Burgundian "lady-centralist"',[138] accounts for Brunhild's relations with the bishops of the realms she ruled and, beyond them, with the pope. In Burgundy, naturally, the bishops were *Ro111a11i,* but it was not

, .. *Epp* viii, 4; ix, 213; xi, 46, MGH *Epp* 2, pp *5-8;* 198-200; 318-9.

1** *Epp* xiii, 11-13, *MGH Epp* 2, pp 376-81, where also the editor, L. M. Hartmann, convincingly defends the authenticity of these privileges, and suggests that Gregory based bis wording on that of Brunhild in her original request. For Brunhild's tomb, see Kurth, 'Brunehaut', pp 347, 352-6.

11, Ewig, 'Residence (et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Age)', *RH* 23o(r963) pp 25-72, at p 48.

'" See Gregory the Great, Epp ix, 214,218 and 222 *MGH Epp* 2, pp 200, 205-10, 213-14 (contacts with Syagrius of Autun) and Epp ix, 208 and 230, pp 195-227 (contacts with Spain via Autun). Riche, *Education,* pp 179 *seq,* 268-70, with maps on pp 170and 269; Prinz, *MonchJum,* pp 6<>-1, 136, 140 with ,naps S, *6* and 9; and Stroheker, *Adtl,* pp 121-2, 163-4 (for the Syagrii and Desiderii).

tt• So, Delaruclle, 'L'Eglise romaine et ses relations avcc I' .Eglise fr.1nquc jusqu'en 800', in *SS Spolero* 7, i (1900) pp 143-84, at p 16o.

„. So, .Pruu, *M'ö'n'ẇ',tum,* p 542.

their Romanity which determined Brunhild's favour, any more than ethnic affinity governed her choice of lay officials: her alleged partiality to 'Ron1ans' is belied by the number of Frankish and Burgundian appointments mentioned by Fredegar.[131]

The exception to the record of harmony between Brunhild and her bishops is the case of Desiderius of Vienne, first exiled, later stoned to death, according to Fredegar on 'the,vicked advice of Aridius of Lyons and of . . . Brunhild'.[138] If all we had was Fredegar's threadbare account of this apparently arbitrary action, it n1ighr be tempting to expl.11n Desiderius' fate in terms of factionalisn1 in the Burgundian episcopate and the traditional rivalry between Lyons and Vienne. But the remarkable *Vita Desiderii* written by the Visigothic king Sisebut (612-21), and a second *Vita* written in the eighth century *by* a cleric of Vienne throw more light on the affair.[139] Sisebut is violently hostile to Brunhild, not I think because he held her responsible for the dis1nissal of Theuderic H's Visigothic bride (who after all was no relation of Sisebut's)[140] nor through any genuine concern for the sanctity of Desiderius, but because he is writing propaganda for Septimanian consumption. His *Vita* is, as Fontaine has brilliantly shown, 'a hagiographic pamphlet' designed to show how a Toledan king could respect a Gallo-Roman aristocrat and *to* incite opposition to Frankish rule.[141] And here, significantly, as in the letters of count Bulgar of Septirnania (written about 610)[1,2] Brunhild the 'nurse of discords' is completely identified \vith the Merovingians. Sisebut stresses the role of Brunhild's protegc, the mayor of the palace Protadius in bringing about Desiderius's exile and suggests that the terror of Brunhild and Theuderic at Protadius's death rnade then1 avenge thenlSelves on

,., *Frtd* caps 24, 28, 29, pp 16, 19, n1en1ions Protadius, Claudius and Ricomer as 'Ronians by birth'; but be also mentions the promotions of the Franks Quolen (cap I 8, p 12), and Bcrtoald (cap 24, p 15), while the co11stable Eborui and the chamberlain Derthar (caps 30, 38, pp 20, 31-2) were also presumably Franks. Duke Rocco, probably a Burg• uudian, served as Brunbild and Theuderic's envoy to Spain in 6o7 and only turned against her in 613. (caps 30, 42, pp 20, 34). Among bishops, the Austrasian Frank Leudegasius of Mainz was an ally ofTheuderic in 612 (cap 38, p 31) while Lupus of Sens, deposed after 614 for his previous loyalty to Dnmhild, came fron1 **a** Frankish family in Orleans: *Vita Lupi, MGH SSRM* 4, caps **1**, 11, p 179, 182.

••• *Fred* cap 32, p 21.

139 Both *Vitat* arc edited by Krusch in *MGH SSRM* 3, pp 630-45.

, .. **cap** 30, p 20: Ermenburga was the daughter of Witteric, murderer of his predecessor and himself murdered by Gunthimar in 610.

141 J. Fontaine, *Isidore dt Slvi//e et la c11/rure dassiq11t dN1s l'Espagne wisigothiq11t* (Paris 1959) p 841 nn I and 2.

as *MGH Epp* J, pp 677-81, at 677: 'iurgioruni auctrix'.

Desiderius. The eighth-century *Vita* hints at popular opposition to Desiderius in Vienne. But both *Vitae* agree that the basic reason for Desiderius' loss of royal favour and eventual death was his sharp criticism of royal *n1ores-specifically* of Theuderic's concubines.[143] How credible is it that Brunhild \Vould have let such an issue embroil her in an uncharacteristic conflict with a leading bishop? Why did she not ensure that her grandson took a wife and became respectable in the eyes of an ecclesiastical moralist? Such a marriage, argued Kurth, could not have endangered Brunhild any more than concubines already did: 'will anyone seriously 1naintain', he asked, 'that a sensual king sub1nits more willingly to the influence of his wife than that of his mistress?'[144]

To understand Brunhild's 1notives, we must look at one more episode: her relations with St Columbanus. She must have met him long since, when he first arrived in the *reg11u111 Francoru111* ,591 and found patronage from her son Childebcrt.[14] From the outset Columbanus' *peregrinatio* had a strong inner-worldly objective, namely the restoration (or application) of *religio* to *fides,1*[46] which could only be achieved with political support. It was a matter of building up a net-work of personal relations and loyalties, of education: and this took time. The history of Luxeuil is obscure until quite late in Theuderic's reign but it is clear that some Austrasian and Burgundian aristocrats had been patronising the monastery in the 59os.[147] and there is no sign of any royal hostility. The first mention in the *Vita Colu111bani* of Theuderic's attitude to the saint stresses his veneration: 'he had often come to (Colu1nbanus) at Luxeuil and with all humility begged the help of his prayers'.[1"] Brunhild too recognised his support as worth having. Columbanus see1ns to have been in the habit of coming to visit Brunhild and the royal family. ln 609 she sought the holy man's blessing for her great-grandsons, the eldest of them born in 6o2.[149] We should note the lateness of the evidence for conflict between the queen and the saint. If for years he had been co1nplaining about Theudcric's failure to marry, it was only in *6o9* that the political consequences of

[10] *MGf:l SSRM* 3, pp *635,* 640-1.

[1"] Kurth, 'Brunehaut', p 322.

['"] Jonas, *VC* cap *6,* MGH *SSRM* 4, p 72 with Krusch's n 3. See [G. S. M.) Wallcer, [*San cti Columbani OptTa], Scriptores Latini Hiber11iae,* 2 (Dublin 1957) introd, pp **x-xı, x:xi *seq.***

['"] *VC* cap *5,* p 71. Compare Coluonbanus's ep 2, Walker, pp 12-23.

['"] *VC,* 1, caps 10, 14 and *15,* pp 76. *79* and 81. For another possible case (Agilus) see Prinz, *MSnchtum,* pp 126, 217, 356-7.

['"] *VC,* I, cap 18, p 86; *Fr,d* cap 36, p 23.

['"] *VC,* I c.ip 19, p 87. *Fr,d* cap 21, p14 gives the date of Sigebert's birth.

his objections became explicit when he denied the claim of Theuderic's sons to succeed to the kingship. Now and only now Brunhild appears as 'a second Jezebd',1 wherein the primal one of pride: but it is pride of a specific kind, which fears to lose long-held status, power and wealth, and it has a specific manifestation of hostility to the *vir Dei* whose moralising threatens that position. Theuderic had nothing to lose by compliance and indeed, Brunhild 'could see that he was yielding to the man of God'. But for her, what might be at stake was control of the *au/a regis*, the court, and thus the real power and influence which made a queen's position worth having. Columbanus's hagiographer Jonas, for all his bias, had hit the nail squarely on the head: being the king's bedfellow, even being the 1uother of his sons, was not at all the same thing as being queen. Brunhild kne\v this. She must have known it when in Childebert's reign she had had a queen as daughter-in-law. But in such situations, personalities counted for much, and Faileuba did not strike contemporaries as considerable. And in any case that was all long ago when perhaps Brunhild herself had had little choice. In the early 6oos she wasold, had long grown used to po\ver and did not want to retire: there was no contemporary sentiment against gerontocracy. Her ain1 now was to secure the future for her line; thus to get Theuderic's sons accepted as his prospective heirs. And there was a final elen1ent in her motivation, perhaps still an essential one: Fredegund's son lived and ruled in Neustria. Could Theudcric be counted on, without Brunhild at his side, to pursue the vendetta to its necessary end? Desiderius had already been eli1ninated probably by means of an intended exile that went wrong.[151] Columbanus too must now be exiled-for Brunhild rightly judged that the abrasive old Irishman would never be pressurised intosilence when he saw principle at stake. The initiative was hers. The allegedly 'fundamental' hostility of the bishops, or, alternatively, of'the monasticism of the Rhone region', have in my view been exaggerated. Despite Columbanus's rudeness, despite the awkward dispute over the dating of easter,[1 2] the bishops of Brunhild's realm had left the Irish to their eccentricities; as for

ao *VC,* I, cap r8, p 86: '... mentem Brunechildis ... se<:undae ut erat Zezebelis. antiquus angui, adiit eamque contra virum Dei stimulatam superbiae aculeo excitat quia cemeret viro *Dei* Theudcricum oboedire'. It is worth noting that Sisebut, despite bis violent antipathy to Brunhild, does not bbel her a 'Jezebel'. But his *Vita* i.! stylistically very different from Jonas', work.

u, Kurth, '.Brunehaut', p 329, argues thison the basis of the second *Vita Dtsiderii*, *MGH SSRM* 3, cap *9* p 641.

,u Columbanus, epp 1-3, Walker, pp 12,-2s, with Walker's comments. pp xxv-vi.

'n1onasticism', the delay in the appearance of Luxeuil's influence in southern Gaul (neatly demonstrated in Prinz's maps) had more to do with pre-existing deep-rooted traditions and patterns of aristocratic patronage and monastic practice than with positive or principled 'opposition'.[163] Jonas should still be believed, I think, when he says that it was Brunhild herself \Vho 'worked upon the bishops' and on the lay magnates and *auligae* as well as the king, to co-ordinate an anti-Columbanan front. It was natural for Jonas to see a parallel with the biblical archetype of the wicked queen who sought to destroy God's mouthpiece, the holy n1an. Knowing as he did the details ofBrunhild's life and death,Jonas must have relished other reminiscences of Jezebel: like her, Brunhild '\Vas a foreigner and a king's daughter; like her, Brunhild attacked a personal enemy (Naboth=Desiderius) by bringing false charges against him and then had hin1stoned to death; like her, Brunhild met a dreadful fate-et *equoru,n 11ngulae co11culcaverunt eam.*[154] Jonas's audience, likewise connoisseurs of the Books of Kings, could readily supply these motifs, once given the identification of Brunhild with Jezebel; and readers of the *Vita Col11111bani* who wrote about Brunhild subsequently gained access to useful new 'material'. In the *Liber Historiae Francor11m,* the aged Brunhild titivates herself in a pathetic attempt to seduce her conqueror Clothar Il, just like Jezebel who, hearing of king Jehu's arrvail, *depinxit oculos s110s stibio et ornavit cap11t* suu111;[155] while in the eighth-century *Vita* of Desiderius, Brunhild becomes Jezebel in this second context, *alone* responsible for the bishop's death in which the motif of stoning is emphasised.[156] So influential, indeed, was Jonas's work, so definitive his portrayal of Brunhild that in Frankish hagiography she came to rank with Ebroin asa stereotype of villainy.[167] Ifin onetenth-century *Vita* she appears in a less awful light when, struck by the saint's power she becomes his patron, this simply proves that a hagiographer could best show the greatness of *his* holy man by pitting him successfully against the wickedest of Wicked Queens.[1o8]

n• Prinz, *Moncluum,* p 148 and n 137, stresses this 'opposition'. Reservations similar to mine, though based on other evidence, are voiced by Ian Wood, 'A prelude to Columbanus: the monastic achievement in the Burgundian territories' (in the press). I am very grateful to him for Jetting me see this paper in advance of publication.

•*u* 3 Kings 16: 31; 19: 1-2; 5-16, 23; 4 Kings 9: 30-37. ForJonas' useof typology in the *Vita Columbani,* see J. Leclercq, 'L'univers religieux de St Columban', *Aspects du Monachisme hier ti Aujourd'hui* (Paris 1974) pp 193-212 at 201 *stq.*

u, *LHF* cap 40, p 310, inlluenced by 4 Kings 9: 30-33.

11• *MGH SSRM* 3, cap *9,* p 641.

167 Graus, *Iieiligtr,* pp 373-4.

ua *Vita Mtntlti, MGH SSRM 5,* caps 3-11, pp 150-4-

Brunhild, then, had not been born bad. but nor had she exactly had badness thrust upon her: in the hagiographer's terms, she deserved her reputation and had indeed challenged the authority of a saint and opposed heavenly by earthly power. That this action was untypical of her, that it was forced on her in a particular time and situation by the need to survive politically, could not concern the n1onks who reviled her memory. That she was very unlucky to have crossed the path of the one great charismatic of her age and that her posthu1nous fate was in a sense accidental : none of this could concern the generations of n1onks in whose collective me1nory this Jezebel lived on. But it must concern modern historians and cause us to rethink sonic of the sweeping generalisations and value-judgements out of which our predecessors, two or three generations ago, fashioned their own improbable images ofBrunhild as benevolent despot or great soul.

Balthild's image is, of course, timeless: she was and is a saint.[159] But she was also, for some contemporaries, a Jezebel. The paradox, and the apparent contrast with Brunhild, invite our attention. Balthild's *Vita* makes it clear that she had grasped the uses of piety, both as a means to secure personal status and as a political instrument. There is a touch of Uriah Heep about her oft-praised 'humility' but this may be the hagiographer's fault, not hers. What is new and remarkable here is the depiction of a specifically royal sanctity.[160] This is apparent first in her activities as Clovis II's consort. In the intimate atmosphere of the court, Balthild structures her personal relationships 'correctly' in terms both of the hagiographer's values and of her own interests: 'to the great men she showed herself like a mother, to the bishops like a daughter, to the young men and boys like the best sort of nurse.' In a rather wider context too, she has the right priorities, loving 'bishops as fathers, monks as brothers and the poor as their pious nurse'; she does not infringe the magnates' sense of status but accepts their counsels when appropriate, *she* encourages the yoWlg men to monastic studies, and uses her influence with the king 'humbly but persistently' on behalf of churches and the poor.[161] Clovis assigns her the chief of his palace

,u *L*ThK 2, col *SO* (Ewig) *sv* 'Balthildis'. Her feast-day is 30 January. If we may trust Ewig, 'Klosterpolitik', p 62, she is still capable of maJcing a nocturnal visit to reprove **a** detractor!

11. This is most evident in her remission of the capitation-tax and her prohibition of **the** shve--trade in Christian captives: 'datasque pracceptiones per singulas regiones, ut nullus in regno francorum captivum hominem christianum penitus tnnsmitterct', *Vita* caps *6* and *9,* pp 488, 494.

'" *Vita* cap ., pp *485-6.*

clerks, *hisfidelis famulus* Genesius, to administer her charitable works:as the *Vita's* term *assiduus* implies, he was a force to be reckoned with in the Neustrian palace at this time. Further promotion was assured: he would become bishop of Lyons, 'on Christ's orders' (and doubtless Balthild's) in 66o.[162]

Already during Clovis's lifetime, Balthild had had close ties \Vith Eligius, bishop of Noyon fro1n 64r, and probably also Audoenus (Dado), bishop ofRouen from 641.[163] These men were at the centre of a friendship-network which spanned the entire *regnum Francon1m* and had a remarkable capacity to persist and to reproduce itself over generations-from the 620s through to the *66os* and probably later.[164] In so far as it transcended the boundaries of the *Teilreiche*, it could be troublesome for a king: Sigibert Ill forbade Desiderius of Cahors to attend a council at Bourgcs because that was in his brother's realm, and Desiderius could invite only his Austrasian friends to celebrate the foundation of the monastery of St Amantius at Cahors.[166] But Clothar II and Dagobert had made the network work for them, using its members first as lay officials and close advisers, later as bishops in major *civitates.* A hefty attack on si1nony 1nade by the bishops themselves was directed against local aristocratic, rather than royal nial-practice.166 Control of episcopal appointments, sin1oniac or otherwise, remained essential for rulers. It seems likely, for instance, that Chrodobert becan1e bishop of Paris late in Clovis's reign because of his already close connexions with Audoenus and with Balthild.[167]

When Clovis died late in 657, Balthild as queen mother naturally had a good claim to the regency, but her established friendships, especially

111 *Ibid* pp 486-7.

111 *Vita Eligii*, ii, 32, p 727. See also Vacandard, *[Vie de] Saint Ouet1, (eveque de RouenJ* (Paris 1902) pp 249-55-

,., The main evidence lies in the Ietter...:ollection of Desiderius of Cahors (died 650) *MGH Epp* 3, pp 191-214. Audoenus survived Wltil 684. For the friendship-<irde,see Levison's introduction to the *Vita A11doini, MGH SSRM S,* pp 536-7; Sprandel, *Adel*, pp 16-7, 33; Riche, *Education,* pp 236 *seq.* Wallace-Hadrill, *Long-Haired Kings*, pp 222-3.

iu Desiderii, *Ep* ii, 17, p 212; *Ep* i, 11, p 199.

1" Council of Cha!on-sur-Sa6ne (647-53) cap 16, *Concilia Galliae 511-695*, ed C. de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A (Turnhout 1963) p 3o6.

,., He seems to have belonged to Audoenus' circle, if the 'bishop Cbrodobert' to wbom Audoenus scot a copy of his *Vita Eligii* can be identified witb the then bishop of Paris: see Krusch's comments in *MGH SSRM* 4, pp 650-1 and Vacandacd, *Saint Ouen,* pp 236-7. But Vacandard's apparent identification of the bishop with a Rodebert, mayor of the palace in 655, is mistaken for the latter was still addressed as mayor in 663: see Ebling, *Prosopographit,* pp 112-13. The mayor and the bishop could well be relatives however.

with Genesius, allowed her to make the claim effective. There is no evidence of any demand at this point for a division of the Neustro-Burgundian realm, which, while suggesting the absence of any strong Burgundian secessionist n1ovement, could also indicate the smoothness of the transmission of royal power. Audoenus and Chrodobert **are** named in the *Vita Balthi[dis* as the key supporters of the regency,[168] and Ebroin's appointment as mayor some months afterwards must have been made on their, as well as the queen's, 'advice'. h1657-8, then, the *regnun1 Francor11111* ren1ained at peace-no mean tribute to the degree of governmental stability and continuity which episcopal underwriting helped ensure.

But the maintenance of royal power was not just a simple matter of keeping inherited episcopal allies. The trouble was, there were bishops and bishops: the 'good' ones, as the *Vita* engagingly terms them (they certainly included Eligius and Audoenus) urged the queen on toprohibit simony specifically in episcopal appointments,[169] where the 'bad' ones, by implication, preferred to work the familiar systems. Whatever financial profits this n1cant foregoing Balthild continued to exercise her power to appoint. Politics based on personalities, fa1nilies and factions were the reverse of static: to remain in any sort of control, a ruler had to be able to place his/her supporters in key positions. Earlier Merovingians had been able to exercise considerable freedom in appointing patricians, dukes and counts. The development of hereditary offices, restricting the scope of royal action,[170] heightened the need to secure the right bishops. Against this background, the scanty evidence for Ba1thild's episcopal appointments becomes significant. Three cases **are** known. In the first is recorded only the bare fact that through her influence Ere1nbert, who came originally from the Chartres region, became bishop ofToulouse.[171] Aquitaine was clearly not yet outwith the scope of royal intervention. The second and third cases relate to Burgundy which contained, in my view, not a separatist movement, but aristocratic factions operating in cities as well as countryside. As **in** Brunhild's time, Autun and Lyons were two key cities in the region.

ıн *Vita* cap *5,* p 487: '... suscepit ilico ... Chlotharius quondam Francorwn regnum, tune etenim prccellentibus principibus Chrodobertho episcopo Parwaco et domno Audoeno seu et Ebroino maiore domus .. .'

-o *Vita* cap 6, p 488: '... cxortantibus bonis sacerdotibus .. .'

i,o **A.** R. Lewis, 'The Dukes in the *Rtgnum FTancorum,* A. D. 550-751', *Speculum* 51 {1976) pp 381-410 **at** 398-9; Sprandel, 'Struktur und Gescbichtc', pp 43-7, 6o-1.

'" *Vita Ertmberti, MGH SSRM 5,* **p** 654. This *Vita* wascomposed c8oo, but its accuracy on this point is accepted by Ewig, 'Teilreiche', p 127.

In Autun, faction-fighting kept the see vacant for two years (probably 660-2)[172] until Balthild took the initiative. She had already provided herself with the man for the job when she su1nmoned to the court a learned, experienced and above all *stren1111s* man from Poitiers-Leudegarius. It is tempting to suggest that Balthild needed a replacement for Genesius in the royal chapel and, probably on Audoenus' advice, sought an 'outstanding teacher of clerics'. His subsequent move from chapel to bishopric replicated that of Genesius. In the short run he proved the wisdom of Balthild's choice by restoring Autun to peace and good govenunent.[173]

Balthild's interventions in Toulouse and Autun evoked little contemporary comment. But the third case involved more con1plications: Genesius's appointn1ent to Lyons followed a violent episode in which his predecessor was killed. According to *Acta* which seem to have a genuinely seventh-century base,[174] bishop Aunemundus and his brother, the prefect of Lyons, were sons of a previous prefect and the family had built up a virtual 1nonopoly of local power through using their influence at the courts of Dagobert and Clovis II. There Aunemundus had had a typically successful career as a lay office-holder before being appointed to Lyons, surely with royal support, about *650* (he baptised the infant Clothar III who was born in that year). But the *Acta* stress envy **in** what sounds like a local context as the cause of Aunemundus' downfall.[175] The bishop and his brother were accused of treason *{infidelitas)* and swnmoned to appear before the boy-king Clothar and the regent Balthild at an assembly at Mareuil, a royal *villa* near Orleans. The brother appeared, was found guilty and executed.

111 *Pa.ssio uudegarii* I, cap 2, p 284.

171 *Ibid* I, caps 2, 3, pp 284-6. See also Riebe, *Ed11cation,* pp 363-4.

17, *Acta sancti Auntmundi, AASS* Sept vii (Brus.scls r76o) pp 744-6. See A. Coville, *Rechnchts [sur l'histoirt de Lyon du Vmt au IXmt siecle)* (Paris 1928) pp 366 *q.*

11, *Alla* p 744:'... nullusque de aliqua *re* ad suurn profeetum quidquam valebat impetrare, nisi sua suggestione (that *is,* Auncmundus's) Clotario tertio principi deporr:iret ... Ideo dum sublimitatis suae gloriam ac brachium vindicaret extentum, nee non et a fratribus cclsior videretur in coetu, cunctis incidit in odium. Qui tractare eum seditiosc coeperunt sub clandcstina accusatione dicentes, quasi regnum ejusdem Clotarii ... cvertere moliretur occulte .. .' Dupraz, *Roya11me,* p 343 n I, and Fischer, *Ebroin,* p 92, both state, citing the *Acta,* that the bishop's accu.scrs were *maiorts natu duusqut.* But what the *Acta* in fact say is that these magnates appeared at the assembly at Mareuil, as one would expect. The *Acta* imply, rather, the identity of accusers and /ratrts-presumably the 'brethren' of the church of Lyons. A few lines later, the *Acta* tell how Auncmundus asked forgiveness from the *fratres* at Lyons for any injuries he had done them, including unfair seizure of their goods. For further evidence of Aunemundus' local power, see below n 181.

When Aunen1undus himself failed to appear, pleading illness, the regentsent *duces* with instructions to bringhim to the royal court and to kill him only if he resisted. On their way there, near Chalon, Aunemundus was n1urdered one night by two armed men whose aetion was deeply regretted by the *duces* themselves.[176] Now the local tradition about these events had got fairly confused by the time the surviving (late-medieval) texts were written.[177] But thecrucial points so far as Balthild is concerned arc, first, that these *Acta* ascribe to her neither the initiative in Aune,nundus' accusation nor *the* responsibility for his death, and second that the identity or gentile origin of Aune-mundus's accusers is not stated. To erect on this basis a theory of a 'Burgundian autono111ist party' who had 'conspired against the Neustrian *palati11n1'* in sharp reaction against Balthild's 'programme of compulsory "union" '[178] is to pile fign1ent on fantasy. We simply know too little about the alleged treason of Aunemundus and his brother and have no indication that any others but these two were involved. It is 111ore likely, I think, that the episode belongs in a context of family or factional rivalries in and around Lyons, and that the accusers of Aune1nundus and his brother wereother local aristocrats, not Neustrian centralists. The whole affair is ren1iniscent of a situation recorded in the *Fassio Praejecti*, where a dispute over land in the Auvergne *between* the bishop of Clern1ont and a local magnate is brought to the king's court and settled, but the royal decision is soon followed by violence on the spot when the bishop is murdered by other local enemies.[179] The interplay, rather than conffict, between royal and aristocratic interests, the circulation of power from court to provinces and back, seem to me as characteristic of Merovingian politics in the *66os* and 670s as in the days of Gregory of Tours. In our Lyons case, anyway, the death of Aune1nundus left the way open for Balthild to appoint Genesius, who not only survived but established a strong base for intervention in the politics of the *regn11111* over the next twenty years.[180]

Unmentioned in any contemporary Frankish source, apparently without repercussions in the history of the *regnum Francor111n*, the

11. *Acta* p 745. The *ducts* had promised the abbot of Luxeuil that Aunemundus would be safe.
1" Coville, *Rtchcrches,* pp 372 *stq.*
11. So, Dupraz, *Royaumc,* pp 3.µ.-4, 352-4; Fischer, *Ebroin,* pp 90-8.
1" *MGH SSRM 5,* caps 23, 24, pp 239-40.
180 Genesius died in 679. For his career, see Coville, *Rtchttch,s,* pp 41(>-21.

Aune1nundus affair might see1n irrelevant to Balthild's reputation. But because the young Wilfrid happened to have established close relations with Aunemundus and to have stayed for three years in Lyons, whence he subsequently acquired so1ne infonnation about the bishop's death, the story was translated in a new 'Wilfridian' version to an Anglo-Saxon literary n1iJieu.[181] Thus, strangely, Balthild who had begun life in England returned there in posthun1ous tradition, not as a saint-but as a 'malevolent queen . . . just like the most impious queen Jezebel'.[182] Eddius may have borrowed the motif from the *Vita Col11n1bani,* but he could equally well have used it independently, for his *Vita Wilfridi* is rich in biblical typology. Jezebel was the obvious type for a queen who persecuted a holy man, and Eddius actually used the same n1otif again later in his work in reference to the 'wicked' queen lurn1inburg, second wife of Ecgfrith of Northumbria and Wilfrid's violent enemy until her later *conversio.*[183] Eddius wrote over half a century after Aunemundus's death, and based his account of it upon Wilfrid's reminiscences. He asserts that the 'evil-wishing queen Balthild' persecuted the church of God; that she had nine bishops put to death ('not counting priests and deacons'!) and one of these was 'bishop Dalfinus' (=Aunen1undus)[184] whom certain dukes had n1ost malignly ordered to come before diem; and that Wilfrid not only was present at the bishop's 'martyrdo1n' but offered himself to the same fate, only to be spared by the dukes when they learnt thar he was 'fro111 overseas, of the English race from Britain'. So, concludes Eddius, Wilfrid, though denied a martyr's palm, was already a confessor-'just likeJohn theapostle and evangelist who sat unharmed inacauldron

•**n** Eddius, *Vila Wi/fridi,* ed Levison, *MGH SSRM* 6, cap 6, p 199; ed (B.] Colgrave, p 14- Bede *H(istoria] E(a/esia.sticagentis Anglorum),* ed [C.]Plummer (Oxford 1896) v, 19, **p** 325. Plummer, vol 2, pp 316-20, established the chronology of Wilfrid's life. During Wilfrid's first visit to Lyonson his way to Rome in 653, the bishop of that city offered hio1 his niece in marriage together with 'a good part of Gaul' *(bona pars Galliarum); Vita* cap *4,* ed Levison, p 197.

lat *Vita Wi/fridi* cap 6, p 199 (Levison). One of the two manuscripts of Eddius gives the reading 'Brunhild' instead of 'Balthild', as do some manuscripts of Bede, *HE:* see Lcvison's comment here p 199113, and Colgrave's, p 154. Colgrave's suggestion **that** this may be **a** reminisce11ce of the Brunhild of the Volsung saga is surely incorrect.

181 *Vita Wi/fridi,* cap 24, p 218 (Levison), p *48* (Colgrave). I am grateful to Joa11 Nicholson for reminding me of Eddius's other Jezebel.

1" Thename 'Dalfinus' is not, as often alleged, evidence ofEddius's inaccuracy. Coville, *RechtrchLS,* pp 381-5,shows that J\unemundus's brother isnot named at allin any early Lyons source, that J\uncrnundus, typically in this period, had two names, and that his second name (Da16nus) was simply 'borrowed' for his brother by Lue medieval reworkers of the story.

of boiling oil .. .'[185] Eddius's ai1n here is not factual reporting,[186] but the establishment of Wilfrid's saintly credentials at an early point in his *Vita*.

Now if we date Aunemundus's death to *66o* with Levison and Ewig,[187] there is clearly a chronological proble1n involved in accepting Eddius's story, for Wilfrid left Lyons, at the latest, in 658.[188] Further the details of place, ti1nc and circun1Stances recorded in the *Acta* (where of course Wilfrid is not 1ncntioned at all) actually contradict those ofEddius's account. Levison observed these discrepancies but left the matter unresolved; while Coville claimed the discrepancies were insignificant and on Eddius's 'authority' dated Aune1nundus' death to 658.[189] I suggest another conclusion, namely, that Wilfrid was not in fact present at Aw1emundus's death, and that Eddius's account therefore derives from information which Wilfrid acquired on one of his subsequent visits to Gaul (or perhaps fro1n some other *peregri1111s)* on which either Eddius or Wilfrid hi.tnself superimposed the tale of Wilfrid's youthful herois1n-satisfying to upholders of Gennanic and monastic values alike.[190] The 1notivation behind this tale need not concern us further, _though Wilfrid's later connexion with Dagobcrt II and Eddius' very hostile attitude to Ebroin[190]• arc no doubt relevant. Here the point is si.tnply that the *Vita Wilfridi*, and Bede who depends on it, while they explain Balthild's otherwise surprising 'bad name in her native country',[191] need not seriously affect our assessment

[18]• *Vita Wiifridi* cap 6, pp 199-200 with n 2 (Levison); p 14(Colgrave, who i,>ive. a possible source of the St John anecdote in the note on *p* 155.)

'" For pertinent views on Eddius's 1nethod, see R. L. Poole, 'St Wilfrid and the see of Ripon', *EHR* 34 (1919) pp 1-22, and H. Mayr-Harting, *The Ccming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London 1972) pp 139 *uq.*

[117] Levison, *Vita Wi!fridi,* pp 163-4; Ewig, 'Teilreiche', p *95.*

[1"] *Vita,* ed Colgrave, pp 14-5; Plu1nmer at p 317 of Bede, *HE,* vol 2.

[11]• Coville, *R«herches,* p 389;also Fischer, *Ebtoin,* pp *95-6.* But thereisa furtherdifficulty in accepting that Wilfrid, if he had really experienced Balthild's malevolence at first hand, could have been consecrated bishop in 664 at the Neustrian royal vilb of Compiegne, by courte.y of Clothar lll and presuntably also Balthild: Bede, *HE* iii, 28, p 194, with Plummer's notes, vol *2,* pp 198, 317.

uo R. Woolf, 'The ideal of men dying with their lord in the *Ctrmania* and in The Battle of Maldon', *Anglo-Saxon England 5* (1976) pp 63-81; Graus, *Heiliger,* pp 63-4, 101.

[10]•• *Vita,* caps 25, 27, 33, pp 21 20. 228 (Levison); *50, 52, 68* (Colgnve). Poole, 'St Wilfrid', pp 4 *stq,*notessomeinaccuracies in Eddius'information on Frankish affairs.

tu Levison, *England,* p 10. Balthild might have been expected to have had a glowing reputation in England, given the close Jinks of Chelles and Jouarre with various English houses: sec A. Lohaus, *Die Merc,winger und England, Miinchner &itragt zur Mediavistik und Rtnais$anct-Forsclumg* (Munich) 1974 pp *53 stq,* and P. Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery in the seventh century', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975) pp 1-10.

of Balthild's regency and, more parricuJarly, of her interventions in local politics and her relations with bishops. Ewig hasseen 'the conflict between Aunemundus and Balthild' as signifying a new development in the Neustro-Burgundian realm: the diocese was changing from an 'area associated with an office' to 'thearea of a lordship' and Balthild, so Ewig i1nplies, was thus engaged in a new struggle against episcopal 'territorial politics'.[192] I have argued, however, that the fate of Aunemundus was the result rather of a localconflictthanofone between centre and province; that Eddius should not be invoked to suggest, as Ewig does, that Aunemundus's case is typical of many others during Balthild's regency; and that the relationship between ruler and *civitas*-politics evident in this case is not a new but a rather traditional one. Evidence of a 'structural change' in the seventh century must be sought elsewhere.

One last aspect of Balthild's dealings with the holy, its custodians and interpreters, remains to be considered: her *Klosterpolitik*.[193] Since the evidence for it begins in *655* and continues throughout the regency, we can fairly assume that she was at least partly responsible for it already as Clovis H's queen. The extant text of the privilege of bishop Landericus for *St* Denis has been tampered with by later forgers, but its genuine parts can be supple1nented by Clovis II's confirmation of *it* which has survived in the original dated 22 June *655*.[194] Clearly the bishop gave up certain rights he had formerly exercised in respect of the monastery: he could no longer exact pay1nent for certain liturgical functions, nor interfere in the disposition of the monastic revenues nor dip into the 1nonascic treasury. What prompted such substantial concessions of wealth and power? Landericus is explicit enough: he grants his privilege 'because the request of the king is for us like a con1mand which it is extremely difficult to resist'.[196] During Balthild's regency this episcopal privilege was complemented by a grant of royal immunity, whereby the king took the monastery under his protection

n• Ewig, 'Milo', pp 430--3. (His terms are *Amtsgebiet, Herrsdulftsgebiet* and *Territorialpolitik.)*

in On what follows, Ewig, 'Klosterpolitik', isfundamenul, as'.also is his • obachtungen zu den Klosterprivilegi<"n des 7. und fruhen 8. Jbdts', *Adel und Kirche. Festschrifi* G. *Tellenb h* (Freiburg 1968) pp *52-65.*

, .. Landericw' privilege: *LJ.* M.) Pardessus, *(Diplomata, Chartat ... et inslrumtnta aetatis MerovingiuieJ,* 2. vols (Paris 1843,9) 2., no 32.0, pp *95-7.* Clovis ll's confirm.ttion: *MGH DD* 1, no *19,* pp 1 .21; facsimile in P. Lauer and C. Samaran,L<s *Diplomes originaux des Merovingims* (Paris 1908} no 6.

ui Pardessus, p *96:•* ... quia supradicti domni Clodovei regis petitio quasi nobis iussio est, cw diflicillimum est resisti'.

and put himsdf under the saint's protection, in return for releasing the monastery from fiscal obligations and other public services, making it 'immune' to theentrance of public officials in the performance of fiscal or judicial functions.[196] What was taking place was a redistribution of resources between three parties, bishop, monastery and king. The bishop's loss was the monastery's gain: so much the privilege made clear. But when at the same time the monastery became an immunist, the king while reallocating the burdens of royal administration could also hope to gain in terms of close, permanent, mutually-beneficial relations with the monastery and 1nore effective control through, for example, royal intervention in abbatial appointments.[197] Finally, and also of vital i1nportancc from theking'sstandpoint, the establishment of the *laus perennis* at St Denis, which Dagobert seems unsuccessfully to have attempted,[198] was achieved in *655* by the introduction there of the *sa11ct11s reg11/aris ordo,* that is, the mixed Benediccine-Columbanan Rule ofLuxeuil.[199] The monks' prayers were the instru1nent by which their royal protector on earth sought the benefits of heavenly protectors: E,vig issurely right to stress the importance 'for thecourt, [of] thecultic-liturgical business of 1nonasticis1n'.[200]

The ne\v arrangements at St Denis not only foreshadowed but provided the model for a whole series of similar ones precisely during Balthild's regency. On the one hand, there were two new foundations: Corbie, founded by Balthild and Clothar ill between 657 and 661 and granted a privilege by the bishop of Amiens in 664 at Balthild's 'pious request',[201] and Chelles, effectively refounded on a royal *villa* where Chrodechild(Clovis's queen) had longago established a little convent of nuns and a church dedicated to St George.[202] For Corbie, Balthild had monks and abbot imported from Luxeuil, for Chelles, nuns and abbess

[1"] For the significance of privilege and immunity, see Levillain, 'Eludes [sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis a l'epoque merovingienne]', *BEC* 87 (1926) pp 21-73. Clothar ID's concession of ianmunity during Balthild's regency is not extant.

[']" Explicitly stated in the privilege of the bishop of Amiens for Corbie, ed Krusch in *NA* 31 (1906) pp 367-72 at p 369:• ... quem unanimiter congregario ipsius monasterii . . . dignum clegerint, data auctoritate a praefato principe vel eius **successoribus.** '

[118] *Fred* cap 79, p *68.*

iu See Prinz, *Monchtum,* pp 105-6, 167-9,and Ian Wood's forthcoming paper, 'A prelude to Columbanus'.

too Ewig, 'Klosterpolitik', pp 112-13.

••• *NA* 31 (19()6) p 367. *Vita Balthildis* cap 7, pp 490-1.

••• *Vita Bald1ildis* cap 7, pp 489-90, cap 18, pp *505-6, Vita Berti/at, MGH SSRM 6,* cap 4, p 104. Chelles' function of prayer for king, queen and *proctrts* is stressed by the dying Balthild herself: *Vita,* cap 12, p *498,* urging the abbess to maintain this

from Jouarre. On the other hand there was the reorganisation of the communal life of old basilicas by the introduction therein of the *sanctus regularis ordo*. The *Vita Balthildis*, remarkably detailed and explicit on this topic, lists the main basilicas and makes it clear that Balthild's actions werecoherent and well-planned-in Ewig'.s word, a 'policy':

> throughout the senior basilicas of the saints, lord Dionisius (St Denis near Paris], lord Germanus (St Germain at Auxerre], and lord Medardus {St Medard at Soissons], and also St Peter (St Pierre-le-Vif at Sens] and lord Anianus (St Aignan at Orleans] and also St Martin [at Tours], and everywhere else that her attention affected, she commanded the bishops and abbots, persuading them for the sake of zeal for God, and directed letters to them to this end, that the brethren settled in these places should live under the holy regular discipline. And in order that they [that is, the brethren) 1night willingly acquiesce, she ordered that a privilege should be granted them, and at the same time she granted them immunities, so that it might please them the better to pray for the mercy of Christ the highest king of all on behalf of the king and for peace.[203]

If we accept Ewig's plausible suggestion that 'everywhere else' probably included St Marcel at Chalon-sur-Saone, St Symphoricn at Autun, St Benigne at Dijon, St Hilary at Poitiers, St Lupus at Troyes and St Sulpicius at Bourges,[2]oathen with the *Vita's* six we have a list of nearly all the major cult-sites of seventh-century Gau.I. Brunhild had cultivated St Martin's patronage and Dagobert St Denis's. But Balthild was mobilising a whole regiment of saints, enlisting the forces of the holy in every *civitas*. Perhaps still more confidence-inspiring was the placing of such forces right within the *palatium* itself: Clovis II (at Balthild's instigation?) had appropriated the arm of St Denis for the palace-oratory, outraging the monks thus deprived;[205] and it may well have been Balthild herself who acquired St Martin's *cappa* for the royal relic-collection[200] (it isfirst docutnented there in 679)Z07 though in

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'consuctudo, ut ipsa domus Dei bonam famam, quam coepcrat, non amitteret. sed ampliu.s scmpcr in affectu caritatis cum omnibus amicis . . • pcrrnancrct in dilectione . . .'

..,,*Vita* cap *9,* pp 493-4.

,., 'Klo.ierpolitilc', p III. with n 43. Baldtild's generosity to **a** group of Norman monasteries in the diocese of Rouen, to Luxcuil and 'the other monasteries of Burgundy', to Jouarrc and Faremoutiers, and to the mona.ieries of Paris itself is stressed in *Vita* cap 8, pp 493-4. listing forests, *vii/at* and *pecunia innumerabilis.*

••• *LHF* cap 44, p 316. **tat** So, Ewig, 'Klostcrpolitik', p 112.

[181] *MGH*DDno 49, p 45.

this case no opposition is recorded. Thus in the burial-places of the royal dead[208] and in the home-base of the living king, direct contacts were made between the Merovingian family and the sources of supernatural power-contacts which superimposed new centripetal forces on a previously localised field.

Playing for such high stakes, Balthild knew the risks she ran. Not every bishop was enthused by the new monasticism; and even if a bishop happily granted privileges to his own new foundation in the countryside, it would be naive to assume that he granted the same privileges equally gladly to the ancient basilica on his own doorstep in or by the city.[209] I a1n struck by the documents' emphasis on the bishop'seconomic loss,especially the renunciation by bishop Landericus of what was evidently an existing practice of carrying off from the monastery and into the city gold and silver bullion and cash \vhich had been placed in the monastcry.[210] The bishop of A1niens expressly renounced the same practice in the Corbie privilege,[211] but in his case the profit or loss was hypothetical. The bishops of Paris, Auxerre, Soissons and the rest n1ust have faced a real loss of resources. The *Vita Balthildis* gives no hint of any compensation. For the brethren who served the basilicas, on the other hand, the new obligations Balthild laid on then1 ,verc offset by new 'freedoms' which included financial incentives.[212] Balthild's policy then, might have been expected **to** arouse opposition, if anywhere, fron1 bishops, which would 1nake royal control of episcopal appointments all the more essential. Perhaps it is in this context that Balthild's 'fall' should be understood. Sigo-brand, presumably her appointee to the sec of Paris, alienated some powerful aristocrats by his *superbia:*[213] was he trying to recoup some of the losses his see had suffered because of his predecessor Landericus's enforced concessions to St Denis? Did the 'con1motion' which caused

••• Their significance is indicated by Ewig, 'Residence', pp 48-52.

••• Ewig, 'Klosterpolitik', p 109, rightly stresses that bishops might perceive Balthild's demands as 'an unhcard-<.>f imposition'.

*'9 *MGH* DD **1**, no 19, p 20.

•n *NA* 31 (1906) p *369*. The broader economic context which these references hint at cannot be discussed here. But for some archaeological 2nd artistic evidence that might suggest continuing Neustrian prosperity, sec Maille, *Jouaru*, pp 112-14, p 2o6 *seq.* and for other evidence, F. Vercauteren, 'La vie urbaine entre Meuse et Loire du Vie au !Xe si cle', in *SS Spoleto 6*, ii (1959) pp 453-84 at 478--9.

s,• *Vita BaltJ1i/dis* c.tp *9*, pp 493-4, (quoted above) suggests that the induccnients to the *fratres* were well-planned: '... ut hoc libenter adquiescerent, privilegiu1n cis fim1are i=it (!],vcl etiam emunitates conccssit, 111 melius eis delectarer pro rege... exorarc'.

na Above p 23, and n 116.

Sigobrand's death signify the limits set by aristocratic interests to Balthild's policy in a situation of fierce co1npetition for scarce resources (especially around Paris)? Balthild's wealth was clearly vast, both in treasure and in land; but had she enough to sustain lavish generosity to monasteries all over Neustria and Burgundy and at the same time to maintain bishops in their powerful yet dependent positions as lynchpins of royal govern1nent? In the event, the pre-cariousness of her position as n1ere regent wasexposed, and those whom *she* had 'sweetly nurtured' in the palace-including, probably, Ebroin -decided to dispense with her. Personal bonds held only so long as they were reinforced by real or prospective benefits. Balthild's regime had not been anti-aristocratic, nor, if she had gained prestige, had she done so at the aristocracy's e>q>ense; but their benefits were not apparent. With deadly accurate irony, the 'princes', according to Balthild's hagiographer, now 'suddenly permitted her'[214] to retire to Chelles which she had so richly endowed. There she died, perhaps in 680, after fifteen years of exemplary humility in the convent;[215] there she soon found her hagiographer and there her n1e1nory was kept green and her cult defended against the sceptical.[216]

Balthild had atten1pted, as Ewig observes, 'a structural change in the Merovingian church'.[217] But this could not fail to have consequences also for non-ecclesiastical policies. To be sure of tliis, we need only recall the implications of the Carolingians' *Reichskirche* for their \vhole poLtical position, especially in the ninth century when royal exploita-tion of the church's resources replaced, to a significant extent, an eroded secular power-base.[218] Ewig thinks that Balthild's fall made her attempted 'structural change' quite abortive.[219] I am not so sure. True, we lack tile evidence which might show whether or not a Childeric II

•t< Above *ibid*, and p 22 n 113. The role of the *sacerdotes* at this point isinteresting: they intervene, not to save Balthild but to re-establish peace between her and the *se11iores* and thus to nip in the bud her *non modica querela* (feud ?) against them. The implication is that she might have pursued the quarrel even in 'retirement'.

11• For the date, sec Krusch's introduction to the *Vita*, p 476. In describing Balthild's convent years, her hagiographer lavishly deploys the motifs of female asceticism:the influence of Venantius' *Vita Radeg,mdis* is clear, and we are assured no less than thrice that Balthild was an *exemplum humilitatis* (caps 11, 12, 16, pp 496, 498, 502).

11• Their exutcnce must be inferred from the reference in the *Vita* cap 1, p 482 to *detractores.* In caps I 8-9, pp *505-7,* the hagiographer tries to establish Balthild's saintly credentials by setting her in a line of holy queens: Chrodechild, Ultrogotba and Radegund.

111 'Klostcrpolitik', p 113.

111 Sec C. -R. Brilhl, *Fodrum, Cistum, &rvitium Regis* (Cologne 1968) pp 50 *seq.*

tit 'Klosterpolirik', p u3.

or evena Theuderic Ill landed himself and hiscourt more often than his predecessors had done on the hospitality of n1onastic communities, or used monastic lands to reward trusty ,varriors, or dipped into1nonastic treasuries ,vhen need arose. We do know, however, that towards the end of the seventh century, there were 'organisational co1u1exions' between Corbie and the royal chancery[220] and that there weresimilarly close and continuous links betv,een the ruling dynasty and both St Denis[221] and Chelies.[222] After Balthild, there were still powerful Merovingians-the more powerful, I suggest, because of ,vhat she had done. The real threat *to* such rulers was not bad blood but assassination. Against that the only remedy in the early middle ages, so the Carolingians' experience in1plies, was the dynastic prestige that can1e of contact with supernatural power. Precisely that contact was what Balthild had effected so forcefully. Ilut it took time and a 1nore thorough Christianisation of Frankish society for sentiments of legitimacy to grow, and so the Carolingians reaped what Balthild had so,V11. **It** was apt enough, therefore, that in the time of Louis the Pious, the abbess ofChelles, who was also the emperor's mother-in-law, staged in the imperial presence a splendid *translatio* of Balthild's ren1ains into a fine new church dedicated to the arch-protectress, the Virgin.[223] £wig's clain1 that 'not constitutional or political but religious aspects primarily determined (Balthild's] aetions'[224] seems to me in one sense a truisn1, in another 1nisleading. For those 'religious' aspects were at one and the saine time politicaJ: to appropriate relics, to commandeer prayers, to pressurise bishops, to make dependents and allies of urban as *well* as rural monastic communities-all this was to gain po,ver at once this-worldly and other-worldly. Balthild's tenure of that power was brief, partly, at least, because of the inherent weakness of her position as a mere regent, a married-in wo1nan. But in terms of what she attempted, she 1nust be judged a rarely gifted and creative early 1nedieval politician.

In sketching the careers of Brunl1ild and Balthild, I have cried to grasp both the fortuitous and the significant in their reputations as 'Jezebels'. I have therefore had to consider some aspects of royal po\ver

[22]• Sec Prinz, *Mcnc/Jtum,* p 174 and works cited there, n 114.

[11] Ewig, 'Residence' p 52; Levi!Ltin, '.Etudcs', *BEG* 87 (1926) pp 21-73 and 91 (1930) pp 1-65.

•[11] B.Bischoff, 'Die Koiner Nonnenhandscbriften und das Skriptorium von Chelles', *MSm,* 2 vols (1966) I, pp 16 *seq* at 26--7.

tu *Translatio Baltltildis, MGH SS* 15, pp 284-5.

''' 'Klosterpolitik', p 113.

and of its interrelations with what in the sixth and seventh centuries was believed to be the power of the holy. Though we in the twentieth century tend to place these two types of power in separate compart-1nents, it is precisely their interrelations which make for some fundamental continuities in the Merovingian period. If it is hard to make 'a clear distinction between religion and politics'[225] in establishing the motivations of Brunhild, Balthild and their contemporaries, per-haps, without discarding useful categories, rather than seeking lines of division, we should look for points of intersection and ask how far we can understand the religious *as* political, and vice versa, in the Merovingian world. It is in the changing location of such points of intersection that we can find evolution, and a kind of dialectic. In the sixth century, there are important cult-sites mainly in *civitates*, in which royal and episcopal power mutually reinforce each other, in the early seventh century, land-based aristocratic power creates new religious centres in the countryside; and in the mid-seventh century royal power is redefined and extended (in intent, at least) in relation to rural as well as urban centres. Thus from the activities of Brunhild and Balthild, which serve so conveniently to identify two of these three phases, we can make some useful inferences about the modes of Merovingian royal power and its adaptation, by means of new religious forms, to economic and social changes.

Can \Ve also make any useful inferences about women, or about royal won1en, in the sixth and seventh centuries? There is no si1nple answer. In comparing her position \Vith that of a female aristocrat, we observed the queen's special character. And while her position had its disadvantages these are hard to attribute specifically to her femininity. The weakness of ineligibility for kingship she shared with all non-Merovingian n1en; that of the non-institutionalisation of her power, with even very powerful male conten1poraries, including 1nayors of the palace. A queen who possessed the right personal qualities could command the loyalty of warriors, and if, as a woman, she could not wield armed force herself, she could direct armies in a strategic sense. Wallace-Hadrill once asked how women could have prosecuted a

"" *Ibid*, where Ewig himself recognises the problem.

feud except by using hired assassins;[226] but I have suggested that her grandson's can1paign against Clothar II may have been instigated by Brunhild precisely to prosecute her feud against the son of Fredegund. Balthild, on the other hand, used her power most effectively without recourse to armed force. All this prompts the question of whether the exercise in person of comnund on battlefields was always so indispensable a function of successful early medieval rulership asis usually assumed. Perhaps even a seventh-century Merovingian queen, like a Byzantine en1peror (or, in the eighth-century, an empress)[227] or most modern rulers, could either like Brunhild have her battles fought for her, or like Balthild use political asan alternative to military action.

Our discussion of these two queens' careers has indicated, less the alleged drav,backs of a woman's position than a kind of strength inherent precisely in its domestic location. A king might win or confirm h.is power on the battlefield, but he exercised it in the hall, and this we haveseen to be the prime area of the queen'sactivity. Here in the royal *Ja111ilia* the distribution of food, clothing, charity, the nurturing of the *iuvenes*, the nuintenance of friendly relationsbet,veen the *principes*, the respectful reception of bishops and foreign visitors: all fell to the queen's responsibility. Thus the organisation of the household, the woman's sphere, became a political function in the case of the *a11la regis*. The centrality of *Hausherrschaft* to early 1nedieval kingship has long been recognised.[226] But its implications for the queen's position, perhaps less clearly appreciated hitherto, have emerged in strikingly similar ways in both Brunhild's and Balthild's careers: Bruohild braves even Columbanus's wrath to preserve all the *dig11itates* and *honor* that only control of the *au/a regis* has given her, while Balthild n1akes the *palatiu111* herpower-house as long as she controls the network of friendships and clientage that radiates fro1n it. In so far as later Merovingians re111ained powerful, it was their activity in the palace that nude the111 so. Wallace-Hadrill lists the judgements, the confinnations, the arbitrations, the confiscations and the exemptions which had been, and in the late Merovingian period remained, the peaceti1ne functions of kingship.[229] In all these queens could be active too:

[1"] *Lo11g-Haired Kings,* p r *JS,* Men, including kings, used assassins sometimes: Gregory and Fredcgar give several examples.

... See Sir Steven Runciman's paper in *Medieval Won1en.ed.* D. Baker (Oxford I978).

'" W. Schlesinger, *Beitrilge zur de11tsche11 Verfass1111gsge,chichu des Mittelalttrs* (Gottingen 1963) 1, pp *9 seq,* partly translated in F. L. Chcyette, *Lordship and Community in Medieval &,rope* (New York 1968) pp 64 *seq.*

[12]. *Long-Haired Kings,* pp 237-8.

Brunhild ransomed captives.[230] Balthild remitted taxcs,[231] and behind the dry *diplomata* how often can a queen's influence be suspected? Praejectus owed to Himnechild the favourable outco1ne of his land-dispute.[232] Indeed episcopal *Stadtherrschaft*, and the whole complex of relations between bishops and rulers, need to be linked to the *Haushe"-scheft* of kings and queens. When Chilperic sought the support of one bishop against another 'traitorous' one, the whole exercise was con-ducted through face-to-face contact in the palace; and though the king's first move was a threat to sabotage the bishop's local power-base in his own *civitas,* hissecond was a conciliatory offer of an alfresco snack of specially-cooked chicken and pea soup.[233] If banquets still play an important role in modern diplo111acy, how n1uch the more useful instruments were food-prestationsand commensality to an early medieval king. The distinction between public and private action becomes redundant in the context of the royal hall. All this explains why in the case of a queen, do1nestic power could mean political power.[134] Their realisation and effective exploitation of this possibility go far to explain the achievements ofBrunhild and Balthild.

But in the end, it isnot just asfemale but as royal figures that the pair have commanded our attention. That both were able to function as regents at all is significant. In no other early medieval kingdom did queen regents recurrently rule as they did in the late sixth- and seventh-century *regnun1 Francorum.*[280] It could be argued that such regencies are symptomatic of aristocratic power. For whereas elective monarchy tends to produce a sequence of mature kings who 1nay consolidate royal power at the expense of their magnates (and even of

"" Paulus Diaco11us, *Historia 1.Angobardorum* iv, 1, *MCH SSRL,* p 116.

"' *Vita* cap *6,* p -488; the capitation-tax had apparently been c;,using parents to prefer infanticide to rearing offspring, so Balthild by removing the *impia consuet11do* also removed the inducement to an impious crime. Her financial loss would of course be compensated by **a** *copiosa mtrces* of a heavenly kind.

-o *Passio Praejecti* cap 24, *MCH SSRM* 5, p 239-40,

su *LH* v, 18, pp 219-20.

o- This equation, and its relevance to the queen's position, was made explicitly by Hincmar in reference to ninth-century *palatium* organisation, in his *Dt O,dint Palatii* cap 22, *MCH Capit* 2, p 525: 'De bonestate vero palatii seu spccialiter omamcnto regali necnon ct *de donis annuis mi/itum* . .• ad reginan1 praecipuc ct sub ipsa ad camerariurn pertinebat'. Thus the king could be freed 'ab omni sollicitudinc *domtstica vel pawtina'* to turn !tis mind to the *starus regnil* He.re again, Carolingian arrangements show continuity with Mcrovingian.

"' The contrast with seventh-century England was noted by Wallacc-Hadrill, Early *Germanic Kingsl,ip* ill *England and on the Continmt* (Oxford 1971) p 92.

many magnates' lives)[2] , hereditary monarchy, with son(s) succeeding father, though it may exclude princes who had hitherto been eligible, in practice ensures that there will be minorities during which those princes and other magnates can collaborate ,vith the queen-mother in ruling the kingdom. On this view the regimes ofBrunhild and Balthild would represent the product of aristocratic interests. But the very fact that those interests are centred still on the royal *palatium* suggests that our queens' regencies are also symptomatic of dynastic strength. The long-tertn Merovingian monopoly of Frankish kingship should be explained primarily in ternlS of concentrationsof monarchic power from Clovis to Sigibert and Chilperic, and during the reigns of Clothar II and Dagobert, and only secondarily in ternlS of aristocratic reactions to that power. If magnates exploited n1inoricies, they did not create the conditions for them: filial succession becan1e normal as a consequence of the activity and the will of kings.

The careers of Brunhild and Balthild, therefore, highlight the Mcrovingians' monopoly of kingship, as well as some of the modes and potential resources of royal government in the Frankish realm which made that monopoly possible and conditioned its operation in practice. The extent of these queens' political success thus helps confirm what the work of Ewig and others have shown of the fundamental structures of Merovingian politics in *palatiu,11* and *civitas.* At the same time, Brunhild and Balthild focus our attention on the ebb and flow of power through those structures, on the dynamic relationships and the personalities that shaped the course of Merovingian history. Both queens, acting in areas of life dominated by men, were depicted as having masculine traits: Brunhild defied a posse of anned enemies viriliter[237]-'like a man'-while to Balthild was attributed that most manly of *virtues-strenuitas.*[233] Each ruled like a Merovingian, with a Merovingian's authority. Each earned the ill-name of 'Jezebel' in certain quarters not because female rulership was seen as a monstrous incongruity but because these particular rulers in the exercise of their

[1"] For the spectacular bloodbath following the ac=ion of the Visigothic king Cbindaswinth in 641, see *Fred* cap 82, pp 69-70. On the differing consequences of indeterminate and hereditary father-son succession, see Goody, *Succession,* pp *29 uq;* compare also the remarks of Pauline Stafford, below pp 7!>-100. I am grateful to John Gillingham for discumon of this point.

[211] *LH* vi, 4, p 268.

[•11] *LHF* cap 43, p 315:' ... pulchram omnique ingen.io *strenuam'*. Compare *Vita &rtilae* cap 4, *MCH SSRM 6,* p 104: '[Baltcchildis) ... *virilitu* gubcmabat palatium'.

power offended particular influential men. If we want to redress the gross unfairness of their posthumous reputations, *we* shall do *them* less than justice to consider them *only* as women. Like their contemporary fe1nale saints![39]-or like any climber of the Matterhorn-they are distinguished as *hotnines:* as human beings.

tu See the evidence assembled by Kurth, *&,des Franques,* 1, pp 161-7, for women *homints* in Merovingian texts.

ON THE UMITS OF THE CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE[1]

EINHARD tells us that Charlemagne had a special liking for 'those books of St Augustine called *The City of God*'.[2] If only he had told us why. Did Charlemagne demand readingsfrom book .5 on the happy Christian emperors?[3] Or was he, as Ladner suggests, particularly attracted by 'the idea of a society embracing earth and heaven, a society which a man could join through personal renewal'? If Ladner is right, then, he tells us, we should talk not of a Carolingian renaissance-'secondary classicising features notwithstanding'-but ofaCarolingian ref\)rm 'asjust one phase in the unfolding history of the realisation'of the Reform idea in Christian history' and specifically 'an attempt to recreate the religious culture of the fourth and fifth centuries'.' But *is* Ladner.right about Charlemagne? I have n1y doubts: perhaps what he really enjoyed most was book 22's meaty chapter on the resurrection of the flesh or its rattling good miracle-story.

Of co . itis possible to insist on the primary quality of those 'classicising features', yet still deny that there was a Carolingian renaissance. Le Goff has done so precisely because of the lack of creativity in Carolingian culture: 'peut-il y avoir une renaissance avare?'& Schramm rejected the biological metaphor of birth and growth as; quite simply, inappropriate to what was happening in Charlemagne's time,[8] apparently discounting the metaphor's Caro-

' The wording of my title isa delibe1ate echo of [H.) LiebescliUtz, 'We,cn und Gren.zen [des karolingischen Rationalismus}', in *A(rchiv)* ffilr] *K(ultur]g[tschichte]*. 33 (Berlin 1950) pp 17 *s,q,* and [H.} Lowe, 'Von den Grenzen (des Kaisergedank.ens in der Karolinge=it)', in *DA*, 14 (1958) pp 345 *s,q.*

• J/li1a) *K(aroli* Magni), ed 0. Holder-Egger, ,WGH *SRG* (1911) cap 24, p 29.

• AJ implied by (J.M.) Wallace-Hadrill, *(Early* Germanic) *Kingship* [in *&gland and on* ***tllt*** Continent) (Oxford 1971) p 104. Compare H. X. Arquilliere, *L'a11gusti11i,_ politiqut* (2 ed **Paris**·1955) cap iv, esp pp 164, 196.

[1] (G.) Ladner, 'Die mittelalrerliche Refonn-ldee und ihr Verhaltnis zur Renaissance', in *MIOG* 6o (Vienna 1952) p 54 with n 109.

[1] [J.) Le Golf, *Lts lnttll,ctuels au Mayen Age* (Paris 1969) p 1-4.

[1] (P. E.) Schramm, K{ais,r,J *K(6nigt undJ P[apste)* (Stuttgart 1968) 1, pp 27 *seq* and esp 36 *s,q.*E. Patzelt, *Dit ltarolingischt Renaissan«* (Berlin 1923, reprGraz 1965) also rejected the· notion of a renaissance under Charlemagne but on other grounds. Schramm dlmwses this book too glibly: though many of her arguments must be abandoned

lingian currency and ignoring too the fact that concepts of rebirth and renewal were then, as often in Christian history, intimately linked and even interchangeable[7] (for metaphor after ail need follow neither logical nor biological rules). It is not difficult to resist Schramm's appeal that we abandon this renaissance in favour of a bloodless *correctio*[8] Far more seductive is Riche's suggestion, on the very last page of *Education et Culture* after pages of proliferating renaissances in the seventh and eighth centuries, that there were two Carolingian renaissances-one in Charlemagne's time and another 'true' onein theninth century•. But we should resist any temptation thus to split up a single continuous historical process, intelligible only as such. Let us for the moment accept at least Lehmann's minimal definition of the Carolingian renaissance as 'a rebirth of studies-especially the Latin language and the writings of classical Ron1e'.[10] In this sense, the deliberate historiographical evocation of the fourteenth-sixteenth century renaissance seems perfectly acceptable. But the question of whether or not the Carolingian renaissance, like the later one, had broader dimensions than this cannot be evaded:[11] it is indeed implicit in the quest for limits.

Three characteristics of early medieval Christian mentality conditioned Carolingian concepts of rebirth in such a way that this renaissance amounted to more than simply 'a rebirth of studies' yet at the

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in the light of subsequent research, Patzelt was in my view correct in emplusuing continuities between the Merovingian and Carolingian periods. But she gave no consideration 10 law.

' See J. Trier, 'Zur Vorgeschichte des Rcnai>sance-Begrilfes', in *A.KG*, 33 (1950) pp 45 *seq,* and 'Wiederwuchs', *A.KG* 43 (1961) pp 177 *seq.* For further references and a fine analysis of the concepts involved here, sec the indispensable work of Lldner, Tht *ltko of Reform* (rev ed New York 1967) and the same author's very useful summary in *RAC* 6 (1966) cols 2.40 *stq* under 'Erneuerung'. In 'Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: a comparison of their concepts of renewal', in *Viator,* 4 (Bezkeley 1973) pp I *stq* at pp 24-5, Lldner has some in.eresting comments on the Carolingian renaissance, expanding the few scanered remarks in *The ldta of Reform,* and promising a full1rea1men1 of this subject in a forthcoming book, now eagerly awaited.

[8] Schramm'• main reason for preferring this term was chat it expressed the *actio* of Charlemagne himsel£ The false assumption here *is* that the 'biological' birth-process in the case of human beings excludes a.-,y positive exercise of the will. Could Schramm no1have cast Charlemagne in the metaphoric.11 role, if not of mother, then of midwife?

• (P.J Riche, *Ed11ca1ion* (ti *,11/lurt dam /'Occident barbare]* (J ed Paris r973) p 552.

[10] P. Lehmann, 'Das Problem der karolingischen Renaissance', in *SS* Spoleto 1 (1954) pp 309 *stq.*

[11] 1 omit any consideration of the political aspects of Carolingian imperial *rtuov<tlio,* on wbich see Schramm, *Kaistr, Rom und Renovatio* (Leipzig 1929) and *KKP,* r pp 21*S stq,* and Lowe, 'Von den Grenzen'.

same time was relatively restricted both in intention and in effect. First, the Carolingian scholars who operated with these concepts did so within the framework of clerical culture: *eruditio* was to be reborn in order to serve and promote the ends of Christian *sapientia* as determined by a tiny elite of clergy and monks.[11] Lay involvement was inevitably passive and at second hand. Second, the habit of thinking of these same scholars-as, it seems, of their illiterate contemporaries -was typological. Just as the old testament was fulfilled in the new, so antiquity was reborn or renewed in christendom: *nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas.*[13] Like Marx's *Aufhebung*, Carolingian ideas of rebirth transcended any crude polarisation of 'conservative' and 'revolutionary'. Carolingian scholars perceived their present as fully continuous with the Roman, and especially the Christian-Roman, past. This sense of continuity through renewal presents, I think, a noteworthy contrast to the renaissance ideologies of the fifteenth/sixteenth and, in some degree, even the twelfth centuries. Historians prone to emphasising the alleged novelties of the Carolingian age should at least consider the i1nplications of re-viewing it in Carolingian perspective. Third, and perhaps especially in this period of Christian expansion, the rebirth metaphor could have reference to baptism, the *sacranrentum regenerationis* through which a person is reborn into the church.[1'] In this case, the rebirth, being a personal matter, could be interpreted more **dir-**ectly in terms of prevailing notions of community. I shall return to this point below.

The distinct yet related ideas of individual and social or institutional rebirth[16] have not been neglected by Ullmann, whose great merit in *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* has been to seek to locate the rebirth of scholarship in the context of Carolingian society.

UCon1pare W. Edelstein, *Eruditio rmd Sapitntia. Wtltbild und Erzlthung in tkr Karolingtruit* (Freiburg i. Breisgau 1965) *pa5Sim*,esp pp 22and 85n 35, some penetrating criticisms of J. Fleckenstein, *Die Bildungsreform Karls tks Grossen als Verwirklichung dtr 'norma rtctitudinis'* (Bigge-Ruhr 1953).

[11] This phrase fro,n the *Ub,i Caro/ini* fonns the title of a remarkable book by (E.) Dahlhaus-Betg, *Kolntr Historisc/,r Abh,* 23 (Cologne 1975) with pp *JS s,q* esp relevant in the present context.

,. F-or the immediate liturgical situation, see Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova Antiquitas,* pp *94 seq* and for the wider background, (W.J Ulhnaun, (The) *Qarolingian) R(tnaissantt and tht Idea of Kingship)* (London 1969) pp 6 *seq* withadditional references on p 191, to which should be added the baptismal liturgy itself, as in, for example, J. 01.-shusses, *U utram,ntairt grtgoritn, SpicFr* 16 (1971) no 1086, p 379: 'Deus ... quite regeneravit .. .' Still valuable is **(K.)** Burdach, *Reformation, (Rtnmssane<, Humanismus]* (Berlin 1918) esp pp 37 ***stq.***

"The distinction was drawn by Lidnet, 'Emcueiung', col *262.*

'What I fail to understand', he writes,• ... is how there could be a literary and cultural movement . . . floating in a vacuum, and having no links with the society surrounding it'.[1]• What Ullmann argues, if I read him correctly, is that in the 'totalitarian' world of this medieval Christian society, personal renewal implies institutional renewal: those same Christian norans which applied to the baptised individual were, he suggests, applied quite naturally to society as a whole. 'The effect which this Carolingian renaissance in the social sense was to produce in the public field was a "baptism" on the largest conceivable scale'. To the question of how this was achieved. Ulhnann answers: by the absorption of 'ecclesiology ... into the governmental system itself'. For, 'just as the individual, through the juristic effects of baptism was incorporated in, or absorbed by, the Church, in the sa1ne way the component groups of Frankish society were absorbed within the corporative union of the Church'. Ullmann goes on to argue that the major instrument of his social and governmental renaissance was 'the law applicable to the whole of Frankish society'; and in subsequent parts of the book, he attempts to show how Carolingian legislation aimed at the suppression of 'Frankish or Germanic or any other naturally grown habits and usages' by *'the* laws of God'. Ullmann's novel approach seems to *me* to focus upon a vital question, and his concern with law points to a fit1itful source of answers. In what follows, however, viewing *the* problem from a different stand-point and Carolingian law in a different perspective, I reach son1e different conclusions.

I begin, I confess, with a nagging doubt as to whether in the Carolingian period individual Christian renewal was so significant an ideological then1e as to in1ply social renewal either in theory or practice. Ullmann rightly asks: 'arecultural phenomena not at all times inti1nately and indissolubly linked with society?'[17] Yes indeed, but the links may be co1nplex and indirect, as, for instance, when a cultural renaissance occurs in a time of social and political disintegration: scholars have somctianes been known to inhabit ivory to\vers. Moreover, the institutionalisation of govem1nental ideas n1ay be 111ore or less com-plete, or scarcely realised at all. In any given case, *we* need to know what institutions are available[18] and how far these are functionally

[1]• *CR,* p *5.* My further quotations arc from pp 8, 9, 11 and 22 of chc umc work.

[17] *CR* p *5.*

[11] Their importance in relation to law *is* strcss,,d by E. Forstbolf, 'Zur Problcmatilt dcr RcchtSttneucrung', in *Natu"tdil odtr Rtchtspo,ilivismus?,* ed W. Maihofcr (Oarmotadt 1966) pp 83 q.

autonomous with respect to other social phenomena. In the present case, we have to ask whether Charlemagne and his church (including both clerical and monastic orders) were really in a position to seek, let alone effect, 'the transformation of contemporary society in accordance with the doctrinal and dogmatic notions of Christianity, as it was seen in patristic lore'.[19] I am enough of a traditionalist to claim that the renaissance-idea of the Carolingian period had rather severe limits. I shall now try to delineate some of them, limiting myself first to the area of law.•[0]

If rebirth and renewal ideas were used fairly often by Carolingian writers in reference to learning and religious culture, they were scarcely ever applied to law.[11] What did occasionally appear were notions of emending or correcting the law.[21] Now these terms are certainly found in the vocabulary of Christian renewal ideology. But it was not from thence that they were brought to bear on Carolingian law. Rather, we have here to deal with two other sources, both legal and both of directly political relevance. First, the idea that a monarch's fw1ction was to codify and correct the law of his people stems from late Roman practice as transmitted through the sub-Roman successor-kingdoms.[23] The creation of Charlemagne's empire, in gaining direct access to the lively Roman-legal traditions of Lombard Italy and Visigothic Spain to some extent revived this influence.[2,] Thus when Charlemagne stated his desire to ren1edy defects in the law, he followed in the footsteps of Rothari and Recceswinth.[25] Church

u Ullmann, *CR,* p 7.

"In arguing that law was an integral part of this renaissance, Ullmann, *CR*, though on somewhat different premises, cakes the sa01e view as (f.) Heer, 'Die "Renawancc"-Ideologie [im frtihercn Mittelalter)', In *MIOG,* 57 (1949) pp 48-9.

t1 Heer, 'Die "Renaissance"-ldeologie', p 49, on 67 :1.nd *69,* cites two poetic examples. I am aware of two other references to *leg ,m,wart:* Cachwulf, *MGH Epp* **4**, **p** so, and the mid-ninth century *Vita Ltlm/11/ Antiqua*, *MGH SS* 30, p 793, referring to the assemblies of the cighth-cenrury Saxons: 'renovabant lcgcs Cl praecipuas causas adiudicabanl'. For the late classical background to this idea, see Ladner, 'Eroeucrung', col 263.

11 For example Einhard, *VK* cap 29, p 33; *MGH Cap* 1, 110 33, p 92. But such expressions remained uncommon: sec (G.) Kobler, [Das) *Recht* (im *(riihen Mitttlalttr) Fo,schungm zur dtt1tschat Rtchtsgtschichtt* 7 (Cologne 1971) p 225.

•• (E.J Ewig, '(Zu1n christlichen) Konigsgedanken [im Frilhmittelal1cr)', in *Das Konigtum. Vortriigt und Forschungtn* 3 (Konstanz 1956) pp 32 *stq;* Wallace-Hadrill, (The) *Long-hairtd Kings* (London 1962) **pp** 37 *stq*, and *Kingship*, pp 32 *uq.*

"'For Italy, sec below pp 55-Q with n 33; for Visigothic law in the Carolingian realms, sec Ullmann, *CR,* p 81 with n 2.

"'*Edictum Rothari*, cd f. Beyerlc, *Dit tzt tkr I.angobartkn* (Weimar 1947) prologue, p 16; 1.eovigild: Isidore, *Histo,ia Gothorum*, cap 5, *MGH CM* 2, p 288;

councils of the sixth and seventh centuries had also adopted the emendation ternunology of Roman law,[2]· but such ecclesiastical models were, I think, of only secondary importance to a Carolingian practice representing continuity with the earlier gentile ***regna,*** and not so1nething peculiar to the Carolingian renaissance.

Second, Charlemagne also inherited a specifically Frankish tradition of hege1nonial imperialism enshrined **in** the laws issued by successive Merovingian kings for the *gentes* over whom they held sway.[21] Charlemagne was too shrewd to neglect so politically-useful a legacy: his n1ental sustenance included, after all, alongside Augustine's books, talcs of the deeds of his predecessors. [28] Einhard seenis to imply a causal link between Charlemagne's reception of the *i1nperiale nomen* and his concern with gentile legislation.[29] But why assume merely Roman in1perial influence here?[3]° Charlemagne 1nay have been at least as strongly imbued with a non-Roman in1perial idea. He attempted no 1nore than had those Merovingians who 'added to the laws what had *to* be added ... n1odified them in accordance with the *lex christia11oru111* ... and gave a written law to each *gens'*. The words are those, not of any representative of the Carolingian

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Recccswintb: *UX Visigothorum Rtet.* I, 1, *9,* MGH *Leg* 1, 1, p 40, and Erwig, *ibid* 2, 1, **1**, p 45. Contparc Clothar ll's *Edictu111*, ,WGH *Cap* 1, no 9, p 20. The ultimate model W•• the preface to Justinian's Nov vii, referring to one Jaw 'quae priores omne, et renovet et emendet et quod dcest adiciat et quod supcrfluum est abscidiat'.

•• Kobler, *Ruht,* pp 21 *S stq.*

., For interpretations along these lines, compare Wallace-Hadrill, *Long--hairtd Kings,* pp 213-14, and 'A background to St Boniface's mission', in *Early Medieval History* (Oxford 1975) p 139; and H. Wolfram, 'The shoping of. the early ,nedieval principality', in *Vin111r, z* (1971) **p** *45.* On the 'Rome-frcc imperial idea', C. Erdmann, *Forich1111get1 zur politiuhen ldeenwtlt des Frulm,itt,/a/ttrs* (Berlin 1951) esp pp 22 ***seq*** remains fundamc11tal. See now also E. E. Stengel, *Ab/1andlw1gen und Untersr,chungen .,.,,,,. Gescltticht, des Kaisrrgedanke,u im Mitttlalter* (Cologne 1965) pp 26o *seq,* 289 *seq,* and Schra.r1tm, *KKP,* 1, pp 250 *stq,* both of whom, however, underestimate the significance of prc--Carolingian gentile-unperial idea,. Lowe, 'Von Tbeoderich dem Grossen zu Karl den, Gro$$en', in *DA,* 9 (1952) pp 367, n 54 and 383 *seq* provides **a** valuable corrective, though he has relatively little to y on Merovingian sources. l hope to deal elsewhere with the evidence, legal, liturgical and otherwise, for **a** Mcrovingian concept of gentile, hegemonial, imperial kingship.

•s Einhard, *VK* cap 29, p 33.

•• *Ibid:* 'Post susceptum imperiale nomen cun1advertcret multa legibus populi sui deessc ... co1-1itavit quac deerant adderc .. .'

I<> So, (F.) Ganshof, *Rtthuche,* (sr,r *les Capitulaire,)* (Paris 1958) pp 98 *seq,* and 'Charlemagne's programme of imperial government', in *The CaroUngiafls a11d the Fra,;kish Monarchy* (London 1971) pp *SS seq,*

renaissance, but of the prologue to the *Lex Baiuvariorum*.[31] Charlemagne's abonive efforts at further codification of gentile laws marked no new departure, but the end of a road.

The fact that most Carolingian capitularies cannot be classed as legislation at all may be linked with the feebleness of Ro1nan-legal traditions in this period. Previous barbarian legislation, fron1 the fifth through to the eighth century, had been far 1nore open than the Carolingians' to Roman-legal influence,[32] whether through the persistence within the regna of *ronrani*, that is, 1nen living under, and in some cases lean1ed in, Ronian law in its late-imperial forn1, or through access, direct or indirect, to the surviving practice of Ro1nan law in ltaly.[33] By comparison, Carolingian Gaul ,vas poverty-stricken: the study ofRonun law was never included in Charle,nagne's programme of *correctio* nor in ninth-century curricula.[3,] Certainly Roman-legal texts were copied in Carolingian moMsteries (though often si1nply by ,vay of scholarly exercises) and so1neti1nes used by church,nen to defend ecclesiastical privileges. But all this hardly adds up to a 'renouveau des etudes juridiques'.[35] And if we leave the cloister to consider the secular legal practice of the Carolingian period, we are confronted not with renewal but with a process of change continuous from the sixth and much accelerated fro,n the early eighth century, whereby new economic and social conditions in1poscd legal usages very different front those envisaged even in the 111ost 'vulgar' Ro1nan law.[36] In those regions of the e1npire inhabited by *roma11i*, despite the

"Ed £. Schwind. *MCH Ltg* 1. t, pt 2, p 202. (fhe edition of K. Hcycrle has unfonunatcly been inaccessible). For the date-probably seventh-cenniry-,ee F. Bcyerlc, 'Die sUddeutschen *Legts* (und die merowingische Gesetzgebung)', in *ZRG GAbt* 49 (1929) pp 373 *stq*, and 'Die beiden stid,foutscheu Stau,mesrechte', in *ZRG GAbt* 73 (1956) p 124-

u Sec Riche, *Education*, pp *489 seq* (Alamannia and Bavaria), 387 *seq* and *455 s,q* (Lombard kingdom). The more 'Romanising' laws of the Burgundian and Gothic kingdoms arc contrasted with those of the Franks, Lombards and Angls>-Saxons by [G.) Astuti, 'Note critiche [sul sistema dclle fonti giuridiche nei regni romano-barbari dell'occidente)', in *Atti dtlla Aaademia Nazionak dtl Uneti*, 377, 8 ser .*25* (Rome 1970) pp 319 *s,q*, at 3:25 *s,q*. For **a** similar contrast on genct11I grou11ds, see L. Musset, *Tk Ctrmanlc Invasions, oo-600* (Loudon 1975) pp 67 *stq* and :211.

.. See Riche, 'Enseigne,nent [du droit en Gaule du VI• au XJ• siede', in *lus Romanum Medii Aevi* 5b, bb (Brussels 1965), p IS, and the intere>tiug ,uggcstions of (D. **A.J** BuUough, •*Europat Paur:* Charlemagne and his achievement in the light of recent research', in *EHR, 85* (1970), pp 92 *seq*.

•• Riche, 'Euseiguc,nent', pp 16 *seq*.

35 *Ibid* **p** 16.

"(J.J Gaudemet, 'Survivanccs !romaines dans le droit de la 1no11.rchie franque du V• **au** X• siecle]', in *T,jd.schrift voor Rtchtsgeschitdtnis*, .lJ (Harlem 1955) pp 149 *s,q*.

persistence of Roman-legal formulae in many documents, basic transactions of property and marriage increasingly came to be regulated -as elsewhere-by the custom of an evolving feudal society. This trend pre-elated and underlay changes in the procedures of public courts generalised under Charlemagne and his successors.

Ganshof has recently shown that not a single Roman-law text was used in its entirety in Charlemagne's capitularies, and that even in the ninth century there is very little sign of Roman law influencing the secular legislation of Louis the Pious or Charles the Bald.a? These facts are intelligible in the light of Carolingian legislative methods: legal problems would be brought up by provincial administrators and judges to be discussed at the great assemblies and dealt with according to whatever legal expertise was available.[33] If *roniani* were among those consulted, bits of Roman legal procedures and even substance might *be* adopted and given general currency. But this was a product of practical need and eclectic political power, and it was realised by practising law-1nen. There is nothing to suggest any conscious or systematic Romanising policy planned and executed by ecclesiastics for whom law, to be valid, had to be Roman and Christian. In canon law where deliberate effort towards standardisation *was* made, we now know that great diversity persisted throughout the ninth century and beyond.a How n1uch more so in the realm of secular la\v, where legislative and administrative decisions were aetually shaped very often by laymen. In 802 when Charlemagne thought to revise the gentile laws, 'he called together the dukes and counts with the rest of the

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esp p 205: 'Si b renausancc c.uolingienne se traduit par des references plw frequent plus nombrcuses et plus variecs . . . aud droit romain *dans Its oeuvres dt d,,ctrint ti dans Its collections ca1lon •ts.* cette periode semble au contraire correspondre a unc regression due role effectif du droit rornain *dam lo pratiqut'*. (My stresses.)

., 'Droit romain (dans Jes capitulaires)', in */us Romanum Mtdii Aevi,* pt i, 2b, cc a-13 (1969), pp 14 *seq.*

"The evidence is given, though not fully appraised, by Ganshof, 'Droit romain', and *Rtckrches,* esp pp 22 *stq,* 47 *uq.* The similarly ad hoc ways by which capitulary-tcxts were transmitted are indicated in W. A. Eckhardt. *Dit Kapitulariensamml,mg Bischof Gh«rbalds von Luttich* (Gottingeo 1955); reviewing this book, Walbce-Hadrill, *Tijdschrifi 1100, Rechtsgeschittknis,* 24 (1956) p 472, notes that texts had to be translated from the vernacular into Latin, and then back again. On the nature of the capitubries, andon other matters, I am grateful to Rosamond McKitterick (nee Pierce) for valuable criticisms of an earlier version of this paper.

0 See R. Kottje, 'I!inhcit und Vidfalt des kirchlichen Lcbens in der Karolingerzcit', in *ZKG,*76(1965) pp 323 *seq,* and now H. Mordek, *Kirchtnrtclit und Reform im Frankcn-rtich* (Berlin 1975) esp pp 151 *seq.*

Christian people (that is, the magnates) along with the legislators'•[0]- and these *legislatores* {the ter1u itself seems significant) were none other than the laymen learned and practised in the secular Jaws.•[1] Such men were often, nodoubt, i1nbued with notions of Christian ethics presented to then1 *by* priests.•i But the church's teachings were at once too specific and too vague to have much direct relevance to the legal life of every day. Riche has observed a widespread anxiety on the part of conscientious lay111en-just those, one could add, who were involved in jurisdiction-as to how far 'carnal men' could follow what looked like clerics' rules.•[3] It is hard to believe that such anxieties were dispelled by the often banal prescriptions of an Alcuin or a Jonas. Lay society continued to operate with its own values. The fundamental ethic of *fidelitas* pre-existed the church's concern with it, and remained despite ecclesiastical glossing a largely secular affair." Carolingian theology was in so1ne degree laicised as it absorbed and reproduced the features and vocabulary of the *comitatus.*[45] On the other hand, with the obvious exception of legislation specifically concerned with the clergy and the monks, Carolingian capitularies show a Christian influence that, far fron1 being attributable to the Carolingian renaissance, is a longstanding feature of gentile law: the

•• *An11ales Laurtsl,amenses, sa* 802, ed G. Pertz (Hanover 1826), /HGH *SS* 1, p 38.

u The term *lrgislatorts* here exactly reBects the character of early medieval law and law-making: see below p 62. These nten scent to be identical with those tern1ed *iudfrts* in other texts: see Ganshof, *Recherches,* p 22 and *Carolin, ians,* p 69 and p 156 n 45 for *i11dius* (ir1 southern Gaul) as *'scabini* under another name'. Compare *Lex Baiuv,* pro!, p 201: 'viri sapicntes qui in regno ... legihus antiquis eruditi erant', presumably identical with the *judices, ibid* XVII, *S;* and *Edict. Rothari,* cap 386, p 93: 'iudices et antiqui homines' have helped to compile the code. Law-men of this type seem to me mc-•nt by the phrase *legis doaores* in a judgement of Pippin UI shortly before 751, ed J. Tardif, *Monume11ts hiswriques* (Paris 1866) no 54, p 45. Riebe, 'Enscignement', p 14, and 'Le renouveau culture! a la cour de Pepin III', *Fra,uia,* 2 (Munich 1975), p 64, implies that the reference here may be to Roman law. But the passage as a whole reads: •. . . sicur proceres nostri seu com.itis palacii nostri vel *reliqui* leg.is doctores judicaverunt', (rny stress) which suggests **a** *1,x,* that is *Lex Salica,* with which laymen normally associated with Frankish judgemeot-finding would be familiar.

"On C,rolingian 'Laienspiegel', with rich bibliographical data, see **H. H.** Anton *Fursttnspi,gtl und Htrrscherttlros* in *dtr Karolingerzeit, Bonner Hist,>risd,e Forsclrmrgen* 32 (Bonn 1968) pp 83 *seq* and 213.

"(La) *Vie Q11otiditm1e (da11s l'Empirt Car<>ll11gienJ* (Paris 1973) pp 99 *seq.*

"See (W.J Schlesinger, *Beitriigt (zur deutsc/,en Verfass,mgsgesdrichte des Mittelalters)* (Gottingen 1963) 1, pp 33 *seq,* 316 *seq.*

.. D. H. Green, *The Carolingian Lard* (Cambridge 1965), esp pp II *5 seq,* 288 *seq,* shows that this process long antedates the Carolingian period, but in caps 10 and I I argues for rnajor developments precisely then. See now also Wallace-Hadrill, 'War and Peace in the early Middle Ages', in *Early Medieval Hiswry,* esp pp 3I *seq.*

historian impressed by the Augustinian overtones of Carolingian *pax* and *iustitia*[46] should be no less appreciative of these same ideas on the part of a Gundobad or a Clothar II.[47]

Did the Caroungian renaissance then have no effect on secular legal practice or-which is something different-on ideas about secular law? Its direct effect was significant in practical terms in only one sense: Carolingian scholars copied and preserved the texts of the laws, and ecclesiastical institutions in using these texts (as, for instance, St Gall in a whole series of land cases appealed to the *Lex Ala111at111ori1111)'*[8] contributed to their continuing vitality. The fonnal characteristics of later Carolingian capitularies owed much to the improved latinity achieved through the renaissance of scholarship. On the other hand, a tendency to rely on the written word in legal procedures, though it probably increased simply through the readier availability of scribes, was already co1nmon in the vulgar private law of the fifth century and had shown continuous if patchy development in the practice of the barbarian kingdoms.'[9]

Turning now to ideas about law, I briefly consider three i1nportant areas in which there see1ns little evidence of change occurring as a consequence of the Carolingian renaissance. Firstly: both lay and clerical ideas about the making of secular law continue to display that same creative ambiguity which is embodied in the barbarian *leges* themselves: the law is the people's but the king gives it authority. *Volksrecht oder Konigsrecht*[50] is a non-issue, since where the king is a *Volkskonig*, law is at once gentile and royal. For Charleniagne, a

•• So, Ewig, 'Konigsgedan.ken', pp *63 stq*, and 'La monoctarie dans !'Europe occidentale', in *Rtceuils Jean Bodin* 21 (Brussels 1969), p 89. That some new conception of *pax* led Charlemagne into a frontal attack on feud *is* rightly questioned by Wallace-Hadrill, *Long-haired Kings*, pp 145 *seq*, and *Kingship*, pp 107 *stq* (where his own immediately following remarks imply the inaccuracy of the designation of the *Ad,,..,rntio c,,..,a/iJ* (789) a, 'lcgi,lation against feud').

-[1] *Le8X1rg11ndionum*, cd de Salis, *MGH Leg* 1, 2, 1, pp 30-1; *Edictum Clotharii*, in *MGH Cap* 1, no 9, pp 22-3.

.. Kobler, *Recht*, p 99.

"L. Stoulf, 'La formation des contrats par l'ecriture dans le droit des formules du V• au XII• sicde', in *Nouvtllt Rtvu,, Hirtoriqu,, du Dtoit Fra11fais ti Etrangtr*, 11 (Paru 1887), esp pp 259, 274 *seq;* Gaudemet, 'Survivanccs', pp 185 *stq*, 199 *stq*.

-o See, with further references, [R.] Buchner, [Dit) *R,chtsqutlttn* (Weimar 1953) *[Btihlj) w* W. Wattcnbach and W. Levison, *Deutsch/ands GeschidttsqutUtn* im *Mitttla/ter. Vorztit und JG,rolingtr],* pp 4 *stq,* suggesting *Stammesrtcht* as preferable to either of these terms. P. Beyerle, 'Die sllddcutsehcn *ugts',* pp *388 stq,* asserts **a** sharp distinction between *Wei.rtum* **and** *Satzung*, but shows dut this C3WlOt be simply aligned with the *Vollurtclu/Konigsrecht* division. Compare also his 'Uber Normtypen und Erweircrungcn der *UX Sali.a',* in *ZRG GAbt* « (1924) pp ;116 *stq,* where tlili same

public criminal was *infalelis noster et Jrancorum*.[61] Where Ullmann classes the capitularies of 'the Carolingian age' all together as 'royal insttwnents'[52] indicative of a 'descending theme of government', Ganshof traces a shift from the 'absolute' royal legislative power of Charlemagne and (until 830) Louis the Pious to the 'conditional' power of Charles the Bald who promulgated laws with the *consensus populi*.[53] Both these views seem to me over-sche1natic: is not the truth of the matter that the *consensus* element in legislation was there, if in a subordinate role, all along? The shift occurred not in the realm of public law but in that of politics. Under Charlemagne, and still more clearly under Charles the Bald, the *verbum regis* was spoken only after consultation with those who were to hear and obey it. And it had to be *heard:* this was a face-to-face society organised by rules whose legitimacy depended on (a1nongst other things) their public oral pronouncement.s, If Charlemagne, on one occasion at least, denied this, he was up against the conviction of his far-away Italian subjects that *capitula legibus addenda* were validly-made only when the emperor in person issued them in a formal *adnuntiatio* to the Italians themselves.[56] The sense of participation on the part of **the** *pop11/11s* is understandable. Were the learned cleric's views essentially different? Even Hincmar, more interested in the relation of kingship to law than any other Carolingian **thinker,** and himself well enough versed in canon and Roman law, had relatively little to say to kings about *leges condere* compared with his intense concern that they should *leges servare*.[66] Hincmar n1ight have had a hand in drafting the very capitulary which mentions aristocratic *consensus* alongside royal *constitutio;*[61] and he it \Vas, so Devisse plausibly suggests, who brought

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non-alignment is ci'"lr. Schlesinger, *fkitragt,* p 30, observes that 'Konigliche Herrschaft und adlige Herrschaft waren ursprunglicb ebell50wenig unterschicden wie Konigsrecht und Volksrccht'. I am suggesting that the distinction remained blurred *in pr,1<1ia* in the Carolingian period.

11 *MGH Cap* 1, no 67, p 156. •• *CR* pp 30 and 10.

•• *Recherches* pp 29 *seq.*

•• A. Dumas, 'La parole et I'ecriture dans le.s capitulaires carolingiens' in *Melanges Halphen* (Paris 1951) pp 209 *seq.*

•• *MGH Cap* 1, no 103, p 212. Theepisode is discussed by Ganshof. *Recherches*, p 21.

••*J.*Dcvisse, *Hincma, et la Loi* (Dakar 1961). On Hincmar's legal and political thought see below, chapter 7, pp. 133-71.

67 Edict of Pitres (S64), in *MGH Cap* 2, no 273, p 313: '... lex consensu populi et constitucioue regis fit .. .' Compare Hincmar, *De Ordine Palatii*, cap 8, cd V. Krause, *MGH Cap* 2, p 520: 'reges capitula ... generali conscnsu fiddium suorum ... pron1ulgaverunt'. For Hincmar's presence in 864, see H. Schrors, *Hinkmar, Erzbis,;hof von Reims* (Freiburg-i.-Brdsgau 1884) pp 232, 573.

into the vocabulary of west Frankish public law the pregnant phrase *consilium et auxilium*, already replete with feudal-governmental meaning.[68] But then Hincmar was well attuned to the sentiments of his lay *fellow-fide/es:* a stickler for canon law when a Lotharingian royal divorce threatened the west Frankish realn1, he practised a quite Nelsonian collusion when it caine to accommodating aristocratic interests in another royal divorce affair.[69]

Secondly: the personality principle continued throughout the ninth century fundamental in secular law.[60] The laity's attachment to it can be inferred from their insistence on repeated royal assurances that the *lex unicuique competens* would be preserved.[81] Few scholar-clerics have left any record of their views, which could suggest that they simply acceptedcurrentaristocraticassumptions.[82]Such acquiescence is implicit in the fact that Hincmar assumes the personality of laws, and actually extends the principle to the canons as'thetribal law of the priesthood',[63] even when hereminds that such laws will not apply at the final divine tribunal or insists that excessively cruel *lex saeculi* should be suppressed

[11] Dcvisse, 'Essai. sur l'histoire d'une expression qui a fait forrune: Consiliu1n et auxilium au IX• sicde', in *Moytn Age,* 23 (Paris 1968) pp 179 *seq.*

u Sec the subtle and plausible argument of C.-R. BrUbl, 'Hin.kmariana II. Hinkmar im Widcrstreit von kanonischem Recht und Politik in Ehefragen', in *DA,* 20 {1964) pp 48 *stq.*

•• Buchner, *Rtchtsqutlltn* pp4 *stq;* Astuti, 'Notecririche', pp 325 *seq,*with rich bibliography of recent literature at p 333, n 18. Gaudemet, 'Survivances", p 158, n 23, observes that in the edict of Plues of864(see above n 57) the concept of gentile law appe2rs to have **a** territorial rather than a personal sense. Compare the develop,uent from gentile to regional {and pseudo-gentile) solidarities sketched by Ewig, 'Volkstum und Volksbewussuein im Frankcnreich des 7 Jbdts', in *SS Spoleto S* (1958) pp *587 stq.* Such a gradual evolution of territoriality out of the personality of laws seems more plausible than the sharp break alleged by Schlesinger, *Btiltagt,* p 44. But I can see no evidence of any Carolingian attempt to unify the law over the whole realm such as Devisse, 'Essai', p 181, n 11, suggests might be ascribed to Charles the Bald. This is not to deny the influence of Visigothic legislation in other respects on ninth-century cleriC$: see Ulunann, *CR,* p 81 with n 2.

"Thus, the *Pactuni* of Coulaines (843), *MGH Cap* 2, no 254, p 253 *seq.* Compare also *ibid* pp 281, 296, 330, *339,* and very similar expressions of the same principle in the Ostrogothic and Merovingian realnu: C:wiodorus. *Varia,i* VD, 3, in *MGH AA* 12, p 203, and *Passlo u/Xkga,ii,* in *MGH SRM* 5, p 289 {here the *lex vet ,ons11et11do* has become linked with the *patria).*

o For some evidence of this, which also suggests a 'territorialisarion' of the personality principle-that is, the gentile law is attached to an estate, and only secOftdarily to the people who work on it-see W. Goff"art, *Tht u Mans Forguits* (Ca,ubridge, Mass., 1966) pp 14•• 236; and H. Krawc, 'Konigtum und Rechtsordnung in der Zeit der chsischen und salischen Herrscher', in *ZRG GAbt* 82 *(1965)* p 8.

•• See [K. F.) Morrison, (The] *Two Kingdoms* (Princeton 1964) pp *35, 90 seq.*

so that God's justice may prevail•• If Hincmar's tolerance here could be bdd typical of Carolingian scholars, Agobard is a well-publicised alleged exception. Others shared his concern for imperial unity, but he alone proceeded to ask if diversity of laws was not an obstacle to the unity of that *divina operatio,* the *corpus christi.*•[6] Li.Ice so much else in Agobard's writings-his objections to the ordeal; his 'rational' scorn of sorcery-this is impressively modem-sounding. But its underlying assumptions prove to be far from modem, for it depends on an eschatology, probably derived from Tychonius as well as Augustine which opposed the *corpus* of God's empire to the *corpus diaboli.*•• Agobard does not seriously challenge the personality of laws in principle: he attacks the *lex GunJobada* in particular, both because, as a southwestemer and a *romanus,* he had an outsider's aversion to the Burgundians and their interminable feuding. and because having access to the historical records of Lyons, he knew Gundobad to have been an Arian, and could not countenance the survival of a heretic's laws within a Christian empire. For various reasons, Agobard's views are *sui generis.* In general, the Carolingian renaissance made no dent in the principle of the personality of laws[61]-indeed may even have fostered it, in so far as Carolingian scribes copied and multiplied the texts in which that principle was enshrined.

Thirdly: the essential characteristic of early medieval law, so a number of German scholars have recently argued, was its lack of 'any assumption of a legal order resting either on statute or on customary law'.'[8] A man could impose legal obligations on hi1nself

"!ft *raptu.vidU4rum,* in *PL* 125 (18521 col 1026; *DtOrdiM Pal.uil* pp 524 *Stq.*

"See hisletter to Louis the Pious *Ad rsu, kgtm CundoW,* ed E. Dilmmler, *MCH Epp 5,* pp I 58 <*tq.*

.. E. Boshof, *l!rzbi,chof Agobard van Lyon* (Cologne 1969) pp 41 *Stq;* compare also Licbescllutz, 'Wcscn und Grenzen', pp 33 *,tq.1*am grateful to Jan Wood for 1w helpful suggestions here.

., The further erosion of the principle during the ninth century (the proccu had begun much earlier) was due, not to the Carolingian rena.inancc but to the growing rcgionalisarion and fcudalisation of social and political relationships. Compare n *6o,* above. It is worth noting the still gentile imperialism of Agolnrd's proposed solution to the Burguncfun problem, when he requC$ts the emperor 'ut cos [Burgundioncs) transferrct ad *ltgem Francorum;* et ipsi *nobiliorts* cfficerentur ... • (My stress).

•• (K.) Kroe,chell, 'Rcchtsfindung', in *Ftmchrift fur H. Htitnptl* (Gllttingen 1972) 3, pp 498 *Stq* at p 512. See also his '[Recht und) Rechtsbegrift"',im 12Jht', in *Vorlr49' lllul Foruhungen,*12 (1968), pp 309 *Stq;* W. Ebel, Die *WiJ/lc,rr* (Gottingcn 1953) esp pp 37**seq:** H. Hagemann, *'Fiiklf,uta* und *wadiatio.* VomWesen des altdeutschen Formalvcmaget', in *ZRC GAW* 83 (1966) pp I *seq,* esp :18 *St'l;* Kliblcr, *R«ht,* esp pp :111 Stf-

by the giving of a pledge *(fides facta)*, and he was subject to the decision of a coun. Studies of legal vocabulary suggest that the law *(lex)* did not condition, but was contained in, the judgement. Kroeschell hasconcluded that 'there prevailed a purdy formal concept of law'.[69] In other words, secular law in the early middle ages was what experienced men declared to be and used as the law, whether this was written or unwritten. Kern's ritualistic and unchanging medieval la\.v, the famous 'good old law' that could only be found, not made, is a myth. On the contrary, since law was never identified simply with what was just, it could undergo a constant process of alteration.[70] There is a Co1nte-ian ring about all this-sounded rather too strongly by Kroeschell. Early medieval 1nen were no positivists: *ius* never lost its association with *iustitia*.[71] Yet the contrast stands between early medieval law on the one hand, and, on the other, classical Roman, later medieval and modem la\v:[73] between a law lodged in the practice of courts, palpably manmade, without system, not needing to be written, and bounded by the need to regard men's 'subjective' statuses-and a written, systematised law representing a permanent 'objective' statement of abstract justice, a law which judges merely applied and executed, a law bounded by the requirements of continuity, predictability, and conformity with explicit norms. What is significant in the present context is the fact that the Carolingian period belongs so unequivocally on the early medieval side of the line: for the *Rechtsliistoriker* familiar with the jurisprudence of the gentile *Leges*, that of the Carolingian sources evidently presents no aberrant features, and any new trends discernible from the ninth

•• 'Rechtsfindung', p. 513.

,o Kern's thesis was set out in 'Recht und Verfassung im Mittelalter', in *HZ* 120 (1919), trans S. B. Cb.rim<:$ in *Kingsliip and I.Aw in IM Middlt Ages* (Oxford 1968) part 2, pp 149 *stq.* For penetrating revisions of Kem. see H. Krause, 'Dauer und Vergiinglichkeit im mitteWterlichen Recht', *ZRB GAbt* 75 (1958) pp 206 *seq*, whose title epitomises 'einen arucheinend wiaulloslichen Gcgensatz' in medieval law (p 217): 'Ein lconstituierender Faktor des Rechts ist die Unge der Zeit, das Element der Dauer-ein konstituierender Fak.tor des Rcchts ist die Macht des gegenwartigen Herrschers, das Elenient der Verganglichkcit'. For further observations and recent literature,see also Ullmann, *I.Aw and Politks in 1k Middlt Ages* (London 1975) pp JO with n 1, 48 with n 2.

"As noted, against Kroesehell, by Kobler, *Rtcht*, p 226. Kroeschell's recent reply, 'Rechtsfindung', p 510, n *66*, i, unconvincing. I hope to return ebewhere to tbis problem.

"I follow here Kroeschell, 'Rechtsbeg:riff', esp pp 325 *stq.* Kroeschell's book *Haus und Haushtrrsrhaft im fruhen dtulSchtn Rechl* (Gottiogcn 1958) has unfortunately been inaccessible.

century onwards are less remarkable than the continuities.[73] I would stress the continuing absence of precisely those social and economic changes, especially urbanisation and the development of business practices, which help to explain the appearance in certain areas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of 'a new, objective law'.[7,] This is by no means to deny that later developments were in so1ne ways foreshadowed in the Carolingian period: the notions of equality before the law and of tutorial rulership can be found in ninth-century documents, as Ullmann has recently shown.[75] Yet foreshadowings these remained, and though of great interest as such, they appeared in the ninth century very rarely and were then much less significant, quantitatively and qualitatively, than the areas of continuity with a pre-Carolingian past.

Earlier in this paper, I mentioned the distinction between personal and institutional rebirth, and Ullmann's thesis of baptismal rebirth as the paradigm of a whole social-ecclesiological renaissance. Now, inverting that n1odel, instead of viewing a hypostatised 'Christian rebirth idea' as the autonomous source of a legal-governmental programme, I suggest we see the interpretation of baptismal rebirth by Christians of the Carolingian age as itself heavily conditioned by prevailing legal conceptions. A man knew what it meant to be born into n1embership of the Frankish, or Bavarian or Burgundian *gens;* and this coloured his notion of baptism as admission to the Christian society. A Salian Frank, for instance, established his public legal identity as against the men of other *gentes* by the way be behaved in certain situations-dealt with his property, transacted a marriage, responded to an accusation. He was also a Christian, and this too

"Despite the innovations in Germanic legal termiμology from the ninth century onwards observed by Kobler, 'Richten-Richter-Gericht', in *ZRG GA.ht* 87 (1970) pp 57 •*tq,* esp 1o8 *stq,* and assigned by him to clerical inlluence, Kroe,chcll, 'Rcchtsfindung', p 513 sees no change in the assumptions inherent in persisting traditional procedures.

[74] Kroeschell, 'Rechtsbegritf', p 333, though the causal factor, are here barely hinted at. Despite the qualifications of Kroeschell, p 320, and'Rechtsfindung', pp *5o8 stq,*I sh.ire the reservations of Kobler, *Rtthl,* p 226, as to the aptness **in** thiscontext of the modern categories of 'objective' and 'subjective' law. On hisown admission. Kr0e$Chell's major contrast *is* in fact between two types of 'objective' **law,** which suggests the need for **a** new cla.sificatio!L

*"CR.*pp u6, 1:u.

was a matter of external behaviour: he did not eat meat in lent, he buried his dead in the church's cemetery, he did not go to public gatherings on Sundays.[78] Baptism had little to do with doctrinal conviction or ethical transformation, even in the case of adults:[77] private penance and remission at once compensated for and confirmed this fact.[78] When pagans were mass-baptised by force, Alcuin's was a rare voice of protest; and even Alcuin expounded baptism not in terms of rebirth but as the incurring of liability to receive and obey certain instructions, his only concession being the proposal that the new laws be imposed gradually-prohibitions first and positive commands later.[79] In practice he knew that the main effect of baptism for a Saxon or Avar was liability to pay tithes, and not even Alcuin could work a rebirth metaphor into that!

Carolingian lay piety, so far as we can reconstruct it, was dominated at aristocratic level by a barely Christianised warrior cthic[80] and at a popular level by the effort to project within each individual relations of command and subordination {between soul and body) which mirrored those of feudal society,[81] and by the need to propitiate Israel's vengeful God of Battles by certain prescribed acts. Small wonder that Mosaic law was held the model of all gentile law.**es** In the Carolingian period, sorcery flourished, external arts and

[11] For these and other similar requirements, sec the *Capitulalio de partibus Saxoniat* (785), *MGH Cap* 1, no 26, pp 68-70.

"The normal practice of child-baptism lud long since transformed the cattthnmenatc from 'ciner Belehrungs- und Erziehungsinstirution zu ciner Folgc von Zeremonien rein lirurgischcn Charakters': so, Dahlhaus-Derg, *Nwa Anliquitas,* pp 94 q with futther references. The candidates for adult-baptism were conquered Saxonsaud Avars.

•• Compare B. S. Turner, 'Origins and traditions in Imm and Christianity', in *Rtligion, 6* (1976), pp 13 *stq* at 25-6.

•• *MGH Bpp* **4,** no 111, pp 159-62. The date is 796 following the victory over the Avars: Alcuin hoped to avoid **a** repetition of the forced convcrsion of the Saxons. Compare the comments of Wallace-Hadrill, *Kingship,* p 102.

[18] Ths aspect isstressed by A. Waas, 'Karls des Grossen Frommigkeit', in *HZ,* 203 (1966), pp 265 *seq.* See also J. Chelini, 'Les !ales dans la societe ccclesiastiquc c.uolingie •, in *I laid ,ul/a scdtta «isliana iki coli Xlo-Xllo, Acta dtlla tuza St1timana inttmazionalt di lludio Mmdola, 1965* (Milan 1968), pp 23 *ttq;* U-1 Lcclcrcq, *Tiu Spirituality of tlu Middk* (London 1968) pp 68 *seq;* Riche, 'Les bibliotbcqucs de trois aristoaatcs !ales carolingiens', *Moyen Agt, 69* (1963) pp 87 *seq, Vit Quotiditnnt,* pp 215 *stq,* and Introduction to Dhuoda's *Ma""tl pour men fils,* SCP (1975), esp pp 24 *stq.* For furthtt reference,, sec above nn 43 and 46.

H This Is cspeci.ally clear in the short sermon, probably by Paulinus of Aquilcia, ed by Leclcrcq in *RB, S9* (1949) pp 159-00, esp lines 42 *uq,* where the preacher develops a ,cries of srrilting oppositions: *imptrium-m11itium; trigitu,-hum//latu,; /,ubriatur et pM(itw-famt turquttur; pretlosi 11estt,-vttuu pannl* ••• etc.

•• Kobler, *Rahl,* p 88.

material objects being used alike to placate a jealous deity and to manipulate other supernatural powers.[88] The gentile churches resisted such an extrente manifestation, but had long since *come* to terms with a religiosity of the physical. This process of acculturation[8,] was now carried a significant stage further when clerics liturgified the ordeal, elaborated the symbolism of oil rituals, restructured without restraining the practice of private penance, and promoted, while not always successfully controlling, a great upsurge in the cult and social deployment of relics.[86] We should not forget that all this went on, relatively unpublicised, alongside and beneath the Romanising trend of the 'official' renaissance of the Carolingian church. I am certainly not denying that at least *some* Carolingian clerics sought a religious renewal that would penetrate lay society, at peasant as well as aristocratic level: sermons and *specula* directed at laymen, still more than the relevant capitularies, offer eloquent testimony to this attempted *Volksaufkliirung*.[88] The case of Louis the Pious shows, perhaps, that the effort was not wholly unsuccessful. But were more than a handful of laymen-and the direct evidence is confined to rulers and aristocrats -ever really affected by it? The piety of Charles the Bald, who aspired to a divinely-blessed warrior-kingship and had clerical anointing applied to his queen as a 'fertility charm',[87] hardly seems more 'spiritualised', more 'ethically-transformed' than that of Charlemagne. Dhuoda recommended her son to read the works of the fathers, yet *she* herself 'n' a sans doute pas retenu de ses lectures tout ce qu'on aurait souhaite. Elle a ete particulierement seduite par la symbolique des

[11] Riche, 'La Magie Carolingienne', in *Compu, Rendu, dt I'A,adbn W Inscriptions tt &lle,-u11rt,* (Paris 1973) pp 127 *uq.*

"Le Goff, 'Culture dmcale et traditions folkloriqucs dansla civilisation mciovingiennc', in *AnMks* 22 (1967), pp 780 *seq.*

[11] For these developments see Gaudemet, 'Les Ordalics au Moyen Age', in *Rtt:uei/s]tan &dit,,* 17(196s). pp *99 seq,* and the evidence in *MGH I.Lg S, Fotmulat* ed K. Zcumer (1886), pp 6o4 *stq;* my paper, 'Symbols in context: rulers' inauguration rituals in Byzantium and the west in the early Middle Ages', \below, pp. 259 • *seq:;* C. Vogel, *1.L pldt , ti la plnittntt au Moytn Agt* (Paris 1969) pp 43 . and R. Pierce, 'Tbc "Frankish" penitentials', SCH_11 (1975) pp 31 *seq;* H. Fichtemu, 'Zum Rcliquienwcsen itn frUheren Mittelalter', *MIOG, 6o* (19s2), pp *6o seq,* and Riche, *Vie QuotitlitnM,* pp 320 *seq.*

"So, Ullmann, *CR,* p 36, with a full appraisal of the sermon literature; compare aho Bullough, *Tht A.gt ofCharkmagnt* (2 ed London 1973) pp IIS *seq.*

[0] So, E. H. Kaotorowie2, 'The Carolingian Kingin the Bible of San Paolo fuorile Mura'. in *Latt Classical and Mtditval Sludits In Honwr of A. M. Fritnd* (Princ on l9SS) p 293. See aho Wallace-Hadrill, *Kingship,* pp 124 *seq,*esp 135 (where. however, the reference of the capitulory of Fttrcs *is to* confumation-4nointing, not royal consecration).

nombres . .'[88] Without sharing Riche's value-judgement, we can agree that the significant point concerns not so much what texts Dhuoda read as how she read them, and we may well doubt whether, had Herchenfreda, mother of Desiderius of Cahors, written to her son not just letters but a whole book of exhortation, it would have been so very different from Dhuoda's.[89] I am suggesting that here again the Carolingian world can be understood only in the perspective of the Merovingian centuries and that its lay piety, if not the transmission of its learning, was fully continuous with that of the earlier *regna*.

The less frequented route seems to have led to a familiar destination. For my conclusion is that the limits of the Carolingian renaissance hardly exceeded, even in the ninth century, the dimensions of a religious culture that was largely confined to the clerical and monastic orders-what conte1nporaries in fact so often meant by the term *ecclesia*. At the same time, in lay society, pre-Carolingian legal and religious ideas and practices-and, I suspect, (though this has been beyond the scope of this paper) political ones too-persisted and evolved with a momentum of their own, affected but not determined by ecclesiastical *novitas*.

A cultural renaissance obviously depends on economic and political factors for its patronage and on social factors too for its personnel; but its base in society may be narrow and its unfolding relatively autonomous. This situation, which prevailed for instance in late Byzantium, was essentially that of the Carolingian renaissance, not least because the Carolingian church was, and could see itself as, in some sense *altera respublic.a.*[90] Within the priestly and monastic orders with their structural coherence and growing sense of identity expressed in the bid for full legal autonomy, ideas of rebirth and renewal could transcend the personal and be, at least to some degree, institutionalised, especially in the sphere of law. The third, lay, order, by contrast, with its relatively undifferentiated forms of social and legal organisation,

u Riche, Introduction 10 Dhuoda's *Mam,el,* p 31. Riche continues: 'Mais sommes-nous ici daru le dornaine de la spiritualite ou plutot dans celui de la culture inte!leauelle? D est vrai que pour Dhuoda ii n'y avait pas de fronticres'. Here Riche raues, without =lving, **a** major problem in the methodology of historians of'culture'.

•• Herchenfrcda's letters are preserved in the *Vita Dtsid,rii,* ed Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4,, pp s6cr?o. For some details of their contents, see Riche, *Dt /'edutauon antiqut* ɑ ɳ*duto-tlon , valtrtsque* (Paris 1968) pp 42-3. Riche himself $uggests the comparison with Dhuoda.

to Pasclwius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Ar nii,* ed E. Oummler, *ADAW* (1900) p 63. See also Morrison, *Two Kingdoms,* pp 36 *«q* and *passim,* where, however, the theme of **•ctnalism' isover,ated.**

its legal and religious conceptions alike embedded in the mentalities of kin-group and *comitatus*, could neither generate nor genuinely accommodate the idea of rebirth. It was not until the twelfth century, tentatively, and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries confidently, that laymen-often lawyers-used ideas of rebirth and renewal which originated in the church or drew inspiration from Christian reform traditions to shape ideologies for radical transformations of law and politics in lay society.[91] The paradox was that these transformations depended on rapidly-accelerated processes of social differentiation: only in an increasingly secularised society could Christian laymen try to institutionalise a renaissance for themselves.

•• For the twelfth century, see Ullmann, *Law and Politics*, pp 83 *stq*, and Kroeschell, 'Rechtsbegriff',esp 326 *stq;* for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. seeJ. H. Franklin, *}ttlll Bodin and tht Sixteenth-ctntury Rtvolution in tht Methodology of I.Aw and HiJtory* (New York 1963), D. R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical &ho'4rship. Language Law tllld History intht French Renaissance* (New York1970),and *TheFrancogallla of Franfois Homitlll*, ed R. Giesey and J. H. M. Salmon (Cambridge 1972). Burdach, *Reformation*, p *SS*, writes that although the idea of rebirth and reform existed throughout the middle ages, before the twelfth century 'es war verblasst und erstarTt zu einer dog-matischen Forn,el der Sakramentenlehre',but in the later rniddle ages 'verwandclt jenes Bild sich in den Ausdtuck eines ... GefUhls und Verlangens *rein menschlicher Art'* (my stress) asexpressed in the ideal of the *nova vita*. Again, p *96*, Burdach refers to 'die lang-same S3kularis.ierung des Gedankens der Wiedergeburt' from the fourteenth century onwards.

ROYALSAINTS AND EARLY MEDIEVAL KINGSHlP

THE problem I want briefly to focus on concerns the significance of the saint-king in early medieval cosmology: what is his relationship to the sacral king of so many pre-industrial socieries?[1] A commonly-accepted view has been that the sacral king was, quite simply, the immediate ancestor of the saint-king. To quote the recent but in some respects old-fashioned work ofW. A.Chaney on Anglo-Saxon kingship: 'The sacral nature of kingship.... would lead the folk to expect God to honour the *stirps regia.* The recognised form of this in the new religion was sainthood.'[2] Christianity, so Chaney implies, simply makes a saint out of the sacral king: in essentials, nothing is changed.

This view has been rightly challenged. But we need, if possible to go further, and to substitute an alternative general interpretation of the phenomenon of thesaint-king. The task has been made easier by recent research. Two contributions seem particularly important. First I would like to consider a paper by the Polish scholar K. Gorski on 'The birth of states and the saint-king', published in *1968* but originally delivered in 1965.[3] In this short but penetrating study, Gorski suggested that the appearance ofsaint-kings incertain kingdomsofScandinavia and eastern Europe could be used analytically as an index of progress towards state-formation. Royal cults reflect 'the potential of the power of early

l Amid **a** v:ut literature the following works are especially helpful, and provide further bibliographical reference$: R. Folz, 'Zur Frage der heiligen Konigc', in *Deutschts Atchiv* 14 (Weimar 1958) pp 317 lf; 0. Nachtigall, 'Das sakrale Konignun **bei** Naturvolkern', in *ZdlJChriftfor Ethnologit* 83 (Berlin 1958) pp 34 ff; Tu *Sacral Kingship. Contributions to tht Villth lnkrnationa/ CMJgrtss of tht Hiswry of Rtligions* (Leiden 1959); (H.) Wolfram. ('Methodische Fragen zur Kiitik am "Salcralen" Konigrum'), in *Ftstschrift* 0. *Hii.fltr* (Vienna 1968) pp 473 lf; L. Makarius, 'Du roi magique au roi divin', in *Ann41ts* 2s (1970) pp 668 a:

8 *Tiu Cult of lGngship in Anglo-Saxon &gland* (Manchester 1970) p 81. Compare the rev:icw by R. Brentano in *Sptculum* 47 (1972) pp 754 f.

a 'La naissance des etats et le "roi-wnt" •. in *L'&opt au !Xe au Xie Si/.dts,* edd T. Manteulfel and **A.** Gieysztor (Warsaw 1968) pp *425* ff. r have translated the passages quoted from the original French.

medieval state organisations - a potential which the Church might or might not reinforce'. Gorski offered asanexplanation of thedifferential incidence ofsaint-kings in the various nascent states, therelativestrength of political power already attained and the correspondingly variable attitude of the church: in brief, where political power was weak, the church sought to strengthen it by promoting the cults of royal saints. The one country where no saint-king appeared - Poland - was characterised by a uniquely strong kingship at a rather early date, so that 'the Church, considering monarchical power as not only consolidated buteven excessive and disposed to tyranny, was notinclined tovenerate a saint-king upon its altars'.

The great merit of Gorski's approach is its concentration on the relationship of religious authority to political power. Thus, following the time-honoured gelasian principle, we recognise that there are two equally necessary parties to this case. But the flaw in the argument also seems clear: its misinterpretation of the functional relationship of the 'feudal Church' to secular power. To Gorski, the whole question presents itself as 'a problem of feudal ideology'. But whatever its relevance to eastern Europe between the ninth and eleventh centuries, this way of viewing the problem is less helpful for the early medieval west - where, after all, saint-kings first appear. We can only hope to explain their incidence (why, for exan1ple, in seventh-century, rather than eighth-cenrury Northumbria? and why not in late ninth-century Francia?) by exploring their significance to those who cultivated them.

Gorski lamented theabsence of anystructural study ofearly medieval sanctity. But even as he spoke, the gap was being largely filled by the Czech, F. Graus, whose important work, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger* was published also in1965. Here are exposed theessential characteristics of the early medieval concept of sanctity, as revealed in merovingian hagiography. In brief. sainthood was defmed by reference to monastic-ascetic values and it was virtually monopolised by representativesof the monastic and clerical orders of society. Graus went on to exa1nine the specificcaseof thesaint-king, taking intoaccount evidence from western Europe as a whole. Saint-kings, he concluded, fell into two main categories: those who abandoned their kingdoms to become monks; and those who died as 'martyrs', innocent and often unresisting victims, either in battle or at the hands of traitors. They were notsaints in virtue of their royalty, but in spite of it.[4] They qualified for sainthood

4 [F.] Graus. *(Volk, Ht"schtr im41wligu im* &idt *4tr Mtrowinger)* {Prague 1965) pp 390 tr.

either through the act of renouncing the world, most spectacular in their case because they had most to lose, or through self-subjection to defeat and death, in a conspicuous reversal of normal values showing themselves lacking in *Jelicitas* orin that martial valour which fights to the death.

In the hierarchy of early medieval values, sanctity was therefore not only superior to all other statuses including that of kingship, but it was available only to those,vho had withdrawn from the *ordo secularis.* Sanctity and secularity were, in effect, mutually exclusive. To bring about a rapprochement between them was one of the main conceptual tasks facing the early medieval church. By the tenth century, thesaint-queen[5] and the saint-nobleman[6] were achieving recognition as acceptable models of *this-worldly* sanctity displayed in 'everyday life'. But the saint-king presented considerably more difficulties. Even in the eleventh century, he was still presented by clerical biographers as a 'crowned monk'.[7] How are ,veto account for this delay in bringing him, so to speak, down to earth?

Graus rejected the notion that sacral kingship had any widespread existence at all in pre-christian western Europe.[8] But it seems to me that it is precisely the recognition ofsacral traits in early medieval kingship which can help answer our question. Gorski had already made the significant observation that there was never any 'saint-emperor' in Byzantium. The point has been taken up by a byzantinist scholar, who objects that there was a peristently 'sacral' element in byzantine imperial power.[9] But there is au obvious misunderstanding here, arising at least in part fron1 confused terminology: English seems to be the only language which not only distinguishes *sacral* from *sacred*,[10] but (unlike Greek, Latin, French or German) also has two separate words for the

5 For the *Vita* of queen Matilda, wife of Henry the Fowler and mother of Otto r, see Graus pp 410 ff. I am also indebted to suggestions made in conversation by *Mr* Karl 1.eyser.

6 For the *Vita* of Gerald of Aurillac, see D. Baker, 'Vir Dei: secular sanctity in the early tenth century', in *SCH* 8 (1972) pp 41 ff.

7 J.T. Rosenthal, 'Edward the Confessor and Robert the Pious: 11th Century kingship and biography', in *Medieval Studies* 33 (Toronto 1971) pp 7 ff, at p 11. See also [F.) Barlow, *[EdwaJd the Confessor]* (London 1970) pp 256 ff.

8 For this debate, and the views of Hofler, Baetke and others, see Wolfram; also K. Hauck, *Gcldbralttaun aus Sievem* (Munich 1970) and now the perceptive comments of U- M.J Wallace-Hadrill, *[Early Germanic K"mgship in England and on t1u ContinmtJ* (Oxford 1971) cap I.

9 See the short notice of Gorski's paper in *BZ* 61 (1968) p 184-

10 The German *S4kra1* is a very rC<lCllt borrowing from Engfuh, where the term 'sacral' was coined by the pioneer anthropologistsof the later nineteenth century.

substantive 'saint' and the adjective 'holy' (or 'sacred'). Sacrality involves the transmission of otherworldly powers into this world, crosscutting the line between nature and supemature. Sacral rulership therefore transcends the distinction between clerical and secular (in societies where such a distinction is made at all). It constitutes an ascribed not an achieved status, for its bearer possesses magical powers by definition. Nothing has to be proved or approved: sacrality goes with thejob, is carried in the blood. There was nothing here to attract, and much to repel, the christian churchman attempting to construct a model of royal sanctity. The riskiness of the enterprise was clear when there were always 'some people', as William of Malmesbury anxiously noted, who would claim that Edward the Confessor's healing powers flowed *non ex sanctitate sed ex regalis prosapiae hereditate.*[11]

In the end, the church was able to come to terms ,vith asaint-king who was the exponent ofspecifically royal virtues in the world of men, yet posed no threat to the clergy's working monopoly of sacral powers.[12] In the first place, the church developed its own objective and differentiated idea of useful rulership, whose type was the *rex iustus.* Wallace-Hadrill has recently suggested that Bede's kings, notably the *sanctissimus* Oswald, were already sketches for the church's eventual full-scale portrait of christian kingship.[13] With the eighth- and ninth-century development of the practice of royal anointing, along with its accompanying ideology, clerical theorists could present kingship as an office within the *ecclesia,* clerically-conferred *(per officiun, nostrae benedictionis)*and clerically-conditioned in content and exercise.[14] In principle, thesuitable candidate required the approval of both clergy and people, and he could achieve his kingly status only through the

ll *Hisloria Rtgum* ed W. Stubbs, *RS 90* (1887) U, i, p 273. Sec M. Bloch, *us Rois 11unnnaturgts* (Strasbourg 1924).

11 We must cake into account that strain in christian rudition which always regarded earthly power with misgiving1. Compare Graus, p 32: 'Der heilige Konig ist in der lbgiographie nicht Gaunt des Wohlergehens, sondern zu seiner Schilderung wird ... our der Topos vom goldenen Zeicalter verwendet. Diese "gehemmte" Entwicklung hat ihren letzen Grund wohl in der Erkenntnis kirchlicher Krcise, dass selbst ein "guter Konig» our bedingt den "christlicben Ideal.en" entsprechen konnte.' Even in the eleventh century, Gregory VU repeated *(Reg* vm, 21) the idea that royal dominion wasthe work of thedevil - by that date, not such a common view. The origins of this specifically western line of christi.an political thought were clearly traced by W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Ptrstculion in tk &rly Church* (London 1965).

13 Wallace-Hadrill,cap IV. Compare Graus, pp 416 If, where too little account is taken of the positive and 'useful' aspect of Bede's image of kingship.

14 Sec W. Ullmann, *Tht Carolingian Rau,iss,intt and tk Idea of K/ng$hip* (London 1969). The quotation is from the crowning-prayer of H.incmar's *Ordo* for Louis the Stammerer, 877 (MGH *Capit,* II, 461) which reappeared in many subsequent *Ordims.*

sacral ministrations of the clergy. The anointing rite was the means whereby the *electus* was made, not replete with magical powers, but capable, through grace, of fulfilling his this-worldly royal function.ls Once 'useful' qualifications were clear, the notion of 'useless' kingship too could acquire juristic definition;[16] and the so-called coronation-oath could become a constitutional check.[17] Thus the consecrated king was the church's model of desacralised rulership.

In the second place, theconcept ofsanctity itself18 could be not only sharply differentiated from sacrality but turned against it. For what distinguishes a saint from a sacral or holy person is the very obvious, but crucial, fact that a saint is dead: it is his bones (real or believed) which are the object of a cult. The living determine the criteria of sanctity and establish the qualifications of the prospective saint. His life and/or death must beadjudged worthy, and his relics must be believed to work wonders. As the subject of a critical assessment, therefore, the saint must achieve and be assigned his status. Ho\.vever positively kingship may be valued, if sanctity has to be earned and recognised there can be no sanctification of royalty *per se*. l cannot see the church's *auctoritas*, operated increasingly from the eleventh century as a papal monopoly,[19] functioning here as a simple adjunct of 'feudal' political institutions. Even if theinitiative in promoting asaint's cult was usually clerical, popular acceptance was essential to its success. Cowdrey has shown in relation to the peace movement of the eleventh century how saints **were** summoned intocooperative action by clergy and people.[20] The general point is no less valid for royal saints in particular. It is significant that all but a few of these cults remained obscure and localised, while some, for example that of Edgar at Glastonbury, never got .off the ground. Family interest and clerical support were not enough to guarantee long-term or widespread recoguition:[21] a more public utility had to be demonstrated.

For royal saints, manipulated by the living, provided notjust a model

1 Compare my paper, 'National synods, kingship as office, and royal anointing',ch. 10 below, pp. 239 ff.

16 See E. Peters, Th *Shadow King* (New Haven 1970).

17 See W. Ullmann, *Prlncipks of Govmimtlll and Politics in tht Middle* (London 1961) pp 1,u lf, 186 If.

19 Onthe origins of the christian idea of the saint, **sec** Graus, part Ill; A.-J. Festugicre, *La Saintdi* (Paris 1949); and the penetrating remarks of P. Brown, *Rtligion and S,xitty inthe of St Augustine* (London 1972) p 1.µ.

19 Sec E. W. Kcrnp, *Canonisation mu/ Autlwrity In tht Wts/nn Church* (Oxford 1948).

to 'The Peace and Truce of Godin the Eleventh Century', in *PP* 46 (1970) pp 42 ff.

21 Graus pp *390* lf; Wallace-Hadrill pp 81 1£.

but a yardstick of kingly conduct and performance inoffice. Sucha tool was useful to other ,vorkrnen than clerics and princes. Thus St Edward the Confessor was a potent figure in twelfth-century England less for propagandisers of beneficent royalty than for those who, **in** order to put limits on royalty's operations, \Vere already making whatJolliffe so aptly termed the advance 'from law to politics'.[22] Even from the arch-example of a dynastic saint-king, Joinville points the following moral: Louis IX's canonisation 'has brought great honour to those of the good king's line who are like him in doing \veil, and equally dishonour to those descendants of his who will not follow him **in** good works. Great dishonour, I repeat fJoinville's emphasis is significant] to thoseof his line who choose to do evil. For men will point a finger at them and say that the saintly king from whom they have sprung would have shrunk from doing such wrong.'[28] The prediction was accurate: in 1314, Philip IV was forced by his subjects to confirm the liberties his saint-grandfather had allowed, just as in England a century earlier, Edward the Confessor's sanctity which 'was known to include the re-mission of taxes'[2]•was held up against the tyrannous king John. There is more than coincidence here: it was because the saint-king's past was *not* that of sacral kingship that he had at least a potential future as a symbol of constitutional monarchy.

22 **J.** E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (London 1963). On St Edward, see ∪, C.J Holt, *[Magna Carta]* {Cambridge 1965). J. C. Russell, 'The Canonization of opposition *to* the Icing in Angevin England', in C. *H. Hrtskins Anniversary Essays* (Boston 1929) pp 279 If, comments interestingly on the implications for English royalty of the popular 'sanctification' of anti-royal leaders, without, howe=, noting that a saint• king could play a similar role.

23 *Chronicle of the Cfl/sade of St Louis,* trans M. R. B. Shaw (London 1963).

2[4] Holt p 96. Compare Barlow pp 265 ff.

CHARLES THE BALD AND THE CHURCH

IN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE

'THE CHURCH in town and countryside' isa fruitful theme. But for early medievalists it is an especially challenging one. We first have to establish our right to participate at all. There is a classic tradition of interpreting western history, and the history of western Christianity too, in terms of an opposition between town and countryside:[1] but according to exponents of this tradition, from Marx and Engels through Weber and Troeltsch to some contemporary historians, the early midclle ages present a dull, townless void between antiquity and the eleventh or twelfth century. We have to begin then, by affirming that there were towns in the early middle ages. To justify this, we must do more than point out continuity in the terminology used by late classical and early medieval writers. We need to show that places existed which functioned as towns. Biddle[2] has given a useful archaeologist's list of functional criteria: defences, a planned street-systen1, a market, a mint, legal autonomy, a role as a central place, a relatively large and dense population, a diversified economic base, plots and houses of 'urban' rype, social differentiation, complex religious organisation, a judicial centre.

· Biddle suggests that if a place fulfils three or four at least of these criteria, it merits serious consideration as a town. At this point, the early medieval ecclesiastical historian can rub his or her hands: not only are we qualified to join actively in discussion, but we have a particularly good qualification to do so-simply because in the early middle ages it was churches, episcopal and monastic, which provided the n1ajor, if not quite the only, *foci* for town life on the criteria

[1] See for example K. MarJC, *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations,* ed E. Hobsbawm (London *1964)* pp *35-6,* 77-8, 127 *uq;* F. Engels, *ThL Peasant War in Germany,* ed L. Krieger (Chicago/London 1967) pp 33 *uq;* (M.) Weber, *Economy (and SociayJ,* ed G. Roth and C. Wittich, 3 vob (New York 1968) 3, cap 16, pp 1212-62; E. Troeltscb, *The Social Tea,hing oftht Chrislian Churthts,* 2 vols (London 1931) 1, pp 254 *seq;* C. Haase, 'Die mittelalterlicbe Stadt als Festung', *Stadt dts Mittelalters,* ed C. Haase, 3 vols (Darmstadt 1969) 1, pp 377-408, and other essays in the same collection.

• 'Towns', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England,* cd D. M. Wilson (London 1976) pp 99-1*SO* at p 100.

specified above.[3] If 'a role as a central place' and 'complex religious organisation' go without saying, the defensive, economic, and governmental functions of ecclesiastical centres seem to me equally characteristic and peculiar-certainlyfor ninth-century west Francia on which I propose to concentrate.

But by way of preliminary, I want to make two points, one specific, one general. The first concerns the economic features of our ecclesiastical towns: they are centres not primarily of production but of consumption and, to a lesser but increasingly significant extent, of exchange. As consumers of rural products, the' town-dwellers-religious specialists and those who service them-clearly exist in intimate dependence on the countryside. But those who produce for or supply the urban elite are also its dependants. There is no merchant class, no bourgeoisie: only agents and servitors of churchmen. This explains why there is no qualitative distinction between the religiosity of town and countryside such as Weber and Troeltsch posited for later medieval Christendom and Gdlner for north African Islam.' My second, general, introductory point is this: that compared with any other society I can think of since urban civilisation began at all, the differentiation of town and countryside in the early medieval west had quite peculiar implications. Elsewhere towns were the locations of political power. And if political and religious institutions were structurally differentiated, it was the religious ones, if any, which shifted to the countryside.[5] The growth of the Christian church within the Roman empire, and especially during 'the birth of the Middle Ages', had consequences specific to the early medieval west: institutional continuity of the church in old urban centres; the transformarion of those old centres and the growth of new ones under ecclesiastical direction or at least strong influence; the disappearance or attenuation of certain urban functions in these centres as barbarian lay political power was established in the countryside; and a spatial

- LJ.) Hubert, 'Evolution (de la topographic et de !'aspect des vil!es de Gau!e du Ve au Xe siWe]', *SS Spoltto* 6 (1959) pp *529-58* at 540 *seq;* [R.) Latouche, (Th<) *Birth (of Wtstern Economy!* (London 1967) pp 97 *s,q;* E. Ennen, *Dit turopiiiuht S14dt d,s Mittlt-laltas* (Gottingcn 1972) caps 1, 2; [G.) Duby, (Th<) *Early Growth (of lht Europtan Economy]* (London 1974) pp 97 *st4,*esp p 106.
- (E.) Gc!Jner, '(A pendulum swing theory of] 1mm', *Arma/ts Sociologiqu,s* (Paris 1968) PP 5-14-
- For pioneering attempts at a comparative approach, see Weber, *Economy* 3, pp 1226 *stq,* 1236 *stq,* 1200-2, and Gcllner, 'Islam'. But the uniqueness of developments in the early medieval west remains to be explored.

dislocation between lay and ecclesiastical power which meant that kings, though based in the countryside, had to find some mode of access to the towns through relations with the church. Balthild's interference with urban and sub-urban cult-sites throughout her Neustro-Burgundian realm shows the interaction of all these themes[6]. In the ninth century, that interaction took other forms-arising from the terms on which the early Carolingians had set about the reconstruction of ecclesiastical culture and institutions after the disintegration of the late seventh and early eighth centuries.[7] Reform depended, asin theeleventh century, on maxi1nising material resources: no scriptoria without sheep and cows! Carolingian royal and aristocratic piety ensured that the reformed church had its riches. Herlihy[8] has calculated that church lands over western Christendom as a whole tripled in area between 751 and 825, rising from ten to over thirty per cent of the total of land cultivated. No conten1porary power-holder could neglect such a trend, and kings especially were bound to claim some benefits from it. I start from the assumption that this royal exploitation could be, not wanton plundering, but a highly discriminating exercise the pattern of which may be clearer if we apply the distinction between town and countryside. And since Charles the Bald has the reputation of an arch-exploiter, his activities seem worth closer exan1ination.

First then, what was the interest of the church in the countryside to Charles the Bald? Following an ancestral tradition which may well predate the Carolingians,[9] Charles used church lands to reward, and secure the loyalty of, his vassals and his counts. In his father's reign, clerical protests against this practice had become noisy; but though Louis the Pious probably tried to stop making new appropriations, he did not revoke those of his ancestors.[10] During the wars of 840-3, further spoliations, royal and otherwise, had been n1ade. Charles the Bald therefore began his effective reign under intensified pressure to restore ecclesiastical properry. He did so, as twenty-four surviving

- See my 'Queens as Jezebel$: the careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History', above, chapter 1, pp. 1-48.
- E. Ewig gives a fine sun,ey in *Hand le of Chlffth History*, ed H. Jedin and J. Dolan 3 (Lendon 1¢9) sections 1, 3 and 4.
- 'Church property on the European Continent, 701-1200', *Spttulum* 36 (1961) pp 81-105.
- [£.) L:me. *[Histoirt de la) Propritte [ecclesiastiqut en France], 6* vob (Lille 1910-43) I, pp 446-50; 2, pp 1-9.

[10] Le,,ie. *Propriltl*, 2, ii (1922) pp 148 *uq.*

charters testify.[11] But did this mean that he was having to 'despoil his own domains to buy off revolt'?[12] Can we infer from such acts of restitution increased royal weakness, measured in terms of loss of control of lands? Let us look at a case where we know what actually happened next. h1 84.5, with Hincmar at his elbow, Charles restored substantial properties to the church of Rheims.[13] But his vassals were not thrown off their estates. They now became, instead, vassals of the archbishop[14] and were told by the king to pay their due rents *(nonae et Jeciniae)*[16] to the church. In practice, though, what mattered was that Charles's men retained their benefices and through them their personal link with the royal benefactor; so that, when one such vassal wished to passon his benefice to hisson, he applied not to Hincmar but to Charles.[16] Where is the alleged loss of royal political control?

It is true that ninth-century churchmen had successfully vindicated their exclusive rights-in principle-to the disposition of church property.[17] A vassal holding such property no longer held it from the king *(verbo regis)* but from an ecclesiastical *rector*.[18] Churchmen recognised, nevertheless, that in practice royal needs had still to be met in the interests of the realm as a whole. Paschasius Radbertus, writing in 8.52, attributed a shrewd assessment of the situation to Wala of Corbie a generation before: 'If the state *(respublica)* cannot survive without the help of church property, a procedure and a system *(,nodus et ordo)* must *be* sought' so that laymen could receive such property without damage to the church.[19] New rules were found. But as Southern said in another context:[20] ••• though the system had its ... philosophers,it was also, as practical men knew,capable of being

[11] (G.J Tessier, *[Reuuil des Attt, dt Charle, II k Chauve],* 3 vols {Paris 1943-55) 3, pp 213-15.

u (J. M.j Wallace-Hadrill, *[Early Gmnanic) Kingship (in England and on the Continent)* (Oxford 1971) p 127.

[13] Tessier, 1, no 75, pp 210-13.

u Tessier, 1, no *99,* pp 262-5.

u G. Constable, 'Nona et decima', *S,mulum* 35 (1900) pp 224-50.

[10] Hincmar of Rheims, *De vi/ld Novilfoco, PL* 1.25 (1879) col 112.

[17] [W.) Goffart, *(The Lt Mans] Forgeries* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966).

[18] Lesne, *ProprUte,* .2, i, pp 164 *seq.*

u *MGH SS* 2, ed G. H. Pertz (Hanover 1829) p *549.* On this passage, see W. Wehlen, *Ceschichtssclrrtibung und Staalsau.ffassung im Utalter Ludwigs dts Frommtn, Histcrischt Studitn* 418 {Ltibeck/Hamburg 1970) p 114, and for the meaning of *respublica* (in some ninth-century conte.xu equivalent to *StaaJsgut)* pp 33 *seq,* 53-4. It *is* worth stressing that Paschasius was writing this in the conteXt of the reign of Charles the Bald, not Louis the Pious.

to *Tht Making of the Middle Age,*(London 1959) p 140.

manipulated to give much the same results as had been obtained in a ... cruder age. The whole secret lay in knowing the ropes, and in sensing how far one could go.' Charles the Bald knew the ropes. On the lands of the church ofLaon he confided so many vassals to the bishop that the lands of the see were hardly adequate to support them and additional royal grants had to be promised.[21] Given the loyalty and the effective generalship of the bishop in question, Charles had nothing to lose by having his vassals become the bishop's: service to church and realm were then perfectly congruent. Moreover, those vassals persisted in regarding the king as the real source of their benefices, appealing to him against the bishop when the latter tried to evict then1. But in that case it \Vas not the king or his men but the bishop himself who could be depicted as despoiling church property, and at the sa1nc time betraying his king.[22]

Continuing effective royal disposition of the lands of churches (whatever theory n1ight say) could in fact work to the benefit of those churches as corporate institutions. Individual bishops or abbots sometin1es presided over the despoiling of their own churches' lands.[23] In such circumstances royal protection could mean what it said. It was to protect the abbey's lands against abbots who n1ight 'make grants to laymen more inordinately than was fining' that the n1onks of Fleury sought the king's help.[24] Charles dispatched four *ntissi* to establish the true extent of the abbey lands, and in a diploma recording the findings of theinquiry he comn1anded '... that no future abbot ... should presun1e to subtract to any degree from the na1ned manors, but from them should both strenuously perform our (military) service ... and take care to provide adequately for the monks', whon1 Charles naturally expected to pray for himself, his family and the stability of the realin.[24] Charles' candour is refreshing: in his view the

[11] Hincmar ofLaon, *PL* 1.24 (1879) col 1029.

[12] *PL* 126 (1879) cols *495,* 583, Mansi 16, cols 649-50. Sec Les11e, *Propriett,* 2, i, pp 278 *seq;* U-1 Devisse, *Hit1otuJr, [Archtvlqut dt Rtims 84.5-882),* 3 vol$ (Geneva 1975-0) 2, pp 738-85, e.sp p 775, n 402, where it becomes clear that the central issue is not legal but political

[28] Lesne, *L'Origint dts Mensts dans It temportl des tglists ti des mon1Uteres dt France au /Xe siedt* (Lille 1910) pp 63 *stq;* but the comments on pp 59-00 need modifying in the light of [F.] Felten, 'Laienabte [in der Karolingerzeit'J, *Miinchtum, Episkopat und Ad,/ z11r Griindungsztit dts Klosters Rtuhenar,,* ed A. Borst (Sigmaringen 1974) pp 397-431.

"Tessier, I, no 177, pp 465-9 **at** 467: '... propter rerurn diminutioneru quas praeteriti praclati cjusdcm monasterii inordinatius quam decuit saecularibus attribuerunt '

•• *Ibid* p 468: '... ut nullus abbas futurus de eoderu momasterio eligcndus secundum nos1tan1 indulgentum et sanctotum episcoporum privilegiunt de nonunatis villis vel locis aliquid dirninuere praesumat, sed de ipsis et nostrunt servi1ium strenue peragat,

interests of *servitium nostrum* and of the monastic community went hand in hand, and both had to be defended against the arbitrary action of self-interested abbots. Interestingly, the passage referring to secularisations of Fleury lands by abbots *(praelati)* caused two respectable nineteenth-century editors[26] to treat this diploma as 'suspicious': abbots, they declared, did not do that sort of thing.

Charles the Bald exercised a special control over the lands of royal abbeys, especially in Neustria. Like his immediate predecessors, he could grant abbacies, with their appurtenant vast estates, to able clerics who made their careers in the royal service.[27] More often than those predecessors, Charles sometimes granted abbacies to laymen.[28] The disposition of St. Martin's at Tours, for instance, successively to well-connected clerics and powerful laymen, played a key part in the king's policy in western Neustria.[29] Lay abbacies tended to lead to dismemberment of monastic holdings, they were uncanonical and aroused episcopal protest;[80] but they continued to provide Charles with a useful fund of lands for distribution. Alternatively, he could keep royal abbeys for himself or for members of his own farnily, in which case royal agents ran the monastic estates directly. Abbey lands became, in other words, an extension of the royal do1nain. Thus in 864 Charles commanded his counts 'that the manors of our royal domain and also the manors of the monasteries which we hold conceded and granted to our wife and our sons and daughters, and which are under the royal immunity, shall maintain their existence within the counties and be preserved intact with due respect paid [to their

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adjunctis vassallorum annuis doni$ et aedificiis monasterii ct munitione, consueto adjutorio, ct ipsis servis Oei in eoden1 loco habitantibus congrua stipendia rninistrarc studeat' and a few lines above:• ... quatcnus et pracsentcs et secuturi ejusdem loci monachi absque ulla pcnuria stipendiorum valcrcnt Domnino liberc militate, **et** dclectaret cos pro nobi$ct stabilitatc rcgni nostri uxorisque ac prom Dominum exorare'. The n1ilitary setvice owed from mona.stic lands and by abbots in person is discu$$Cd by [F.) Prinz, *K/er,u wuJ Krieg* (Stuttgart 1971) pp *105 seq,* 120-2.

.. M. Prou and A. Vidier, cited by Tessier, 1, p -466.

1' **(K.)** Voigt, [Die *Karolit1gische) Klosterpolitilt (und der Nitdtrgang des westfrankischen Konigtums)* (Stuttgart 1917); Lesne, *Propriltl,* 2, ii, bks t and 2; Ewig, 'Descriptio Franciae', *Karl dtr Grosse,* ed W. Braunfels, 4 vols (Dtineldorf 1965-8) r, pp 16o *seq.*

18 This development and its significance have been ably demonstrated by F-elten, 'Laien-iibte', esp 408 *seq,* 421 *seq.*

.. J. Boussard, 'Les destlnees de la Neustrie du !Xe au Xie siecle', *Cahiers tk Civilisation Medilvalt* 11 (Poiticrs 1968) pp 15 *seq.*

-0 See Hincmar's comments in *Ann [alts] Bert* [iniani], *sa* 866, ed F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clemencet (Paris 1964) pp 126; 131; 132(here the culprit is Charles hinlself).

special status).'[31] In 867 Charles himself wumed the abbacy of St. Denis, consigning its economic management to provost, dean and treasurer, and the organisation of its military service *(cura militiae)* to a *maior domus*.[33] The monks themselves seem to have collaborated willingly in these arrangements:[33] after all they stood to benefit from the king's attention. This was a case of mutual advantage. Hence the lack of any clerical criticism of Charles' action.

Of further significance was the use to which Charles put *his Klosterpolitik* in providing for two of *his* four sons who reached maturity.[34] It may seem only a short step from setting up your daughters as abbesses, as Charles' predecessors had done, to making oblates and in due course abbots of your legitimate sons. But this latter, Charles's innovation,[35] had large political implications. It enabled Charles to break with the Frankish royal tradition, so assiduously followed by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious and continued also by east Frankish kings down to the 88os, of partitioning the realm between all of a king's legitimate sons. No doubt the spur was shortage of sub-kingdoms: Charles only had two.[36] But the availability of royal monasteries provided an alternative to dismembering the fisc, or more dangerously, disinheriting his younger sons. Like appanages, rich abbeys might with luck keep princes happy, and unlike appanages, they did not carry the risk of heritability, for Charles's sons were properly professed monks. From the king's standpoint, it was also potentially very useful to have such important

u *MGH Cap* 2, cd A. Boretius and V. Krause(Hanovcr 1897)no272(cdictof Pit=)cap *5*, p 313: 'Volumus et expresse conutibus nostru mandamus, ut villae nost:rae indominicatae, scd et villac de monasteriis, quae ct coniugi nostrae et filiis ac filiabus nost:ris conccssa atque donata haben1us, quaeque sub immunitatc consistunt, cum salvamc11to et debit• reverentia in conutatibus illorum consistant'.

., *Ann &rt sa*, pp 134-5. See further Voigt, *Klostupolitik*, pp 87 *seq.*

., Tessier, 2, no 379, pp 347-50 **(an** original), where, **p** 350, Charles calls himself abbot *fratn,m tl«tiont.* On royal abbacic.s, see1.esne, *Propriltl*, 2, ii, pp 172-84-

•• For the abbacies held by Lothar (St Germain at Auxerre and perhaps St Jean at Reome) and Carlonun (St AW3nd, St Riquier, Lobbes, St Mcdard at Soissons and St Arnulf at Metz) see Voigt, *Klosttrpoliuk*, pp 38 *seq.* Two younger boys may also have been destined for the church: sent for education to St Amand, they died there in *865* or 866. See *MGH Poet* 3, cd L. Traube(Berlin 1896) pp 677-8. For thisand other dealings of Charles the Bald with St Amand, see now the important article of Rosamond McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald and his library', *EHR* 95 (1980), pp. 28-47. I am very grateful to her for letting me see this in advance of publication.

•• I had thought tbu point hitherto neglected until I found that Lesne, as usual, had already seen it: *Proprilte*, 2, ii, pp 167-8.

.. Sec Boussard, 'Neustrie'; and W. Kienast. *Studien iiher dit franzosischen Volksstamtne d,s FriihmiUtlalters* (Stuttgart 1968).

abbeys as those of St. Medard (Soissons), St. Amand, St. Riquier, and St. Germain (Auxerre) firmly in filial hands. The system worked well until 870 when the abbot of St. Medard, having seen one of his two elder brothers die and his father then acqwre part of Lotharingia, made a desperate bid for a realm of his own and was ruthlessly suppressed.[37] But Charles had set a precedent: later monarchs from the Ottonians onwards would dispose of surplus princes by dedicating them to the service of God-a strategy which of course presupposed effective (if indirect) control of churches and thcir lands.

I tum now to Charles's dealings with the church in the towns: what specifically urban services could the church offer? Despite its rural bases, Frankish royal power had always had important links with *civitates*.[38] But relations that had been quite informal and personalised under the Merovingians became rather less so under the Carolingians. Not that churchmen now occupied permanent posts in royal government, though they did act very frequently on special commissions, for example as *missi dominici* sitting alongside counts in public courts held in *civitates*.[39] But in general terms, it was because permanent, thus urban, central places came to play a more con- spicuous part in ninth-century administration that more, and more varied, goverrunental activity was required of churchmen, especially bishops.[40] On the supply side, the workings of the Carolingian renaissance produced more experts capable of drafting complex legislative documents or compiling estate surveys. On the demand side, growing defence problems created new needs. As an initial response individual churchmen, like the bishops of Orleans and Chartres, led local resistance to the Vikings from their *civitates*.'[41] When Charles implemented so1nething like a defence policy for the realm (at any rate those regions worst affected) he looked to the church not merely to contribute but to bear the main burden. Fortification was largely an urban task, in that whole cities or monasteries wereenclosed in walls.[42] Danegeld, the alternative method

[31] *Ann &rt sa* 870, 871, 873, pp 178-9, 194.

.. F. Prinz. 'Die biscllofliche S1adtherrschaft im Frankenreich vom 5. bis zum 7. Jht', *HZ* 217 (1974) pp 1-35; see further my comments in chapter I, above.'

,. For example *MGR Cap* 2, no 261, p 278.

•• F. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and tilt Frankish Monarchy* (London 1971) pp 200-7; W. Ullmann, 'Public welfare and social legislation in the early medieval councils', *SCH* 7 (1971) pp 1-39.

"*Ann Btrt sa* 854, p 69. See also Prinz, *Kltrus und Kri* , pp124 *seq.*

•• F. Vercauteren, 'Comment s'est-on defendu, au IXe siecle, dam !'empire franc, contre !es invasions normandes?', *Annalts du XXXt Congrts ,k la Fediration a1c/1io/ogique et*

of defence, meant urban and episcopal organisation. Bishops had to contribute from their own treasuries; they also had to collect the sums due from other ecclesiastical contributors throughout their dioceses. Like the Merovingians' tax-system, that of Charles the Bald was run in and from *civitates*-which explains why the famous Danegeld edict of 877, after specifying the central role of bishops, ended by requiring contributions also from 'traders and people living in *civitates* ... in proportion to their resources'."

Since Lot showed that the church was effectively the sole bearer of this financial burden, we have learnt more about the sources of the church's wealth in the ninth century.[35] It is not just a matter of dethesaurisation. When bishops like those of Rheims and Orleans, or the monks of St. Riquier and St. Bertin, could undertake large and often long-term building programmes, when successive bishops of Auxerre could disburse quantities of silver and cash for the adornment of every parish church in the diocese,[36] it looks as if urban ecclesiastical centres, episcopal and monastic, were able to dispose of increasing cash incomes deriving not only from increased revenues from vast, well-managed estates, but also from the growth of the markets they controlled. It is in this context of ninth-century economic growth-not universal, by any means, but concentrated precisely in those centres with which I am now concerned-that we can look at Charles the Bald's new exploitation of what was for him surely the most important of the church's urban services: hospitality. Charles's itinerary, compared with those of hispredecessors, shows a striking increase in the frequency of stays **at** *civitates*.[41] Only rarely was an ancient royal palace available: Charles restored the one

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historiqut ik &lgiqut (Brussels r936) pp 117-32; Hubert, 'Evolution', pp *550-7,* with figs r5, 16.

[0] P. Lot, 'Les tributs aux Normands et l'£glise de France au !Xe siecle', *BEC 85* (19Z4) pp 58-78.

"MGH Capit z, no 280, p 354.

[0] The fundamental work is Lesne, *Propriltl,* esp vols l (1936) and 6 (1943). See further, works cited above p 76 n 3; and Duby, *Rural &enemy and CoUlllry Lift in tht Mtditva/ Wtst,* trans C. Postan (London 1968).

•• Rheims: *MGH SS* 13, ed G. Waitz (Hanover 1881) pp 478-9; Orleans: *MGH SS* 15, ed W. Wattenbach, l parts(Hanover 1887/8) p 497; St Riqui«: Hariulf,*Chronicon Ctntulenst,* ed F. Lot (Paris 1894) pp 53-4; St Berlin: *Cartulairt ik /'ahb.iyt de* Sr *Bertin,* ed B. Guerard (Paris 1841) p 109, and *MGH SS* 15, pp 513-44; Aux«re: *MGH SS* 13, pp 396-7. See also Lesne, *Propriitl,* 3, pp. 91 *seq;* 6, pp 425 *seq.*

•• (C.-R.) Brllhl. *Fodrum, (Gistum, Suvitium Regis)* (Cologne 1968) pp 39 *stq.* It would be misleading to neglect the continuing preponderance of Charles's stays on royal manors, though even here the overwhelming preference for two of them, Quiersy

at Senlis *c86o.*'[8] Early in his reign, he had got into the habit of visiting himself and his court on the bishop's own residence, the *episcopium.* Later Charles 1nore often chose to say in the palaces built within royal or episcopal monasteries and what needs stressing here is the urban, or more precisely sub-urban, character of these monasteries: St. Denis near Paris, St. Medard at Soissons, St. Martin at Tours, St. Semin at Toulouse, St. Germain at Auxerre, St. Remi at Rheims, St. Mes1nin at Orleans.[49] How is this new royal practice to be explained? Bruhl who first drew attention to it explained it 1nainly in terms of dwindling royal land resources[60]-in particular of the famous 'squandering of the fuc' for which every scholar who has read his Dhondt (and every student his Barraclough) knows Charles the Bald was responsible.[51] Given political pressures which forced him to travel rapidly and continuously about his realm moving far more frequently than any previous or later Carolingian (he seldo1n spent more than a few weeks, or even days, in one place), Charles found his remaining fisc lands inadequate to sustain his court. Instead the burden had to be imposed on a reluctant church. Of course, all this is partly true, though I think the alleged squandering of the fisc by Charles has been much exaggerated. *sz* But I would suggest a positive as well as a negative reason for his changed choice of residence. Why could he not have solved his accommodation problem by staying frequently on rural episcopal or monastic manors (something he in fact did, but rardy)?[53] One obvious reason for choosing urban ecclesiastical sites was veneration for the saints who rested there. But Charles's motivation for visiting a place, as expressed in his own charters, was

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and Compiegne, is strikingly suggestive of new possibilities for the concentration of supplies. But what concerns n1e here is the nonetheless notable increase in the urban component in Charles's itinerary.

"BrUhl, 'Konigspfalz fund Biscllofsstadt)', *R/,ei11isc/,e Vieruljalirsbliitter ZJ* (Bonn 1958) pp 200-7.

u On all these monasteries, the last two controlled respectively by the bishops of Rhei.ms and Orleans, see Brilhl, 'Konigspfalz'. There is little additional i11forma1io11, for present purposes, to be found in Brilhl's recent work, *Palali11m 1md Civitas* 1 (Cologne 1975).

10 'Konigspfalz', pp 269--74; *Fodrum,* pp 50-2.

[61] J. Dhondt, *E.tudts* sur *la nalssanu des principa111es ttrriu,rialts tn Frat1ct !Xe-Xe siecle* (Bruges r948), pp 264-6, 272-4; G. Buraclough, The*Crucible of Europe* (London 197G) pp 88-9.

[11]1 hope 10 defend this view at length elsewhere.

"For example *Ann Bert sa* 846, p 52,.Epernay, **a** manor of the church of Rheims restored in 845, Tessier, 1, no 75; Hincmar, *MGH Epp* 8, i, ed E. Perels (Derlin 1939) p 72, Neauphles, **a** manor of the church of Rouen.

surprisingly pragmatic: he might come 'for the sake of prayer *(orationis causa)'* but he might equally well come 'to make arrangements for other affairs of our realm'.[54] Another likely reason for staying in *civitates* was the partial survival of the Roman road system that linked them.[55] But the main reason surely \Vas that the *civitates* and monastic urban centres were becoming wealthier, and the churches which could tap that wealth by controlling markets were therefore in a good position to sustain the new royal demands-sustain, and perhaps also to benefit from them. The bishops at the synod of Meaux-Paris in 845 registered a famous complaint which is conventionally cited to show their rooted opposition to Charles's new impositions. This is what the bishops said:

> It should be suggested to [the king) that ... he should enter theepisopal residence ... in a respectful manner whenever he may stay in a *civitas* to claim his due hospitality, and should not allow women in . . . Also the immunities granted by previous emperors and kings prohibit excessively long visits from kings, their magnates and their secular followings ... [From now on) when your journeying brings you to *civitates,* let your majesty give orders that the houses within a *civitas* be free from the exactions of plunderers; because [\vhat is happening now is that] all who used to bring their goods to the *civitates,* both to keep them in safe storage and to sell them more peacefully there, are refraining from doing so, existing immunities are being infringed, and the citizens are being ... not just oppressed but plundered by the visitors [that is, the king's entourage) and prevented from selling their goods ...[66]

H Tessier, 1, no 18, p 44 (for Corbie); 2, no 240, pp 43, 44(St Martin, Tours). References to *oraJio11/s causa* belong only to the early part of the reign. See Brllhl, *Fodrum,* pp 45--0, 104.

•• Brilhl, *Fodn,m,* pp 62 *seq.* For the realm of Charles the Bald, this topic is in need of further study.

.. *MGH Capit* 2, caps 26, 27, p 405: 'Suggerendum est ... regi.ae dignitati, utepiscopium ... rcverenter introeat, et ... quando orationis et debitae susceptionis gratia in transitu convenienti civitatem ingressus fuerit, habitaculis episcopalibus revereoter inhabitet, et non diversoria feminarum magoificcntia sua et religio venerabilis ibidem fieri permittat.... Sed et iomunitates praecedcntium imperatorum ac regum ab huiusmodi longiori ct diuturna cooversatiooe et commoratiooe regum et quorumcnmque potcn-tium ac secularium personarum in episcopio prohibellt Vestra Studcbit magnitudo obnixius observare, ut, quaodo transitus vester iuxta civitates accidcrit, inmunes ct liberas vcstra dominatio iubeat a depraedationum exactionibus fieri mansiones intra civitatcm, quia omoes, qui sua ad civitates deferebant, ut ct salva quaeque ibi habercnt ct ilia plus pacifice venderent, iam et hoc refugiuot er pr:utinac irununitates et coofu-

This protest is interesting because it is equivocal. The complaint is not about royal visits as such: had the 'citizens' and the suppliers of the urban market been able to rent out lodgings and sell their wares, instead of having them appropriated, would not everyone have been happy? We know that Charles subsequently imposed many times upon ecclesiastical hospitality; but there is a notable absence of subsequent complaints.[67] RheinlS was visited more often than any other *civitas*, but there is no sign at all that it was ruined[58]-rather its flourishing scriptoria and new buildings indicate the contrary. When Charles visited Auxerre in September 861, his court occupied all the available accommodation in and around the *civitas*.[69] But no clerical complaint is recorded: perhaps women were kept out of the churchmen's way. Is it possible that Charles's urban subjects, both ecclesiastical governors and the citizens for whom they were responsible, had begun to appreciate the benefits of increased consun1er dernand? Charles himself, after all, was highly sensitive to commercial considerations. He husbanded his revenues from tolls;[60] and in the enormous capitulary of 864 he provided for a sophisticated coinage reform, including a *renovatio monetae*, and for a firm royal control of mints (all but one of them in *civitates).*[61] Charles granted land to churches surprisingly rarely (surprisingly, that is, if you think of him an inveterate fuc-squanderer) but he did have other valuable things to give: to Corbie, a bridge and rights to tolls thereon;[62] to the bishop of Paris, the Grand Pont with its mills, and later, the right to dispose of some ne\vly-built houses;[63] to the monks of St. Denis control of a weekly market at

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mationes infringuntur, dum et civcs ab bospitibus oppriruuntur et ab his, a quibw non solum opprimuntur, verum et diripiuntur, sua non solum vendere prohibcntur, sed et propter direptionem post cos cum gem.itu clamare coguntur'.

., The ravaging of the countryside by the king's troops was occasionally complained of, but is lurdly relevant in the present context.

н Hiocmar's only complainu about royal demands for hospitality occur in a thoroughly disingenuous letter to pope Hadrian I[, *PL* 126, col 183, in which Hincmar affects to exculpate himself from complicity in Charles's invasion of Lotharingia! Even M. Devusc, *HinC1tUJ1,* 1, p 458, n *596,* ismoved to observe: 'la sincerite de !'argumentation. cette foi.1, n'est pas tante'. Inthevery same letter, Hiocmar affirnu the k.ing's righu to hospitality at bishops' expcme.

0 Lupus of Ferrieres, *tp* 115, *Co"tspotulanct,ed* L. Levillain, 2 vols (Paris 1935) . p 162.

-° Ganshof, 'Apropos de tonlieu a l'epoque carolingienne', in *SS Spol* 6, ii (1959) pp *485-508* at 4 7-

u *MGH Capit* 2, no 273, pp 310-32, at 314-20 (caps 8-24). See M. van Rey, 'Die MUnzprigung Karls des Kahlen', *Die Stadl in du turopaischtn Gescliiclue. Ftsischrift E. Ennen,* ed W. Besch and others (Bonn 1972) pp 153-84.

HT e·$$1Cf, I, no I8, pp 42-4.

u Tessier, 1, no 186, pp 491-2; 2, no *391,* pp 374-5.

Cormeilles;[64] to the bishop of Chalons-sur-Mame a mint and (carefully specified) the profits thereo£[66] It seems that from about 860 onwards, Charles was trying to establish regalian rights over the foundation of markets as well as over the profits of trade.[66] Certainly he knew how to invest in, as well as to exploit, the urban wealth of churches.

So far I have surveyed in a general way Charles the Bald's use of ecclesiastical resources first in the countryside, then in towns. Now I want briefly to bring these strands together *by* looking at royal policy in action at a particular place and time: Auxerre and Burgundy in 858--9. This was the great crisis-point of Charles's reign, when his realn1 was invaded *by* his half-brother Louis the German and most of the aristocracy deserted him. So did the archbisop of Sens, whose treachery represented a major military lo for Charles. But fortunately for him, the rest of the episcopate stayed loyal and explained why, in terms both of principle and of self-interest, in the famous Quiersy letter addressed to Louis the German. That the church 'saved Charles's kingdom' in this sense is well-known.[67] Less well-known is the church's contribution to Charles's political come-back. In late September 858, hearing of Louis' long-threatened invasion, Charles made for Burgundy.[63] To the monk Heiric writing a generation later, it was clear that Charles came to Auxerre 'having lost all hope of earthly help' to commit his cause to God and St. Ger1nain.[69] No doubt. But Auxerre had other attractions too. Charles had two powerful friends there: the bishop, Abbo, who had close connexions with the court and whose brother and uncle had been bishops of Auxerre before him, and the abbot of St. Germain's, Charles's cousin Hugh who already held this office in 853.[70] The church in Auxerre was wealthy, whether we measure that by the silver it could distribute, the marble it could buy or the school it could support.[71] Charles's political influence

"TC5$ier, 2. no 323, pp 210-12.

''''',esoier, 2, no 2n, pp 120-1.

" T. En mann, *Marltturkundtn und Maritt in Frankrtich und Burgund vom 9. bis ii]hdt.* (Constance 1964) pp 27-34; 40-8; 98 *stq;* 210-11.

17 On all this sec (J.) Calmct . [Li] *Dipfumatit (carolingimnt)* (Paris 1901, repr 19n) PP 34 *uq,* 51 *uq.*

•• *Ann Bert sa 858,* pp *78-9.*

11 *MGH SS* 13, pp 403-4.

1• Abbo: *MGH SS* 13, p 398, and Lupus, *Corrt1pondanct,* 2, nos *95,* 96, pp 108-115; Hugh: Calmette, *Diplomatit,* pp 42, 6o.

"*MGH SS* 13, pp 396-8, 403-4; E. Jeauneau, 'Le,ecoles de Laon et d' Auxerie au !Xe ,iccle', *SS Spol* 19 (1972) pp 495-5.22.

there, attested by episcopal and abbatial appointments before 858, was further shown when his cousin Conrad became count in that year.[72] It was from Auxerre, after staying in the palace he himself had probably had built in the precincts of St. Germain's,[73] that Charles set out soon after 9 January 859, to mobilise resistance to the invaders in Burgundy. With the recently-appointed young bishop of Laon at his side, Charles rallied his vassals fron1 church lands in the region, and by the end of January had marshalled enough troops to cause the invader's support to wane and Louis himself to withdraw.[7,] There are frustrating gaps in our information but the outlines of the picture are clear. When Charles to survive had to useevery instrument at his disposal, from family connexions to saintly intercession, what really tipped thescales washisability to exploit the carefully-husbanded resources of the church **in** town and countryside. A last point worth noting is that Burgundy was a conspicuous area of economic activity in the ninth century and later, activity of which Charles himself was among the early sponsors.[76]

My conclusion is two-fold. First, I am sure Emile Lesne was right to focus on ecclesiastical property as a crucial determinant of the relations between the king and the church in ninth-century Francia. Lesne's approach was criticised fairly recently on the grounds that it was 'too narrowly 1naterial' and took insufficient account of 'changes in the law' during the early Carolingian period.[76] I cannot share such reservations; and if I must plead guilty to narrowness, I can only find solace in the company of a materialist monseigneur. Of course Wallare-Hadrill is right to stress how much books (produced in

[71] L. Auzias, *L' Aquitaine carolingienne* (Paris 1937} p 295, n *58* (where, however, the grantof the abbacy of St Germain 10Hugh is misdated). See also Calmette, *Diplomatie*, pp 42, *58* (but the reference to Heiric, *MGH SS* 13, pp 401-2, seems misplaced: Heiric praises the generosity to St Gerniain of Conrad senior, father of the man made count in *858* - which only goes to show the longstanding Welf connexion with Au.xerre).

•• Briibl, 'Konigspfalz', pp 171-2.

"MGH Epp 8, no 126 p *52; Ann Bert sa 859*, p So, See Calmette, *Dipwmalie,* pp 58-9.

[1]. The map at the end of Endemann, *Marklurltunden,* is suggestive. For evidence of Charles's interest in the region, see Tessier 2, no 3;,.6, pp 218-23; no 354, pp 287-8; no 365, pp 315-17; no 378, pp 342-7. See also Latouche, *Bfrth*, p 221, and Duby, *Early Growth,* pp 104-5. No doubt an influx of refugees had an effect on economic growth in Burgundy. But it would be premature to claim a direct connexion between that growth and relative freedom from Viking raids. Notwithstanding the arguments of Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Vikings in Francia', Stenton Lecture for 1974 (University of Reading 1975) pp 13-18, the question of the Vikings' impact on economic developments in western and, especially, northern Francia seems to me still open.

" Goffart, *Forgerits,* p 6.

ecclesiastical centres) meant to Charles the Bald;[17] but I think that land and money, bed and breakfast meant even more.[78] It is probably true that Charles had little alternative to exploiting the church. But that does not mean that such exploitation was bad policy. When Wallace-Hadrill points out that for the monks of St. Calais in dispute with the bishop of Le Mans, 'the only escape' from episcopal domination was 'into the arms of the king',[711] he has put his finger on the vulnerability of the church. The need of churches for royal protection *(tuitio)* was greater, in the end, than the king's for ecclesiastical support *(s1!ffeagiu1n)-which* makes me unable to follow Wallace-Hadrill when he claims that Charles's 'unprecedented and unwelcome reliance on bishops and abbots for hospitality and the upkeep of his court was bound in the long run to play into their hands'.[80]

This brings me to my second conclusion: that it is false to see Charles's exploitation of the church as, in Bruhl's word, *rucksichtslos*[81] -wanton, ill-considered-and ultimately self-defeating, a view which seems currently to be widely shared. It was not Charles, after all, who created the vulnerability of the church. Ecclesiastical property-holding was always, and inevitably, at the mercy of lay politics. I have tried to show that Charles, far from ruining the churches' material base, generally sought to strengthen it when he could; and was able to do so, and exploit it at the san1e time, because he worked within an economy which, however tentatively and patchily, was showing the first signs of expansion. The analogy I would like to evoke is not that of a cake which, though its slices may vary, has fixed !units of total size, but that of a healthy cow which you can not only milk without killing, but whose production you can greatly increase if you improve its feed. Charles *the* Bald was no cynic: he seriously meant to protect the church, and on the whole contemporaries believed that he did so.

" Wallace-HadriU, 'A Carolingian Renaissance Prince: the Emperor Charles.the Bald', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 64 (1978), pp 155-84. There is much valuable information on books written for Charles the Bald in the article (cited in n 34 above) by McKitterick.

71 Compare the presentation of the Ottonians by J. Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Gtrmany in tht High Middle Agts*, Hisiorical Association (London 1973). Brilhl, 'Konigspfalz', p 274, n 703, contrasts Charles's 'system' with that oftheOttonians, whereas I am more impressed by the similarities.

,. Wallace-Hadrill, *Kingship,* p 126: by implication, royal arms are preferable to aristocratic ones.

•• *Ibid* p 127.

n Brilhl, *Fodrum,* p 52.

Hincmar and others hdd up hard standards for the king to meet. They obeyed him because Charles, despite his many problems, did not fall so far short of the model *minister Dei*. In the end, I hope that my view of the rdation of political practice to clerical ideology is not incompatible with the views of Wallace-Hadrill and.UIJmann; for if, as Wood recently wrote,[82] they move in the same world, it is surely one roomy enough to contain political, social and economic historians too.

tt *Early Mtdieval Kingship* (Univenity of Leeds 1978). If there iscurrently something of a 'Carolingian Renaissance' amongst younger British medievalists, this is largely due to the inllueru:e, direct **and** indirect, of these two scholars.

5

LEGISLATION AND CONSENSUS IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE BALD

In a recent comment on some Carolingian historical wnung, ProfessorJ. M. Wallace-Hadrill spoke of'a nice mixture of ruthlessness and fantasy'.' It is a rare achievement to have coped as he has with thisand other early n1edieval mixtures: he hasseemed as much at home at Brebieres or Clichy as at St Denis; he has conveyed vividly the excitement of both 'matters of the mind' and 'their startling physical background'; he has explained equally convincingly the bloodfeud's function in Merovingian society, and the interest of Carolingian scholars in *Lex Sa/ica,* and he hasdiscerned in Frankish legal sources 'the public reason of the Franks'.[2] The following notes on the capitularies of Charles the Bald are offered in gratitude for many insights and a generous supply of counsel and aid.

Since F.-L. Ganshof published his fine work on Carolingian capitularics,[3] his views have been developed in t\VO n1ain ways. First, increasing attention has been given to the survival of capitularies in private collections rather than in remnants of an official archive; and while new editions are still urgently needed, n1uch progress has been made in understanding the ways in which

' Wallacl·-Hadrill. *Early JHedieval /{istory* (Oxford, 1975), p. 17.

' K<·vicw of W. A. Eckhardt, *Die Kapitulariensam,n/ung Biuhof Ghaerbalds von L,itticl,* ((;oningcn, 1955). in *Tijdsrhrift voor Rech1sgesc/1iedenis,* XXIV (1956). pp. 471-2.

' l'. L. Ganshof, *R,·.-herchrs sur /es (.'apitulaires* (Paris, 1958), with references to earlier litt·rature.

Charlemagne's capitularies, **at** least, were produced and preserved.• Second, Ganshofs contrast between Charlemagne's capitularies, given binding force 'by the ruler's ban alone', and those of Charles the Bald, where the consent of the aristocracy has become a condition of validity, has been refined by the argument that the written text in the case of Charles the Bald's capitularies, unlike lus predecessors', had come to possess a 'dispositive character' and was no longer merely an *aide-memoire* to orally-promulgated legislation. [5] On the whole, however, recent research has tended to focus, as Ganshof did, on Charlemagne's reign at the expense of his successors, and to reaffirm Ganshofs belief that the references to 'consent' in Charles the Bald's capitularies signify the progressive weakening of the Carolingian monarchy fro,n *c*.830 onwards.[6] But these later capitularies, though quarried for lustorical data, have never been systematically explored; nor have they been looked at in thecontext of political practice, as collective 'public reason'. Even a brief and preliminary survey seems timely.

Over fifty capitularies have survived from the reign of Charles the Bald, including fourteen wluch are records of meetings between

• A start was made by S. Stein, *'L,,x* und *Capitula:* eine kritische Studie', *MJOG*, XLI (1926), pp. 289-301, and 'Etude critique des capitulaires francs', *Le Moyen Age*, LI (1941), pp. 1- 75. Although he reached the wrong conclusions, he directed attention to the MSS. Seealso W. A. Eckhardt, 'Die *Capitularia Missorum Speciali*,, von 802.'*DA.* XII(1956), pp. 498-516; R. Schneider, 'Zur rechtlichen Bedeutung der Kapitularientexte', *DA,* XXIII (1%7), pp. 273-94; D. Hagermann, 'Zur Entstehung der Kapitularien', in *Festschrift P. Acht* (Kallmutz, 1976), pp. 12-27; G. Schmitz, 'Wucher in Laon. Eine neue QueUe zu Karl der Kahlen und Hinkmar von Reims', *DA,* XXXVII (1981), pp. 520-58; the best discussion in English is R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms* (London. 1977), pp. 18 ff.; also W. Ullmann, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* (London, 1%1), pp. 203 ff. and *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Ki11gsl1ip* (London, 1%9), pp. 30-5; for capitularies in the broad context of early medieval legislation and kingship. P. Wormald, *'Lex Scripta* and *Verbum Regis'*, in P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (eds). *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), pp. 105-38.

' Schneider, 'Rechdiche Bedeutung'.

• Hiigermann, 'Entstehung', makes important qualifications to this argument, but concludes (p. 27) that instead of'a fundamental constitutional change', there was 'a significant shift of accent'. E. Magnou-Nortier, *Foi et fide/ire* (Toulouse, 1976), pp. 98 ff., offers a more radical reassessment with a remarkable analysis of the ideological content of four of Charles the Bald's apitularies. But I am not convinced by her interpretation of the term *convenientia* (which does not recur in Charles' later capitularies and seems unlikely to bean import from Roman law via the Midi), or by hergenera] account of a 'restructuringof the French monarchy' in thisreign.

Charles and (one or more) other Carolingian rulers.[7] Though a number of these texts have not been transmitted in the form of *capitula,* i.e. are not divided into numbered sections or 'chapters', nearly all of them fall within Ganshofs broad substantial definition of capitularies as 'prescribing rules of la\v and ordering their implementation, and/or prescribing measures in particular cases'.[8] What proportion has survived of *the* total number that may have been produced? *We* can only begin to answer that question by looking at how our texts have been preserved. Early in Charles' reign, at the Council of Ver in 844, it looks as if no agreed 'official' text was produced there and then.[9] Some months later, Lupus of Ferrieres in a letter to Hincmar of Rheims regretted that the king 'had not agreed in the first place to the recommendations which he sought and got at Ver', and recalled: 'I sent you (Hincmar) these same canons, or, as you call them, *capitula,* which I then marshalled with my pen. Posterity will, I think.judge them fair, and God will not be unmindful of my devotion.'[10] Hincmar, present at Ver, had evidently had to wait for Lupus to produce the capitulary text. From the early 850s, efforts were made to have a given capitulary text available at the palace from the time of issue, for copying by 'the archbishops and their counts'(!)" This rule does not suggest that many copies were envisaged, and *the* copying itself was evidently left to scribes attached to thearchbishops and counts- hardly a surprising arrangement, given the very small numberof chancery

' See R. Schneider, *Briidergemeine und Schwu,freu,ulschaft* (Lubeck-Hamburg, 1964).

• Ganshof, *Recherches,* p. 12. Appendix 1 lists these texts. AU were edited by A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH, Capit.* II, except for no. 58, which falls within Ganshofs classification of 'capitulary-likc texts' *(Recherches,* pp. 11-12), and has been edited by Schmitz, 'Wucher in Laon', pp. 556-8. That *ordines* of royal consecration should also be thus classified has been well argued by Ullmann, *Law and Politics,* pp. 207-8.

• No doubt the council had worked from a written agenda and some record of proceedings waskept. cf. Mcl{jtterick, *Frankish Church,* pp. 23-5,on ecclesiastical councils.

[10] Lupus, *Ep.* 43, in *Correspondance,* ed. L. Levillain (2 vols. Paris, 1927-35), I, p. 182.

[11] As originally prescribed by Louis the Pious in 825, *MGH, Capit.* I, no. 150, c.26, which reappears in the collection of Ansegis, ed. A. Boretius in *MGH, Capit.* I, Bk II, c.24, p. 419, and was cited from there in the capicularies of Servais (853) and Pitres (864), *MGH, Capit.* II, no. 260, c.11 and no. 273, c.36 (appendix 1, nos. 17, 39).

notaries operating at any one time.[12] We have no way of knowing how regularly the repeated directives about the keeping of a palace text were carried out. No example of such a text survives. [13] An episode in 862 where 'counsellors' tried to suppress a capitulary text suggests that, at this date anyway, the drawing-up of capitularies was in the hands of a very small groupof close royal advisers who, especially if a capirulary was not promulgated, could have taken texts away with them to 'private' archives. [1].

I would like to pursue further the question of capitularies' survival by considering three manuscripts:

1. Hague 10 D 2, written at Rheims in the third quarter of the ninth century, contains a series of West Frankish capitularies dating from between 843 and 856, and including virtually every capitulary known from these years. [15] The last piece in the collection contains references to ten of the earlier items. I havesuggested elsewhere that Hincmar may have been responsible both for this last capitulary, and for the collection of which Hague 10 D 2 isan early copy.'[6] Ifso, ought we to ask whether he was acting in a 'public capacity', 'entrusted' with the construction of a state archive, or in a private capacity as one interested in collecting, preserving and even composing capirularies (among other legal texts)? The question is, I think, *ma/ pose:* it presupposes a hard and fast dividing line which was constantly transgressed in ninth-century practice. I shall return to this point.

2. Most of Yale Beinecke 413[17] is in the hand of a scribe,

" cf. Ganshof, *Recherches,* p. 64. On the chancery of Charles the Bald, see G. Tessier, *Receuil des Actes de Charles le Chauve* (3 vols, Paris, 1944-55), JII, pp. 46 ff.

" And see below, p. 95. for reservations about *the* alleged link between a copy of Ansegis and Charles the Bald. If there was a copy of Ansegis in Charles' palace archive late in the reign, was anyone there to use it as a legislative data-bank? The mandate tentatively dated by Schmitz to 868(1, no. 58) tells Hincmar to preparea dossier of Ansegis-citations on a particular issue (usury).

•• *Anna/es de Saint-Bertin,* ed. F. Grat, J. VieUiard and S. Clemencet (Paris, 1964), (hereafter cited as *Anna/es),* pp. 94-5.

•• See appendix 1. Trus MS was cited by the *MGH* editors as Haagensis 1. For details (and dating by B. Bischoff) see P. Classen, 'Die Vertrage von Verdun und Coulaines, 843, aJs politische Grundlagen des west-frankischen Reiches', *HZ* CXCVI (1963), pp. 28 *et seq.*

•• 'Kingship, Jawand liturgy in the political thought ofHincmar of Rheims', below, chapter 7, pp. 148-9.

" See appendix 1. Trus MS, formerly Chester Be.atty 11, and before that Phillipps 10190, was listed by the *MGH* editors as Cheltenhamensis 10190 and cited as

lngobert, who also copied out a bible apparently presented to Charles the Bald by Hincmar *c.870*.[18] The manuscript consists of a fine copy of the capitulary collection of Ansegis, followed by six capitularies of Charles the Bald. lngobert wrote in the last of the additional capitularies at a later date than the rest, which probably n1eans that the manuscript remained in its original Rheims *scriptori11m* from *c.864* to c.873. The rationale behind this particular series of six seen1s to be that all these capitularies cite from AnsL-gis' collection, the first of them being the earliest of Charles the Bald's capitularies to do so. [19] This Ansegis connection is in1portant, for no fewer than four Ansegis-manuscripts can be attributed to Hincmar's Rheims *scriptori11m*. [20]

3. A manuscript still extant at Beauvais in the early seventeenth century, and used by Sirmond in his remarkable edition of Charles the Bald's capitularies, [21] has since been lost, but two copies of it survive in the Vatican library, both made in the early modern

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Middlchill. It has been very thoroughly described by E.G. Miller, *Tire Library of A. Chester Beatty* (2 vols, Oxford, 1927).1, pp. 50--2.11, places xxviii-xxx; and in less detail in Sothcby's cacalogu<>, 24 June 1969. pp. 20-3. I an1 grateful co Yale University Library for lending me a n1icrofilm of the MS.

•• See Sorhcby's catalogue. 24June 1969, p. 21, for the identification by Bischoff oflngoberc's hand. On the San Paolo Bible, sec R. McKitterick, 'Charles che Bald and his library', *EHR*, XCV (1980), pp. 41-2. Asagainst chestrong paleographical links with Rhein1s, *the* arguments that have been adduced for a Soissons origin for this manuscript seem to n1e weak. There may be another pointer towards Rheims in the list of addressees of the Quiersy capitulary in 857 (appendix l, no. 26) in this manuscript: Bishop Hunfrid (ofTherouanne), and Counts lngiscalc and Berengar. Clearly the original of this text wasdestined for the Ternois *missatic"m* (cf. the list of *missi* here in the Servais capitulary of 853, appendix 1, no. 17: Bishop Folcoin (succeeded by Hunfrid in 856), lngiscalc and Berengar): ɑlikely explanation is that Hincmar·s *scriptorium* was responsible for multiplying and distributing capirulary texts throughout the Rheims province, and an exemplar that happened to contain the Ternois names had remained in the Rheims archive to becopied by Ingobert in the 860s.

[19] See appendix, no. 14, *MGH, Capit.* ll, no. 259, c.4. On theproceedings at this assembly, seeJ. Devisse, *Hincmar, archeveque de Reims, 845-882* (3 vols, Geneva, 1975-6), l, p. 91.

[20] See Devisse. *Hincmar.* Ill, p. 1078, and *idem, Hincmar et la Lei* (Dakar, 1962), pp. 64-9; andSchmitz, 'Wuchcr in Laon', pp. 540-1. Interestingly, Hincmar cites from Ansegis quite often ,n *De &desiis et Capel/is,* written in 857 or 858 (ed. W. Gundlach, 'Zwei Schriften des Erzbischofs Hinkmars von Reims', *Zeitschriftfor Kirchengeschichte,*X (1889), pp. 92-145.

[21] J. Sirmond, *Capitula Caroli Calvi et suaessornm* (Paris, 1623); Ganshof, *Recherches,* pp. 7 ff., thinks this work unworthy of mention.

period: Vaticanus reginae Christinae 291 and Vaticanus 4982.[22] The coverage of capitularies in the lost manuscript overlaps to a small extent with, but largely continues, that of Hague 10 D 2: taken together, these manuscripts could suggest an attempt at the systematic preservation of Charles the Bald's capitularies. I am tempted to make this juxtaposition, first because the lost manuscript contained a number of capitularies in whose composition Hincmar seems to have been involved;[23] second because noneof the capitularies preserved in the lost manuscript is of later date than 876,[24] in other words, all fall within the period when Hincmar can plausibly be assigned a major role in the composition of capitulary texts; and third because several other manuscripts containing capitularies of Charles the Bald have been traced to a Rheims origin or exemplar.[25]

In appendix 1, I list Charles the Bald's capitularies chronologically, as do the manuscripts, rather than using the categories of the *Monumenta* editors (though for convenience I also give *Monumenta* numbers).[26] The appendix shows in which of the four manuscripts

" See Boretius' conspectus in *MGH, Capit.* II, p. xxviii (where, however, the Servais capitulary of853(appendix I. no. 17) has been accidentally omitted from the contents of Vat. 4982). The contents of thesetwo MSSare very similar indeed, but Vat. 4982 is probably closer 10 the exemplar as it includes the capitularies of Epemay (appendix l, no. 10) and Meersen 847and 851 (appendix l, nos. 11and 12) \Vhere Vat. Reg. 291 omits these. Further, Vat. Reg. 291 contains two additional capitularies which suggest the useof other sources in an attempt at morecon1plete coverage: the *Decretio Childeberti* (5%) and the *Conventio* of Furon (878). These other sources could well be of Rheims origin: the *Decretio* occurs (twice) in du: Rheims MS Paris BN Lat. 10758, ,vhile the Furon text is given by Hincmar in die *Anna/es,* pp. 230-4.

" Especially the Quiersy oathsand theQuiersy letter of858(appendix I, nos. 29, 30) and the Pact ofTusey (appendix I, no. 40). Hincmar's hand in no. 29 is likely: see J. Devisse, 'Essai sur l'histoire d'une expression qui a fait fortune: *consilium et auxilium* au lXe siecle', *Le Moyen Age,* LXXIV (1968). pp. 187-8; andinno. 30, is certain: Hincmar *Ep.* 126, *MGH, Ep.* VIII, p. 64. For no. 40, cf. *Anna/es, s.a.*865, p. 116, and see Devisse, *Hincmar,* I, pp. 449 ff., (where, however, as elsewhere in Devisse's work, Tusey near Toul is confused with Douzy, near Sedan.)

>• Th.is is trueon the assumption that Vat. 4982isnearer the original collection:see above, n. 22.

[25] Paris BN Lat. 4638; 4761;9654; and cf. 10758(with capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, and Ansegis' collection). The Rheims connection wasalready noted by E. Bourgeois, *Le Capitulaire de Quierzy-sur-Oise {m)* (Paris. 1885). pp. 23, 25: still a valuable study; and by Stein, 'Etude critique', pp. 51-2. (Stein's implied inference that Hincmar forged the capitularies of Charles the Bald's predecessors isabsurd, yet Stein had a feel for the grain of the evidence).

[26] Like the *MGH* editors, I have taken 'capitulary' in a broad sense. to include 'capitulary-like texts': seeabove, n. 8. Such a classification clearly corresponds to the view of ninth-century compilers.

just discussed each capitulary was preserved. Out of58capitularies, only 12 are not found in one (or more) of these four manuscripts, and of those 12 texts, 6 can be associated with Hincmar as author or preserver.[27] Of the 46 capitularies in one or more of our four manuscripts, Hincmar's authorship has been suggested, in whole or in part, for 19,[28] and I would think it likely for at least a further 5.[19] In other words, Hincmar's hand can perhaps beseen in the \vriting-up of 30 out of the 58 surviving capitularies, and, if a Hincmar-connection for the four manuscripts is accepted, in the preservation of a further 23. Now it is clear that Hincmar was not theonly author or preserver of capitularies in Charles the Bald's reign. But what *seems* beyond doubt is the major role of Hincmar in the maintenance and indeed the climaxing (whether judged on formal or substantial criteria) of the Carolingian capitulary tradition. Other Carolingian contemporaries of Charles the Bald 'prescribed and ordered the application of rules of law' and took 'measures for particular cases':[30] it was no difference in political practice but a highly differential degree of interest in written law on the part of the clerical elite, and specifically ofHincmar, ascompared with prelates in other kingdoms, which accounted for the distinctiveness of the West Frankish capitularies between *c.840* and c.880.

" The twelve texts not in any of the four manuscripts (numbers refer to appendix 1): 4, 27. 33, 43, 51, 55-7, 58, 22, 42 and 46. The six that can be linked with Hincmar: 22, 42 and 46 (on these royal consecration *ordines,* see C. A. Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning* (Groningen. 1957), pp. 8-9,112 ff.);33(on the *Libel/uscontra Weni/onem,* see 'Kingship, law and liturgy', below, ch. 7, p. 142 and n. 3); 43 (on the Pacts made at Metz either in 867 or 868, see Devisse, *Hincmar,* I. p. 453, and P. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics,* Urbana, 1978, pp. 210-1); and 58 (on the preservation of this text, see Schmitz, 'Wucher in Laon', esp. p. 552).

[28] See Devisse,*'Consilium etauxi/ium',* for appendix 1, nos. 2, 12, 18, 20,28,29,31, 32, 33, 34. 38, 40, 43; and the *MGH* editors for nos. 22, 26, 30, 42, 45, and 46.

[29] Appendix 1, nos. 36, 37, 39, 44 and 50; also possibly 13. 14, 15, 16 and 17. Detailed discussion ofHincmar's role awaits further study.

,. Seen. 8;on capitularies in the lralian kingdom, seeC. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (London, 1981), pp. 60-2. The possibility that capitularies were issued by Louis the German, but have been lost, was suggested by H. Conrad, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (Karlsruhe, 1954), I, p. 187. The kmd of occasion on which capitularies might well have been promulg2ted is noted frequendy by Hincmar in the *Anna/es:* e.g.,*s.a.*872, p. 186;873, pp. 190, 193;875. p. 197(East Francia); and *s.a.* 864, p. 105, 866, pp. 132-3 (Middle Kingdom). As Ganshof stressed *(Recherches,* p. 102), the positive evidence for the persistence of the capitulary tradition after 840 really comes only from the reign of Charles the Bald; but that fact has of coursespecific significance for the way in which the relevant texts were preserved.

This is not the place for anything more than a brief indication of the scope and forrnal sophistication of these texts. The Capitulary of Servais (November 853: sec appendix 1, no. 17) has been held to signify 'a remarkable restoring to order of the kingdom'." Here was affirmed the principle of thecollective liability of free Franks to denounce and pursue crin1inals in their locality; practical means to enforce this were the oaths required of free men and the hundredman 's role in linking local and central measures to suppress disorder.·" A total of forty-three *missi* were named in a dozen *tnissatica* in Francia and Burgundy.[33] The Edict of Pitres (June 864: sec appendix 1, no. 39) was conceived on a grand scale in thirty-seven ,*apitula* (which run to seventeen pages of *Monumenta* text).[3]· The single largest topic wascoinage reform (cc.8-24):Hthesiting of n1ints, the duties of moneyers, penalties for rejecting new coin (including careful specification of typeof flogging to avoid permanent health damage), were all spelled out in detail. As for the formal characteristics of thiscapitulary, the frequent reference to Ansegis is very striking, and allowed the author(s) to place the n1casures taken at P1tres solidly within the fran1ework of recent Frankish legislation.[36] Yct there is no sense here of merely formulaic repetition: the older provisions wereoften modified or supplemented, and asin the capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious we find a wealth of data about quite specific governmental problen1s: for instance the need to secure the supply of horses both for military and comrnunications purposes; the difficulties posed for royal estate-managers by the growth of a peasant land-market and the consequent dismernberment of tenurial units that were also fiscal

" l)cvisse, *Hinrmar,* I, p. 290 with n. 26.

" *i\1GH, Capit,* 11, p. 274. cf. *Capit. demissis i11s1n,endis* (829), *ibid.*, p. 8.

" *ibid.*, pp. 275-6. The first *missaticum* here covers the Rheims area, and Hincmar is the first *missus* named.

'" *ibid.*, pp. 310-28. cf. *Anna/esp.* 113: 'Generale placitum habet in quo annua dona ... recipit ... Capitula etian1 ad triginta et septem consilio fidelium n1ore praedecessorum ac progenitorum suorum regum constituit et ut legalia per omnetn regnum suum observari praeccpit'.

" See P. Grierson, 'The *Gratia Dei Rex* coinageof Charles the Bald', in M. Gibson and]. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom,* (BAR InternationalSeries, CI, 1981), pp. 41-2; D. M. Mctca!" 'A sketch of the cunency in the time of Charles the Bald', *ibid.*, pp. 73-4.

[1]· There are 24 references to, or citations from, Ansegis, plus I reterence 10 the collection of Benedict the Levite, and 5 to Roman law, as well as several others to previous capitularies of Charles the Bald (notably appendix 1, nos. 17and 26).

units; conflicts of interest between lords and peasants over labour services and the earnings of migrant workers. [3,]

As always with medieval legal sources, we are left with the question of how far rules reflect social reality: how widespread or long-term were the problems dealt with at Pitres inJune864? In this and other capitularies, we can sometimes suspect that remedies are being prescribed for quite local and/or short-term problems. For instance, peasant migration, heresaid to be 'recent' and the result of 'the persecution of the Northmen', may have been affecting only the lower Seine valley, and perhaps even there only certain estates, and we have no way of telling whether it was more widespread than that here referred to (via Ansegis) as having occurred in the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious[38] (when, presumably, it was due to factors other than the Vikings). Again, peasant resistance to lords' new demands for the cartage of marl may have been quite widespread, or may have been merely a local phenomenon. We have two near-contemporary cases where charters show that groups of peasants have appealed to the king and lost, and in the earlier of these it is polyptych evidence that clinches the lord's case.[39] Could it be that the 864 capitulary is another kind of reflection of theoutcome ofasingle similar case, an apparent generalizing of the particular?•[0] It looks very much as if such an interpretation might work for the famous denunciation of lay abbots by the Council of Ver:•• in this case, we knov.r the author, Lupus, and his particular grievance against the lay-abbot Odulf at the time of this council-and indeed, he himself makes theconnection explicit in his letter to Hincmar, cited above.•[2]1t is obvious, too, that a specific factional conflict, centring on the court, lies behind the references in the Capitulary of Coulaines (843) to persons pursuing private interests and influencing the king improperly.•[3] Again, external,

[37] cc.26, 30; 29 and 31: *MGH, Capit.* II, pp. 321, 323-4.

,. c.31, with reference to Ansegis **III,** 18.

[39] Pippin I of Aquitaine, charter no. XII, in L. Levillain (ed.), *Receuil des Actes de Pepin let de Pepin 11*(Paris, 1926), pp. 44-7 (original dated 828); Charles the Bald, charter no. 228, in Tessier, *Receui/,* ed.Tessier, II, pp. 7-9 (original dated 861).

[40] **P.** Wormald, *'Lex Scripta',* pp. 112-13; cf. some early modern Scottish parliamentary legislation and the illuminating comments of J. Wormald. *Court, **Kirk** and Community* (London, 1981), p. 27.

•• Appendix I, no. 6, c.12, *MGH, Capit.* II, pp. 385-6.

•> Lupus, *Ep.* 43, in *Correspondance,*ed. Levillain.

[0] Appendix 1, no. 2, and cf. also no. I: *MGH, Capit.* II, pp. 254-5, 402.

this time charter, evidence points fairly clearly to at least one of the individuals concerned: the chamberlain Vivian.[44]

To see why any particular topic was the subject of a capitulary, we have to understand the text as the residue - all that survives - of the proceedings of an assembly. The agenda would be the product of initiatives not only from the king and his close advisers but also from individuals and groups among the aristocracy. Collective deliberations and decision-making could translate private concerns and grievances into public law: thus, in the Edict of Pltres, statements on peasant labour services and migrants' earnings appear alongside the decrees on coinage reform and the defence of the realm. Politics is the common denominator, in as much as dealings involving king and aristocracy lie behind all these affairs, and the assembly is the forum in which power is negotiated. A lively impression of the assembly's central role in the earlier part of the reign is conveyed in some of Lupus' letters: the operation of networks of patronage and the activity of favoured magnates as brokers between the king and other nobles supplement but are no substitute for personal participation at assemblies. Lupus regards these occasions with a keen anticipation that sometimes carries more than a hint of anxiety. Attendance is at once a burden and an opportunity: a summons is a demand for service, specifically military service, and for gifts, but alsoa personalized signal of the king's attention. Refusal of such a summons, on whatever excuse, is dangerous.[45]

How large was the attendance **at** thesummer assembly which still in Charles the Bald's reign was a gathering of the Frankish host for campaign? Enough information even to hazard a guess is very rare. In late summer 843, most of the bishops and abbots of Francia proper, Neustria, northern Aquitaine and Burgundy seem to have been present, and we can name five lay magnates probably with the king through theautumn and present at Coulaines in November. In this case, we can piece together evidence from the list of subscribers to a monastic privilege plus several charters.[46] Occasionally,

•• Tessier, *Receuil,* I, nos. 24, 28, 30.31.Seealso F. Lotand L. Halphen, *Le Regnede Charles le Chau11e* (Paris, 1909), pp. 86, 88, 153n. 2.

•• Lupus, *Epp.* 15, 16, 17, 28, 36, 41, 45, 47, 58, 60, 67, Levillain, *Correspondance,*I, 72, 74, 111, 112, 123, levillain, *Correspondance,* II.

•• Synodal privilege for St Lomer. Mansi XIV, cc.795-6: see Lot and Halphen, *Regne,* p. 85, n. 4, 86, n. I. For the chartersseen. 44above:evidence for Harduin, Vivian and (in conjunction with Lupus *Ep.* 32) Adalard (whoalsoappears in the St

charters can be linked with assemblies;[47] but even in the early years of the reign when chartersare relatively plentiful, the absence oflists of subscriptions severely limits the usefulness of charters as indicators of attendance at assemblies.•s Royal judgements, though very rare, do carry lists of subscribers and this makes the three such texts we have from Charles the Bald's reign particularly significant. Two dated within a week of each other can be read as showing 18 counts as well as 25 archbishops and bishops and 6 abbots with the king at the palace of Verberie in late October/early November 863.[49] The third shows the king attended by nine counts at Rouy (near Laon) in April 868.so Unfortunately neither occasion can be linked with a capitulary nor indeed identified with an assembly; but both hint at the numbers of magnates that could be present when important business was being discussed. In two cases, thescale of an assembly is indicated in the capitulary emanating from it: it is clear that most of the forty-three *missi* named in the capitulary of Servais were present there.[st] They represent a majority of the bishops and perhaps also of the counts in the Frankish and Burgundian parts of the kingdom. In the capitulary ofQuiersy Oune877;see appendix 1, no. 56), 10 bishops, 4 abbots[51] and 16 counts are named, all but three of whom were at theassembly,[53] and the list certainly includes only a proportion of those present.s•

Lomer 1ex1). The Capitulary of Coulaines, *MGH, Capit.* II, pp. 253-4: evidence for Warin and Richwin.

., The one s1riking case relates10at1endance at St Semin's, Toulouse, in May/June 844: cf. Tessier, *Receuil,* nos. 36-56. Butone or two charters can be linked with a number of orher assemblies: e.g. Tessier, no. 157 with the Synod of Verberie (appendix I, no. 15); Tessier, nos. 191-t93bis with the Assembly ofQuiersy in 857 (appendix I, no. 26); seealsoappendix 2.

•• Contrast the Anglo-Saxon charter evidence discussed by S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Aethelred 'theUnready' 978-1016* (Cambridge, 1980).

•• Tessier, *Receuil,*II, nos. 258,259.

so *ibid.,* no. 314.

" Appendix I, no. 17, *MGH,Capit.* II, p. 271: the prologue addressed 10the *missi* specifies tba1 if anyone has had 10 be absent from the assemblies of Valenciennes (appendix I, no. 16) or Servais where this capitulary was agreed, still he is to carry out its instructions.

" For 1heir importance, sec K.-F. Werner, 'Gauzlin von Saint-Denis', *DA,* XXXV (1979), pp. 395-462.

" *MGH,Capit.* II, cc.12, 15, p. 359. Hincmar's letter to Louis the Srammerer, *PL* CXXV, c.987.

•• Only those magnates sraying in Francia with Louis the Stammerer are mentioned; but some, **at** least, of those present at Quiersy would be going with Charles to Italy.

Nearly all Charles the Bald's assemblies, especially in the latter half of the reign, were held in Francia proper, usually at one of the palaces on the Oise or the Seine.ss Enemies of the king might be captured in the provinces but were brought back to Francia to be sentenced at an assembly by the judgement of the Franks.[56] Disputes between magnates might *be* settled in the assembly-forum, asat Pitres in 862 when Charles 'at the request of his faithful men' forestalled an outbreak of violence by reconciling two such opponents.[51] Similar rivalries and reconciliations are attested at another great summer assembly at Pitres in 864.ss Here too, the royal changes in, or confirmations of, comical personnel that were the outcomes of such manoeuvring, \Vere publicly announced.[59] While aristocratic politics remained centripetal with the court still the natural forum for competition bet\veen nobles and for peaceful resolution of conflicts by king and faithful men acting in concert, equally, the king could use the assembly as a convenient locale for orchestrating support. It is clear that political arrangements of this kind continued in practice throughout the reign of Charles the Bald.

The fragmentary evidence makes it hard to draw up a full list of the assemblies during the reign. We no longer, as in the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, have the Royal Frankish Annals with their consistent interest in the where and when of assemblies. The Annals of St Bertin, which cover Charles's reign and are in some sense a continuation of the Royal Frankish Annals, are essen-

ss *Sec* appendices l and 2. Sec also C.-R. Bruh!, *Fodn11n, Gistum, Servitium Re,11is* (Cologne. 1%8), p. 40 with nn. 145-7, and cf. the evidence for Anglo-Saxon assemblies discussed by P. Sawyer,'The Royal *Tu11* in Pre-Conquest England', in P. Wormald ed., *Ideal and Rea/it)'. Studies in Fra11ki;/1 and A11Jlo-Saxo11Society* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 277.286-99.

•• This was prescribed at Quiersy, 857 (appendix I. no. 26), *MGH.Capit.* II, cc.4, 6, p. 287. For actual cases, see *Anna/es, s.a.* 849, p. 58. (Charles of Aquitaine};852, p. 64 (Pippin II of Aquitaine); 866, p. 130 (William, son of.Odo); 870, p. 171, and 871, p. 184 (Carloman). Probably another case is Gauzbert in 853 (Regino of Prum, *Chronica, s.a.* 860. *MGH, SRG.* p. 78). Bernard of Septimania was con-dernned by judgement of the Franks, but Prudentius thinks it worth noting that he wasexecuted in Aquitaine, not Francia: *Anna/es, s.a.* 844, p. 45.

" *ibid.* • pp. 92-3.

SR *ibid.*, pp. I13-14. In one case. conciliation was unsuccessful: hostility between Bernard, son ofl:lernard, and Robert Rared immediately afterwards. Perhaps there is an allusion 10 thisepisode in Hincmar's *DeOrdine Palatii,* c.31. ed. T. Gross and R. Schieffer, *Fo111es Turis Gennanici Antiqui* (Hanover, 1980), pp. 88-9. But the reconciliationof Egfrid proved more lasting.

59 Amra/es,s.a.864,p.114;865,p.124;867.p.137;868,p.151;872,pp.185-6;8n, pp. 212-13. Cf. the role of the Merovingian court noted by l.N. Wood, 'The ecclemstical politics of Merovingian Clern1ont', in Wormald ed., *Ideal arrd Reality,* pp. 42-6.

tially a private work.[60] Under Prudentius' authorship, up to 861, they contain only a few random mentions of assemblies: for instance, neither Coulaines, 843, nor Servais, 853, appears. Several summer assemblies are known only from a chance reference in a letter of Lupus', or from the Chronicle of St Wandrille with its curious attempt at 'official' coverage from 847-51.[61] But from 861 until the end of Charles' reign, a fairly complete list (seeappendix 2) of twice-yearly assemblies can be constructed from the Annals of St Bertin - for we are now back with Hincmar (when can we ever be far from him in Charles the Bald's reign?), this time as contemporary historian, consciously reverting to the pattern of the Royal Frankish Annals.[62] Information on assemblies becomes more detailed and systematic than ever in the annals from 868-77.In 868, for instance, the king is said to have received the annual gifts at P1'tres in mid-August, and to have 'summoned certain leading men of his kingdom, both some of the bishops, and others' to meet him at Quiersy at the beginning of December. The term 'counsellors' is used increasingly frequently for the clearly small group of leading men who advises on major decisions. Under 874, Hincmar records: 'Charles held a meeting with his counsellors on the feast of the Purification of Holy Mary (2 February] at the monastery of St. Quentin ... Heheld the general assembly at the manor ofDouzy on 13June and received the annual gifts.'[63]

Another piece of evidence can now be brought into the picture: Hincmar's description in the last few chapters of the *De Ordine Palatii* of how 'the healthy condition of the whole realm was

<,o Bclo,v. chapter8. pp. 173-94. By 'private work·. I ,nean that theannals,verc not written at'court, had no 'official'status. and w rc never intended for circulation.

•• Lupus, *Epp.* 28, 67; *Chronicle of St. Wandrille*, ed. J. Laporte, (Rouen-Paris, 1951),pp. 78-85.

[62] Below, chapter 8. p. 185. The work and the author have recently been reconsidered with characteristic insight by J. M. Wallacc-Hadrill. 'History in the mind of Archbishop Hincmar', in R.H. C. Davis andJ. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *TJ,r Writit\ qf History itt ti,e /\,fiddle Aies. Essays prt·se11ted to R. W. S0111l1er11* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 43-70.

•• See appendix 2 for these and other references to the *Anna/es.* The role of the counsellors was stressed particularly by Hincmar in his l ter years: see H. Lowe, 'Hinkmar von Reims und der Apocrisiar. Beitrage zur Interpretation von *De Ordine palatii',* in *Festchriftftir H. Heimpel* (Gottingcn. 1972). pp. 197-225, esp. 221 ff., and cf. the comments on the term *primores regni* in the *Anna/es, idem,* 'GeschichtsSchreibung der ausgehenden Karolingerzeit', *DA,* XXIU (1967), p. 10 with n. 39.

maintained' by the holding of twice-yearly assemblies whose business was dealt with by means of'lists ofseparately-headed chapters' *(denominata et ordinata capitula).*[64] At the general assembly, 'the whole aristocracy' *(universitas maiornm),* lay and clerical, attended, 'the more influential co frame counsel, the less important men to hear that counsel and sometimes similarly to deliberate on it, and to confirm it, not because they were forced to do so, but from their own understanding and freely-expressed opinion.'[65] Such assemblies were also the occasions for the aristocracy co hand over their gifts to the king. The other assembly was attended only by the more influential men, the leading counsellors. le was held in winter, to take stock of what would have to be done in the coming year. Its transactions were confidential: thesame matters would be brought up again at the general summer assembly, where, 'as if nothing had been previously worked out concerning them, they were now subject to the new counsel and consent ofche people, policies were found, and, under God's leadership, arrangements madealong with the magnates, for putting good order into effect.'[66] The next chapter (c.31) details the qualities required in counsellors: loyalty, wisdom, the ability to withstand pressures of political friends and relatives, and a commitment to confidentiality. Recruitment should be by merit, from among the pool of the king's palace servants *(ministeriales palatin1).* After explaining how the palace officers should conduct less important affairs, Hincmar describes in detail (c.34) how the counsellors dealt with assembly business:

64 The new edition ofT. Grossand R. Schieffer has a German translation and notes by Schieffer. The passages I refer to are in cc.29-36, pp. 82-93. See H. Anton, *Furstenspiegel 1md Herrscherethos i11 der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn, 1968), pp. 288 ff.; Lowe, 'Apocrisiar'. The text is translated in D. Herlihy, *History of Feudalism* (New York, 1970), pp. 208-27. But I use my own translation to bringout the ambiguities of the original.

•• *De Ordine,* c.29, pp. 84-5. 'Counsel' translates Hincmar's *consilium,* which Herlihy renders misleadingly as 'decisions', and Schieffer as 'Beschli.isse' (conclusions, decrees), though further down thesame page he translates as 'Rat'(counsel, advice). (Schieffer complains, p. 83, n. 195 of Hincmar's 'schwankende Terminologie'!)

.. *ibid.,* c.30, pp. 86-7. The in1plication here that legislation was promulgated only at summer assemblies, though obviously an oversimplification, holds true in general: see appendix 1.

blies of Louis the Pious, rather than those of Charles the Bald.[69] Such claims have, of course. been lent colour by the well-known fact that some, at least, of the *De Ordine Palatii* \vas, as Hincmar asserted, not his own work but that of Adalard of Corbie (d.826). But it is equally clear that n1uch of it was Hincmar's own composition. [70] I believe the chapters on assemblies and capitularies are more likely to fall into that latter category, and that Hincmar had in mind the practice of the 860sand 870s.

As far as assemblies arc concerned, the twice-yearly pattern and the specific forms of attendance and deliberation, at winter and sun1n1er meetings respectively, can be seen from appendix 2 to correspond rather well ,vith what the Annals of St Bertin record, especially for the last decade of Charles the Bald's reign. And since Hincmar, as author of these Annals, was concerned that this information should be recorded, it seems reasonable to expect a sin1ilar interest to be reflected in his reworking of, or additions to, the *De Ordine Palatii.* Equally noteworthy is the correspondence between c.34's very detailed interest in the nature and function of *capitula* in assembly business, the references to *capitula* in the Annals of St Bertin, and Hincmar's role in the composing and keeping of capitulary texts (we recall Lupus' 'canons, or as you, [Hincmar), call them, *capitula').*[11] But most significant of aJI is the complex way in which the action, and interaction, of assembly participants is described. [do not hear in c.34 just one 'accent' on the king's role: on the contrary, the counsellors' 'collaboration' sounds an equally strong note, while the 'understancling' of the people provides a ground-bass with which king and counsellors harmonize. Lines of communication, and of influence, run between all these participants. Initiatives might come from one or several different points. There is no doubting the king's central role: the assemblies physically centred, after all, on the king's palace. But the king operated through a generalized 'authority' and a series of informal pressures

•• Lowe, 'Apocrisiar', pp. 221-2. J. T. Rosenthal, 'The public assembly in the time of Louis the Pious', *Traditio* XX {I 964), pp. 25-40, isa useful discussion, but his distinction between military and other assemblies seems to me artificial.

·o Admirably demonstrated by Lowe, 'Apocrisiar', with reference to recent literature.

" Above, p. 93.· cf. alsoCharles the Bald'sorder to Hinonar (appendix 1, no. 58) to prepare hisdossier of canonic.ii and Carolingian legislation on usury *capitulatim.* Was the king teasing Hincmar for this penchant? I think Schmitt, 'Wucher in Laon', p. 543, is right to detect 'a malicious undertone' in Charles' telling Hincmar that where canonsand capitularies areconcerned, 'you know better'.

on individuals. 'Counsel' engaged a select group of magnates, then a wider range of greater and lesser nobles, in collective deliberation:[12] hence, \vhatever the origin of a given item on the agenda, each participant could feel himself involved in decision-making. This is not to suggest that the system was 'democratic': rather, that assemblies were natural forums for the exertion of n1agnate influence and of the demands of the 'less important' for protection and support;[73] for the interplay of interest between patrons and clients, and of competition between patrons and between clients; and, last but not least, for royal contact with and influence on individuals and groups among both greater and lesser aristocracy. The forn1ation of 'opinion' was the product of these complex and multiplex interactions of people in a locale where the king's peace prevailed: in a society where so many transactions directly involved coercion, meetings of the assembly seem to have stood out in Hincmar's mind asoccasions when men, even *minores*, did not act 'because they were forced to do so'. The picture may have *been* idealized, but it did, I think, accurately represent a contemporary reality: assembly politics were consensus politics, and that consensus- achieved through political processes of persuasion and brokerage, of authority as well as power, of what Balandier has called, in another context, 'the dialectic of contestation and conformity'[1]•-is what is represented , quite literally, in the

" Clearly evidenced in the surviving form of the Capitulary of Quiersy (877) (appendix I, no. 56): 'Haec capitula constituta sunt a domno Karolo ... cun1 consensu fidelium ... de quibus ipse definivit et de quibusdam a suis fidelibus responderi iussit.' These responses have been preserved along with the *capi111/a:* as the *MGH* editors observe, p. 355, the capitulary can hardly have been promulgated in this form. The exchange recorded in c.4, pp. 356-7, seerns especially revealing of the direct styleof assembly proceedings: *Charles* 'Ho,v can we besure that when we get back (from Italy) our kingdom will not have been disturbed by anyone?' *Fide/es'* As faras that isconcerned ... our answer is that thereare the oaths we made to you, andtheprofession that allof us, clericsand laymen, gaveto you at Quiersy ... we have kept tht-se up till now, and we intend to go on keeping them. So you certainly can believe us [Unde pro certo nosveraciter credere potestis).' In thissamec.4, when Charles asks how he can feelconfident about hisson (Louis the Stammerer), he is told: 'None of us can or should do more than you can to keep him safe ... so it is up to you 10 make the right arrangements.' There seems no reason to see anything new in these frank and familiar de;lJings. On assembly procec:dings and the formulation of capitularies through discussion, see Ganshof, *Recherches,* pp. 22-9, and for the political background to Quiersy, Werner, 'Gauzlin', pp. 410 ff.

[73] A niceexample: Tessier, *Receui/,* no. 228, cf. n. 39 above.

[74] G. Ballandier, *Political Anthropology* (London, 1972), p. 66.

terminology of 'consent', 'consultation', 'counsel and aid' in the capitularies of Charles the Bald. It was not just that changes in the procedures and penalties of Frankish law required the formal expression of the people's consent as well as royal promulgation. [75] An apparently classic statement of this principle does indeed occur in the 864 capitulary: 'law comes into being by the consent of the people and by theestablishment of the king.'[76] (Less often remarked is the context - a change in the procedures for delivering summonses- and the mention of consensus in fiveother procedural contexts elsewhere in the same capitulary.)[71] But more significant, and to the capitulary's redactor(s) evidently quite compatible with this technical application of consent to legal change, is the invocation of the 'consent of the faithful men' in the prologue of the 864 text, and in several other capitularies of this period, with reference to political decision-making in general. It is important to stress that there was nothing new in such usage: a number of examples can be found in the capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.[78] Therefore if it appears - and no more frequently - in Charles the Bald's capitularies, it need not, surely, be understood in terms of a 'shift of legislative initiative from the kingship to thearistocracy':[79] rather, in the context I have described, it at once expresses and appeals to a sense of'common utility'[80] on the part of all, or most,

" For important qualifications to previous hypotheses about the distinction between *Volksrecht* and *Kiinigsrecht*,see E. Kaufman, *Aequitatisludidum. Konigsrecht und Billigkeit in der Rechtsordnung desfruhenMittela/ters* (Frankfurt, 1959), pp. 60-92; also Ga11shof, *Recherches*, pp. 30 ff.; Wormald, *'Lex Scripta'*, pp. 109-10.

[1]. c.6, *MGH,Capit.* II, p. 313.

" cc.15, p. 316 (differentials in punishments for refusing coin), 25, p. 321 (capital penalty for thoseselling to Vikings), 33, p. 325 (standardizing calculation oflifting of bann for returning wardors), 34, p. 326 (rules about redemption or release of slaves), 34, p. 327 (penalty for selling Christians intoslavery).

[78] The textsareassembled and abl,Y discussed by lligamann, 'Entstehung', pp. 19-22.

[79] So Hiigermann, 'Enstehung , p. 27. There are certainly more references to *consensus*, in thisgeneral sense, in Louis the Pious's capitularies than in Charles the Bald's. Kern, *Cottesgnadentum*, pp. 142-3 with n. 305, rightly stresses that the meaning of'consensus' varies with political circumstances.

.., This phrase, which occurs in *Dt Ordine*, c.31, had appeared in Charlemagne's capitularies: *MGH,Capit.* I, pp. 162,208. Insuch contexts, 'usefulness' assumed a genuinely political, and not only moral, content in the later eighth and ninth centudes: see E. Peters, Tht *Shadow King* (Yale, 1970), pp. 47-72. cf. such terms as *utilitas populi, utilitas puh/ica.* Of colllSe these expressions, like theconcept of the state *(rts publica)*, derive from Roman law and political theory, but they were resurrected in the ninth century, 1 think, less because of their potential for hierocratic theoruts, than precisely because they reflected contemporary political realities as perceived by lay as well as ecclesiasticalparticipanrs. This pointscarcely

members of a political community which really did remain a going concern throughout Charles the Bald's reign.

In c.35 of the *De Ordine Palatii,* Hincmar gives a vignette of the king's role during the general assembly. Interestingly, it is at this point that we are told that 'if the weather was set fair. the assembly would be held outdoors .. .' If requested, the king would join the counsellors in their closed session, and in an atmosphere of good-fellowship *ifami/iaritas)* would listen to their debates. Otherwise,

> he would beoccupied with the rest of theassembled people, receiving gifts, greeting important men, swapping stories with people he didn't see often, expressing sympathy with the old, sharing their pleasures with the young, and so forth, involving himself in spiritual as well assecular affairs.••

This could, of course, be any Carolingian king about his business: perhaps it is an idealized Charlemagne, or even a composite royal in1age. But Hincmar could also be drawing on his memories of Charles the Bald's assemblies, and of Charles' speeches on those occasions. For instance, in his *adnuntiatio* at Pitres in 864, Charles thanked his faithful men for their attendance 'fully and in peace', adding wryly: 'even if not all of you, as we wanted, have been keeping the peace since our last assembly, still most of you have'.[82]

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emerges from the otherwise admirable discussion of L. WeWen, *Geschichts-sdireibung und Staatsaujfassung im Zeitalter Ludwigs des Frommen* (Lubeck-Hamburg, 1970), pp. 8-11;91-104.

[8,] Hincmar. *De Ordine,* c.35. pp. 92-3. The meaning of *familiaritas* has to be inferred not only from this passage but from its two other appearances in the *De Ordine.* cc.27and 32. pp. 80. 88.(cf. also *familiarius* inc.18, p. 66, *andfamiliariterin* c.31, p. 86.) In the *DeOrdine,* Hinc,nar consistently uses'familiarity' in something like its coUoquial sense in modem English, i.e. 'intimate acquaintanceship'. This sense of the word is not taken account of in J.-F. Niermeyer, *Mediae l..atinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden. 1976), *s.v.* 'familiaris', 'familiaritas'.

[82] *MGH, Capit.* II, p. 311. For another possible instance of Charles' irony, see above. n. 71. cf. Hincmar's letter to Charles, *PL* CCX.XVI. *c.'ll,* where Devisse, *Hincmar,* II. p. 727, n. 6, sees a veiled allusion to a royal taunt: 'some people', says Hincmar, ·accuse usbishops of wanting tospend aU day parabling through written communications' *(per scripturas parabolare-the* pun is lost in translation). The best example of Charles' black humour is his treatment of Archbishop George of Ravenna after the battle of Fontenoy, recocded, I think from eye--witness sources (perhaps Georgehimself), by Agr,ellus, *Liber Pcmtificalis E«lesiae Ravennatis,* c. 174. *MGH,SRL,* p. 390. For the young Charles' close and infomtal relationship with his faithful men, see Nithard, *Histoire des.fils de Louis le Pieux* ll.4, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1926), p. 46.Thereisno realevidence that Charles' political style changed in later life. despite the hostile remarks about his 'Greek' imperial costume in the Annals of Fulda, *s.a.* 876, *MGH, SRG,* p. 86.

In context, Charles' repeated assurances that he will 'preserve to each man his law and jusrice'[83] should be interpreted not as symptoms of weakness (ofmonarchy 'descended from its throne' in Halphen's sense),8• nor as statements of new constitutional principle (of 'the birth of contractual monarchy' in Magnou-Nortier's sense),8' but as affirmations of a thoroughly traditional ideal relationship of mutual trust and collaboration between king and aristocracy: the 'familiar face' (in both senses) of Frankish politics. This image, this ideology, has been preserved for us - thanks, not least, to Hincmar's efforts - in the capitularies of Charles the Bald. It was in his reign, and probably at Rheims, that a scribe headed Ansegis' collection: 'capitula episcoporum, regum et maxime oninium nobilium francorum'.[86] For each of the noble Franks, his 'Jaw' in the subjective sense[8,] was his status, his social standing. his fair treatment according to 'the law(s)' in theobjective sense of customary norms and procedures including thejudgement of his peers. Hence Charles the Bald's care in having political enen1ies condemned 'by the judgement of the Franks'. Hence the evident requirement that any change in thosecustomary procedures as practised in public courts should be made, should 'con1e into being', 'with the consent of the Franks', as 1,vell as 'by theestablish-ment of the king'. Capitularies, duly consented to and established, themselves became laws. part of that la\v (in the general sense). composed of both statute and codified 'gentile' custom, which was the collective possession of the king's faithful men.[88] The law of all constituted the framework that guaranteed and preserved the law of each. Bishops, and still more kings with authority, had a crucial function in law-making that maintained 'the stability of the king-

., For such pron1ises at Coulaines (843), Quiersy (858) and several other occasions through the reign. sec Nelson. 'Kingship, law and liturgy', below, pp. 147 ff.

•• In Lot and Halphen, *Regne*, p. % .

., *Foi et.fidelite*, pp. 98 ff.

•• Bcinecke 413, fol. 2b. For other MSS with this *i11cipit*, sec *MCH, Capit.* I, p. 394, n.(a).

., For the sense of 'lex unicuique competens', *see* above, n. 83. cf. the doscly rdated n1caning of'iustitia' in, for instance, the capitularics of Servais, *c.2, MCH, Capit*, II. p. 271. and Quiersy (858), *ibid.*, p. 296.

"" For cxan1plcs of these various meanings oflaw *(lex,leges)*,sec the Edic1of Pitrcs, c.2, *MGH, Capit.* II, p. 312 (divineand human law ingeneral); c.3. p. 312(thedue law of each); c.6, p. 313 (customary procedures of Frankish law); c.33, p. 325 (la,v-makcrs: *co,uiitores legum).*

don1';[89] but it was not surprising if for one well-informed contemporary- perhaps Hincmar himself?- the capitularies belonged in a special way - *maxi1ne* - to 'all the noble Franks'.

[8]. *Stabilitas regni,* a traditional phrase in Merovingian and Carolingian charters, gained a new lease of life in ninth-century capirularies.

APPENDIX 1

Capitr,/aries of Charles the Bald

No.	*Date*	MGHno.	MGH *title*	*Hague 10D2*	*MS transmission Vat. reg 291I Vat.4982*	*Beinecke 413*
l	Oct843	(293)	Capitula in synodo acta quae habita est apud Lauriacum	x		
2	Nov843	254	Conventus in villa Colonia	x		
3	Jun844	255	Capitulare Septimanicum apud Tolosam datum	x		
4	Jun 844	256	Praeceptum pro Hispanis			
5	Oct844	227 (293)	Synodus ad Theodonis villam habita	x		
6	Dec844	291	Concilium Vemense	x		
7	Apr845	292	Synodus Bellovacensis	x		
8	Jun845}	293	Concilium Meldense-Parisiense	x (in part)		
9	Feb846					
10	Jun846	257	Notitia de conciliarum canonibus in villa Sparnaco a Karolo rege confirmatis	x	x	
l l	Feb 847	204	Conventus apud Marsnam primus	x	x	
12	summer851	205	Conventus apud Marsnam secundus	x	x	
13	Apr853	258	Conventus Suessionensis	x		
14	Apr853	259	Capitulare missorum Suessionense	x	x	x
15	Aug853	294	Synodus Vermeriensis	x		
16	Nov853	206	Conventus apud Valentianas	x	x	
17	Nov853	260	Capitulare missorum Silvacense	x	x	x

19	Jun854	261	Capitulare missorum Attiniacense	x	x	
20	Jul856	262	Capitula ad Francos et Aquitanos missa de Carisiaco	x	x	
21	Aug856	295	Concilium optimatum Karolo II datum	x	x	
22	Oct856	296	Coronatio Iudithae Karoli II filiae			
23	Jul/Sept 856	263	Primum missaticum **ad** Francos et Aquitanos directum		x	
24	Sept856	264	Secundum missaticum ad Francos et Aquitanos		x	
25	Sept/Oct 856	265	Tertium missaticum ad Francos et Aquitanos		x	
26	Feb857	266	Capitulare Carisiacense		x	x
27	post-Feb 857	267	Allocutio missi cuiusdam Divionensis			
28	Mar857	268	Conventus apud Sanctum Quintinum	x		
29	**Mar858**	269	Sacramenta Carisiaci praestita	x		
30	Nov858	297	Epistola synodi Carisiacensis ad Hludowicum regem Germaniae directa	x		
31	May/June 859	298	Synodus Mettensis	x		
32	Jun 859	299	Synodus apud Saponarias habita	x		
33	Jun 859	300	Libellus proclamationisadversus Wc:nilonem			
34	Jun 860	242	Convc:ntus apud ConAuc:ntes	x		
35	post-Jun 860	270	Capitula post conventun1 ConRuentinum missis tradita	x		
36	Jun861	271	Constitutio Carisiacc:nsis de moneta	x		
37	Jun 862	272	Capitula Pistensia	x (in part)	x	
38	Nov862	243	Convenrus apud Saponarias	x		

No.	*Date*	*MGHno.*	MGH *title*	*Hague 10D2*	*MS transmission Vat. reg 291/ Vat. 4982*	*Beinecke 413*
39	Jun864	273	Edicrum Pistense		x	x
40	Feb865	244	Pactum Tusiacense		x	
41	Feb865	274	Capitulare Tusiacense in Burgundiam directum		x	
42	Aug866	301	Coronatio Hermintrudis reginae			
43	867 or868	245	Pactiones Mettenses			
44	Jul869	275	Capitula Pistensia		x	
45	Sept869	276	Electionis Karoli capitula in regno Hlotharii factae		x	
46	Sept 869	302	Ordo coronationis Karoli			
47	Mar870	250	Pactiones Aquenses		x	
48	Aug870	251	Divisio regni Hlotharii II		x	
49	Sep872	277	Sacramenta apud Gundulfi-viUam facta		x	
50	Jan 873	278	Capitulare Carisiacense		x	x
51	Jun/Jul 874	303	Synodus Attiniacensis			
52	Feb876	220	Karoli II imperatoris elccrio		x	
55	Feb876	221	Karoli II capitulare Papiense		x	
54	Jun/Jul 876	279	Synodus Pontigonensis		x	
55	May877	280	Edictum Compendiense de tributo Nordmannico			
56	Jun 877	281	Capitu!are Carisiacense			
57	Jun 877	282	Capitula excerpta in conventu Carisiacensi coram populo lecta			
58	853-75(?868)		Mandate to Archbishop Hincmar			

Assemblies of Charles rhe &Id,860-77

	Date and place	*Capitulary(ies)issued (see appendix 1)*	*Annals of* Sr *Bertin* ref. *(seen. 14 for Grat edn)*	*Charters issued (seen. 12for Tessier edn)*
860	Jun: Coblenz	34,35	83	
	?Nov: Ponthion			221,222
861	Jul: Quiersy	36		229,230
862	?Jan: Senlis		88: regni primores consulens.	237
862	Jun: Pitres	37	91: omnes primores ... convenire fecit.	
	Nov: Savonnieres	38	94	
863	? · Soissons		98	
	?Nov: Auxerre		104: consilio fidelium suorum.	261
864	Jun: Pitres	39	113-4: generale placitum habet in quo annua dona ... rec1p1t.	269
865	Feb: Douzy	40,41	116: cum fidelibus consideratis ...	
865	?Jul: Attigny		118	
	?Dec: Rouy		124	
866	?Jun: Pitres		127: hostiliter ad locum ... pergit.	
867	(Aug: Chartres)		136: placiturn suum ... condixit.	
	Aug: Compiegne		137: populus ... hostiliter veniat.	
868	Aug: Pitres		150-1: annadona ... accepit ... placi1un1.	
	Dec: Quiersy		151: quosdam primores ... sibi accersivic.	
869	Jul: Pitres	44	153: placinun.	326
	Nov: Gondreville		167: denuntians se ... venturum ... uc ... ad se venturos susc1piat.	330

Date and place	Capitulary(ies) issued .(see appendix 1)	Annalsof St Bertin ref. (seen. 14for Grat edn)	Charters issued (seen. 12for Tessier edn)
870 Jul: Meersen	48	171-5: colloquium.	
Nov: Rheims		177: plurimos fidelium ... convenire faciens.	
871 Aug: Douzy		181-2: synodum.	349
Dec: Senlis		184: placitum cum suis consiliariis habuit.	
872 ?Jun: Senlis		185	
Sept: Gondreville	49	188: placitum.	365
873 Jan:Quiersy	SO	189: cum consilio fidelium suorum ... leges ... promulgavit.	
! ? (Neustria)		192: hostem denuntiat versus Brittaniam.	
874 Feb: St Quentin		195-6: cum suis consiliariis placitum ... tenuit.	369,370,371,372
Jun: Douzy		196: generate ... placitum ... tenuit, ubi et annua dona sua accep1t.	
?Dec: Herstal		197: placitum ... conlocutio.	
875 Aug: Ponthion		198: guoscumque potuit de vicinis suis consiliariis obviam sibi venire praecepit ... et suppetias in itinere suo accepit.	402,403
876 Jan: Pavia	52, 53	200: placitum suum.	
Jun: Ponthion	54	201-16: synodum ... indixit.	409,410,411
Nov: Samoussy		210: placitum suum ... condixit.	
877 Jun: Quiersy	55,56,57	212-14: placitum suum generale habuit, ubi per capitula ... ordinavit ...	428

6

THE CHURCH'S MILITARY SERVICE IN THE NINTH CENTURY: A CONTEMPORARY COMPARATIVE VIEW?

COMPARISONS are odorous'. Modern historians, far from sharing Dogbcrry's repugnance, have found the scent of the comparative method irresistible. 'Perhaps even the future of our discipline' depended on its pursuit, wrote Marc Bloch in 1928.[1] Since then, comparison has become fashionable enough, and hardly remarkable in our contemporaries' work. Remarkable it certainly is, however, in the ninth century. I would like to begin by quoting a pa.ssagc written in 857 or 858 by Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims:

> In the regions [of the English] the bishoprics and monasteries are not so endowed with ecclesiastical property as they are in these Gallic regions; and for this reason, military services arc not rendered from the bishoprics of those [English] regions, but [instead] the costs of rewarding those who fight *(stipendia militi«)* are allocated from public resources *(ex roga publica).* Here, on the other hand, in our regions, our clergy, instead of being given a fourth part of the bishopric's income from renders and offerings, have an appropriate share *(pars congrua)* assigned them; then another share is assigned for lighting of churches, and another share goes to the hospices for the poor; but then a share goes to the fighting-men who are listed under the name of 'housed ones' *(casati);* and finally a share goes to the bishop and those who are under his direct command. Thus, at the dictate of necessity and the urging of reason, the rulers of provinces and churches have established

[1] ʌ contribution towards a comparative history of European societies', in *Land anJ Wed,* iJt *Mtditval Europ,* (London 1967) pp 44-81. This paper originally appeared in the ***Rtwt dt*** *Synrl,;se His""iut* in 1928.

> customary arrangements appropriate to the respective qualities of provinces and quantities of church property.[2]

This passage, with its explicit cross-Channel comparison and modern-sounding relativist note, has received little comment from modern historians-partly, perhaps, because it occurs in one of the less well-known of Hincmar's works.[3] In fact that work, the *De Ecclesiis et Capel/is,* is one of Hincmar's most interesting. As for the passage I have just quoted, I believe it is worth some attention in the context of the theme of 'the Church and war'.

I want to ask three questions of this ninth-century comparison. the first is: how far can we believe what Hincmar has to say of 'the regions of the English'? Hincmar alleges that warriors in ninth-century England were 'paid' at 'public expense'; that English bishoprics and monasteries did not owe any specific military service; and that the reason for chis was the 'English' Church's relatively poor endowment with landed wealth. On the face of it, the first point hardly fits with recent accounts of Anglo-Saxon military institutions: that is, of a recruitment system in which service was owed by the 'whole people' and calculated on the basis

[2] *Eu.ksiis tt Cap,llis.* ed W. Gundlach in *Zritschrift fii, Kirchengtschich* 10 (1889) pp 92-145 at p 135. (I cite this hereafter as *dEC.)* A new edition is being prepared by the MGH. Hincmar's covering letter sending the work to Charles the Bald is printed in *MCH* Epp 8 pp 52-5. The division of episcopal revenues into four (?equal) parts (for bishop. clergy, the poor, and church buildings) was laid down by Gelasius I: *Onrttum Gelasii* in the Dionysio-Hadriana, Decrcta Gelasii *c* 27, in *PL* 67, col 310. On the application of these arrangements in Gaul, see M. Rouche, 'La matricule des pauvres, evolution d'unc institution de charitc du Bas-Empire jusqu'i la fin du Haut Moycn Age', in M. Mollat ed, *Etudts sur l'Histoirt dt la Pauvrttl.* 2 vols (Paris 1974) pp 83-110, esp 86-7, also J. Devisse, ·"Pauperes" ct "paupertas" dans le monde carolingien: cc qu'cn dit Hincmar de Reims'. in *Rtvut du Nord* 48 (1966) pp 273-87, esp 277 with n 15. Hincmar contrasts the Gelasian four-way division with che contemporary practice of a five-way division 'in these Gallic regions'.

'Until Gundlach', edition from Leyden Universit;ltsbibliothelc MS 141, the work was known of only from Flodoard's mention, *Historia Rtmtnsis ecdtsi«* Ill, 18 in *A1GH SS* 13 p 508. It is therefore not printed with the bulk of Hincmar's works in *PL* 125 and 126. Tbe work's interest was appreciated by P. lmbart de la Tour. *Lts origin,s rtfigkus,s dt la France: Its paroissts rurales du /Xe'''' XI, site/,* (Paris 1900), and by [E.) Lesne. *Histoirt* [dt *la P'•priiti tcdisiastique en Franct,* 6 vols (Lille 1905-43)] 2 pare ii (1926) who discussed part of the passage quoted above at pp 272-3 without, however. distinguishing between land and income from land. That Hincmar had both in mind is clear from his re-examination of the subject ten years later in the *Pro Ealesiat Libtrtatum Dtftl!Sibne, PL* 125, cols 1050-1. See also the fine commentary on the *dF.C* in LJ.] Devisse, *Hincmar (Archev;que de Rrims, 845-882,* 3 vols (Geneva 1975-o) 2 pp 829-45. noting the interest of the comparative passage (pp 839-40) but without any discussion of its rdevance to the military service of the nioth-ccntury church.

of one warrior for so many hides of inherited land.[4] ln such a system the question of payment by the state did not arise: men came to the muster bringing their own provisions and, like the West Saxon levies of 893, 'having completed their period of service and come to the end of their food-supplies',[5] they expected to go home. Further, it is clear that church lands too were assessed for such contributions of warriors in the ninth century.[6] Hincmar then seems not to have been talking about the *fyrd.* Perhaps he had in mind the specialist warriors of the king's and ealdormen's retinues-men who certainly did expect a 'stipend', in the short run money and in the longer term land.[7] Asser in his *Life* of Alfred is explicit about the king's generosity with money to his fighting-men.8 True, he mentions royal gifts of estates only in the context of Alfred's rewarding of his ecclesiastical helpers (including Asser himself),[9] but Alfred surely gave some lands to bis *faselli,* and presumably bis father King iEthelwulf had done so too.'° Hincmar may be thought to imply that he believed that in England all such grants were made from the fisc and that the English kings who were his contemporaries did not try to exploit church lands or

• *See* [N.] Brooks, ['The] development [of military obligations in eighth- and ninth-century England', in P. Clemoes and K. Hughes edd. *England btfore tht Omqurst: Studies pr,;enttd to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge 1971)) pp 69-84: a fine study that does justice to previous scholarship on this subject. Equally indispensable is E. John, *Orbis 8rit<"'lniat* (Leicester **1966)** pp 128-53, esp 139-42, placing military organisation firmly in social context.

'*Anglo-Saxon Chronitlt* edd J. Earle and C. Plummer, *Two of tht Saxon Chronitks Parallel* (Oxford 1892) s.a. 894 for 893 pp 85-6.

6 Brooks, 'Development' p 70 and *passim.*

'See John, *Orbis 8ritanni,,,* pp 118-22. There is no direct evidence before the late tenth century, however. that the *fyrd* was org,nised on the lines of ealdormanic followings writ large.

8 Asser, *Lif, (of King A/frtd* ed W. Steven.son (Oxford 1904 repr 1959)] c 100, p 88.

• Asser, *Life cc n.* 81, pp 62, 67-8. The monasteries given 10 Asser by Alfred were evidently royal proprietary churches.

•• Asser. *Lift cc* 53, 55, pp 41, 44. mentions Alfred's *fasstlli.* In *c* 76, p 60, listing *the* many peoples (including *pogani* - Danes') from whom Alfred's following was recruited, Asser says the king'endowed them all with money and estates. (For the likely meaning of *pottsl4S* here: 'power over lands, see D. Whitelock, *EHD* vol I (2nd edn London 1979) p 293. n I.) Alfred's few surviving charters include two that perhaps represent grants to members of his following: *CS* 2 nos 581. 568. (For their likely genuineness see D. Whitelock, 'Some charters in the name of King Alfred', in (M.H.J King and **[W.M.J** Stevens edd *Saints, &holars and Htrots, [Studits in Honor of* C.*W. Jones* (Collegeville Minnesota 1978)] pp n-98.) The argument of H.P.R. Finberg, *Wtst Country Historical Studits* (Newton Abbot 1%9) pp 11-28 (even allowing for the reservations noted by Whitelock, *EHD* p 522) suggests that some of the lands which A:thelwulf booked 10 himself in *CS* no 451 may have been intended for distribution to his following.

revenues, on the Carolingian model, to reward members of their *militia tmestris.* But given the pressing need of these Icings, with Viking attacks increasingly serious from c850 onwards, to secure the service of their aristocracy, and given also the degree of control they exercised over the disposition of bishoprics and at least some rich minsters, it is difficult to believe that they never used episcopal or minster lands to make the equivalent of precarial grants. Mercian and Northumbrian kings had almost certainly done so a generation and more earlier.[11] It looks as if Egbert of Wessex did so too in the 820s and 830s.[12] I know of no evidence on the point from 1£thelwulfs reign; but from Alfred's there is a hint in a letter of Pope John VIII to the archbishop of Canterbury that 'the king and others' have been 'wr·onging the house of the Lord' in a way the archbishop is urged to 'resist strenuously, making your service honourable'.[13] Vikings were not the only beneficiaries of Canterbury's material losses in the ninth century.

Hincmar says that military services were not rendered from English bishoprics as such. But was it just a coincidence that in 825, King Egbert 'sent Bishop Ealhstan and Ealdorman Wulfheard to Kent with a great force and they drove King Baldred over the Thames'; or that in 848 'Ealdorman Eanwulf with the men of Somerset and Bishop Ealhstan . . . fought against a Danish host ... and made great slaughter ... and won the victory'; or that in 871 Ealhstan's successor Heahmund was slain at the battle of Meretun?[14] As for the landed resources of the English church, charter evidence shows, *pace* Hinonar, that bishoprics and a very large number of minsters had been generously endowed with ecclesiastical property before the mid-ninth century.[1$]

But if I hesitate to accept Hincmar's statements about ninth-century practice in England, that is not only because it jars with

[11] Tl>e evidence is ably discussed by P. Wormald in 'Bede, the *Bretwa/das* and the Origins of the *Gens Ang/orun1',* in Wormald ed., *Ideal and Reality* (Oxford,1983).

[12] This is implied in *CS* no 421. For very interesting comments on tho political context of this charter, see Wormald in J. Campbell ed Th, *.1ng/Naxons* (London 1982) p 140.

" I quote from Whitelock's translation of this letter in *EHD* p 882.

" *.1nglc,.So.,on Chronidt* s.a. 823 for 825,845 for 848, 871, pp 60, 64, 72.

" For example. for the Canterbury evidence, see Brooks. *Th, &rly History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984); for Winchester. sec Finberg, *Tit, Early Chmtns of 11',ss,w* (Leicester 1964) pp 218-20; for Worcester. sec Wormald in CampboU ed, *Tl,, .inglo-5'1,ons* pp 122-3 an<! the map *ibid* p 71 showing the large number of minster endowments up to c850.

what Anglo-Saxon evidence we have: it is also because, despite appearances to the contrary, Hincmar himself cannot be read as a contemporary witness here. What we might assume, given the intensification of contacts between Wessex and Francia precisely in the SSOs,[16] to be hard data gained from a well-placed West Saxon informant, in fact comes from an authoritative text written over two and a half centuries before: Hincmar's source, as might have been guessed from the reference to the regions of 'the English', where a ninth-century insular informant would probably have distinguished between Mercians and West Saxons, is Gregory the Great's letter to Augustine, the famous 'Responses' recorded by Bede in the *Ecclesiastical History*.[11] Note that Hincmar cites what is to be 'found' there in the present tense: the churches *[0]11fe* not so endowed ... '. The answer to my first question then is that the credibility of Hincmar's 'ninth-century' data for England must be rated low: which does not, however, make his comparison valueless from a historical standpoint, as we shall see in a moment.

The second question which I think worth asking is whether Hincmar in this passage throws any special light on the military service of the Frankish Church. For in this Hincmar was himself deeply implicated. True, we know a good deal about this from other sources.[18] On some aspects, capitularies are perfectly **frank.** Here is an example from Charlemagne's reign:

[16] See P. Stafford. 'Charles the Bald, Judith and England', in M. Gibson and J. Nelson edd, *Char/ts 1h, Bald: [Court and Kingdom,* B.A.R. International Series 101 (Oxford 1981)) pp 137-51. Hincmar was closely involved personaUy in these contacu: he performed Judith', consecration in 856 for which he remodelled an English *ordo* (see Nelson, 'The earliest surviving royal *O,Jo',* in B. Tierney and P. Linehan edd, *Au1hori1y and Power: S1udits prtStTtttd to Walttr Ullmann;* below,ch. 15, pp 34l O)and he had a band in the Capirulary of 864 in which Charles the Bald's imposition of a new obligation to build fortifications was almost certainly influenced by recent West Saxon developments (see Brooks, 'Development· p 81; and for the capitulary see 'Legislation and consensus in the reign of Charles the Bald', above, chapter *5,* pp 98-9.

[17] *Histori4 F.cdtsiastita Gentis Anglorum* ed Plununer (Oxford 1896 repr 1975) 1, 27, p 48. The bes, discussion of this letter in its historical context is H. Mayr-Harting, *Th, Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon &gland* (London 1972) pp 60--4, 269-71. Gregory's position and missionary concerns gave him in some ways a genuinely rclativin outlook. Whether Hincmar cited Gregory's letter from Bede is uncertain: Devisse, *Hi•cmar* 2 p 822, n 696 shows there is no evidence for Hincmar's having a text of the *&dtsiostical History* before the 870s. Hincmar could have cited from Pseudo-Isidore though again his use of this is late, and sparing. or from the Register of Gregory's letters (Devisse, *Hin,mar* 3 p 1434, n 2): though Hincmar's own references to a *Rt t•m* are only from 870 onwards *(ibid,* p 1495, n 4), this seems his likeliest source in this passage in the *dEC* where he also refers to two other letters of Gregory.

[18] Lesne, *l-listoirt,* 2(ii) pp 456 *stq* remains indispensable. See also [F.J Prinz, *Kkrus urn/ Krieg*

> No bishop or abbot or abbess...is to presume to give or sell a mail-shirt or a sword to an outsider *(extraneus)* without our permission, but only to their own vassals. If it should happen that a rector has in a church or holy place more mail-shirts than there are fighting-men of that church, he is to ask the king what should be done with them.[19]

Each rector then was responsible for the service owed by his-or her-own church: for equipping, and in the case of a bishop or an abbot personally leading, that church's warriors on campaign. This obligation was as far as I know never questioned by any Carolingian churchman: so firm was the *Einstaatung* of the Frankish Church.2D The reforming Council of Ver in 844, for instance, was concerned that 'military affairs should suffer no disadvantage from the absence of bishops' who might be prevented by physical weakness or excused by royal indulgence from personal service with the army. The solution offered was that the bishops should place 'their men coming forward for the state *(res publica)'* under the command of a layman whom they considered suitably 'useful'.[21] **We** can guess both from ninth-century casualty-lists and from such private sources as letters that ecclesiastical contingents formed a very important component in Carolingian armies.[22] Charles the Bald's main complaint against Archbishop Wenilo of Sens in 859 was that he had not only failed to deliver to his king his due 'solace' (the euphemism is an old one but it is interesting to

[irn *friihtttn Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1971)] and *idtm,* 'King, clergy and war at the time of the Carolingiaru'. in King and Stevens edd. *Soinrs, S,holtm and Heroes.* pp 301-329, though both the book and the article are parchy in their treatment of the ninth century.

1• *i\1GH* Capit 1, no 74, c 10. p 167. The obligation of abbesses is rightly insisted on for the rentb centuf)' by L. Auer, 'Der Kriegsdicnst des Klcrus [unter den s;ichsiscben Kaiscm', in) *MJOC* 79 (1971) pp 316-407;80 (1972) pp 48-70 at 63-4.

., The rerm is Prinz's, *Kfttus und Krieg* pp 65. 91. Sec also Nelson, above, chapter 4, pp 7S-90.

n *MGH* Capit 2. no 291. c 8. p 385. In the same year, the Council ofThionville, *ibid* no *ZZ7,* c 3.. p 114, complained about lay-abbots. but aclcnowledged that monasteries served not only *'divina ,eligio'* but also*'utiH14s rti public«'.*

22 See e.g. *Annales Rrgni Frantorum,* ed F. Kurze *A1GH SSRG* (Hannover 1895) s.a. 753, p 11; *,1nnaft> Laur,shamenm,* s.a.791, *MGH SS* 1 pp 34-5; *Annals of St 8,,tin,* ed F. Grat er al (Paris 1964) s.a. 833,834. 844, 876 pp9 (with note g.), 13, 46-7, 209; Archbishop Hetti of Trier to Bishop Frorhar of Toul, *MGH Epp* 5 pp 277-8; Lupus [of Ferr1cres,J *Co"tspcndance.* [ed L. Levillain, 2 vols(Paris 1927-35)) I. Epp 15. 17, 34, 35, 45, and 2. Epp 72. 83; Hincmar. ,WGH *Epp* 8 p 206, and a *vivid* passage in *dF.C,* p 132. on the need for an **efficient commissariat.**

find it recurring in this Hincmarian text),[23] but had offered it instead to Charles' enemy. Charles was able to recover his position thanks not least to the loyalty of bishops whose 'solaces' evidently were forthcoming.[24] In 865 Charles issued particularly explicit orders about the service he demanded from the church in the Burgundian part of his realm:

> If men unfaithful to us join in rebellion, all our faithful men in each missaticum, bishops and abbots and counts and the abbesses' men, and the counts and our vassals and the other faithful men, are all to make arrangements to assemble. Our missi ... are to be responsible for ensuring that each bishop, abbot and abbess should send his or her men there on time with the whole quota required, each contingent along with its banner-man *(guntfanonarius)* who, together with our missi, is responsible for his comrades.2>.

Nor was West Francia exceptional: in every Carolingian kingdom, the *1nilitia ecclesiae* was vital to the king's successful prosecution of war-service regularly demanded and apparently for the most part assiduously performed.2t>

How did the system actually work? It is often argued that its basis was the precarial grant, which allowed royal vassals to be installed on church lands for what was effectively a rent (ninths and tenths).[27] But it looks as if such men, militarily important as they certainly were, remained in practice the king's men,[28] and

i> *A-IGH* Capi1 2, no 300. *cc* 6-7, 14 pp 452-3. The euphemism appears already in the reign of Childebert II: *MGH* Capit I. no 7. p 16.

" See above, chapter 4, pp. 87-8.

" *MGH* Capit 2. no 274, c 13, p 331. The mention of banners in relation to *ealtsiastiCJJI* contingenrs is noteworthy (and overlooked by C. Erdmann, *Die En1srehung dts Kreuzzugsg,danknu* (Stuttgart 1935) in his important chapter on holy banners). Thi, *seems* to be the earliest recorded instance of the word *guntfanottarius.*

" East Francia: e.g. *A.nnals of Fulda,* ed Kurze. /WGH *SSRG* (Hannover 1891) s.a. 872, 883, pp 76, l(JO: No1ker, *Gtsra Karoli,* cd H. Haefele, ,WCH *SSRC* (Berlin 1959) bk 2, *c* 17, p 83: a description, perhaps drawn from his own experience rather than from historical evidence, of Charlemagne's bishops, abbots and chaplains *'cum comiribus suis'* at 1he siege of Pavia in 774. (h *is* dear from the con1ex1 that 1he reference is to military followings rather than 'attendanu' as transla1cd by L. Thorpe, *T,vo Lives of Charlemag* (Harmondsworth 1969) p 163.) Italy: e.g. A4GH Capit 2. no 221, *c* 13, p 103*('episcopi ... in suis Jomibus cum suis vassal/is');* no 218, *c* 4, p 96:' *... abbares v,I abbarissae si p/e,rissim,* ***homines suos non dirtxtrint, ips.t su.os lwnores perdant (') et totum ba.ssalli tl p,opn·um ti btntficium anuttant*•.

" G. Constable, 'Nona Ct dec,ma' *Sp,culum* 35 (1960) pp 224-50.

'" Above, 'Charles the Bald and the Church', pp 78, 88, with further references. The exceptionally-rich evidence for the see of Laon is dtScussed by P. McKeon, *Hirr<mar of*

being perhaps of high status (counts, for example) and already powerful in their own right were more likely to answer a direct royal summons to the host than to form part of a church contingent. Who then were the *lwmines ecclesiae?* Part of the answer is that they were vassals picked by the bishop (or abbot or abbess), many of them probably his own kinsmen[29] and beneficed on episcopal lands. The rest of the answer is suggested by Hincmar in the passage I began by quoting: they were the *casati*, 'the housed ones', and those under the bishop's direct command.30 for such warriors, whether endowed with a homestead (and thus enabled to marry) and a parcel of land, or resident still in their lord's establishment, a sizeable benefice might be a future hope: in the meantime they depended on distributions of moveable wealth, including money, and equipment to keep them 'prepared' for war. They formed the bishop's military household, and (assuming that Hincmar's 'shares' *(partes)* were equal) two-fifths of the bishop's income was spent largely on their support (though some non-military personnel will have been included among 'those under his direct command'). There is no doubting the importance of episcopal vassals in general, or of contingents of free tenants mobilised on occasion by ecclesiastical lords. But it may be suggested that perhaps the key element in the ninth-century system was composed of bodies of virtually full-time soldiers, maintained out of churches' moveable resources and available for service alongside the king's and his counts' and magnates' own household troops. In terms of sheer military experience, such men could make a unique contribution to the host. These were the professionals. Under able and committed leaders, they would fight fiercely and effectively against whatever enemy might threaten, not excluding the Vikings. Such a group, I think, were the men of the abbey of Corbie who acquitted themselves valiantly against a Viking attack in 859, and were led in person by their young abbot,

i- and Carolingu,n Pclilics (Urbana-Chicago-London 1978) esp pp 179-85; but there is no rea30n to think the arrangements here unusual.

29 As in the case of Hincmar of Laon: *Pl* 12-4, col 981. Cp below p :129, n. 47.

''' The distinction between the bishop's military *familia* in this narrower sense, and the larger body of vassalt whom he led to war is impossible to document directly from ninth-century sources. But Hincmar seems to refer to the former in *dEC* p 135; and there may be another reference in Lupus. *Co"tipond,,,,u.* I. Ep 16. p 96:• *H,,,,,;n,s nostri ... unsu rri fa,m/iaris in . . . snvitio ,jfuso, orwrt paupnraris gravan1,,r'* (though Levillain translates: '... revenu de leur patrimoine).

Odo. Lupus of Ferrieres wrote to him in mingled congratulation and distress:

> I'm particularly anxious ... when I recall your way of pitching yourself unarmed right into the thick of battles. Your youthful energy gets drawn into them by your greediness for winning! I advise you, out of well-wishing affection, be content with only putting your troops in position-for that's as much as is suitable to your [monastic] vow-and leave it to the fighting-men (armari) to carry out their 'profession' with instruments of war.[31]

Lupus' reservations are about Odo's personal engagement in warfare, and the risks he runs, not about *his* church's military service against those whom the classically-inspired Lupus calls not 'pagans', but 'barbarians' or 'pirates'.

Hincmar's evidence is important, therefore, in helping to qualify the notion that the institutionalised military service of the Carolingian Church changed from a precarial base producing 'noble fief-holders' in the ninth century, to a ministerial base producing episcopal (or abbatial) retinues of warrior-dependants in *the* tenth century.[32] For Hincmar implies that the episcopal military household already in the 850s played an important role in the service of the Carolingian state, and indeed it probably had done so for the past century. Hincmar thought fifty a fair upper limit for a bishop's retinue when he toured his diocese.[33] In 870 the bishop of Laon came to an assembly contrary to royal orders 'with the whole company of his men' in 'an armed band' *(armata manu).* The bishop was told by royal officers that 'ten or twelve *casati homines'* plus clergy and servants would be considered an adequate entourage for this synodal appearance. The rest of his men should be 'prepared for the defence of the fatherland against the Vikings'.[34] Clearly the bishop's total following contained well upwards of a dozen men. This implies a scale of episcopal military

" lupus, *Co,mp,,nJ,mu* vol 2. Ep 106 p 138. I have tried in my tnnslation to bring our rhe play on words and ideas between Odo's monastic profession (propo1i111m) and the profession of the *armari* (' *quod instrwmtntis b,{Jj(is profittntur').*

" Prinz, *Kkrus und Kriq* p 166.

» *dEC* p 127. quoting VII Toledo. c 4 presumably via the Hispana, *PL* 84 col 407-8. (for the vers.ions current in the ninth century, see Dcvisse, Hiru:mar vol 3 p 1409). But Hincmar asserted *(dEC* p 136) that hi, fdlow bishops regularly violated this limit, travelling around their dioceses *'a,mhoscollwa*'!

,. Mansi 16, col 663.

retinue comparable with those documented for the East Frankish realm in the tenth century;[3s] and I can see no reason for thinking the bishop of Laon unique, or even unusual, in the ninth, except in the sense of being unusually well-documented.

One or two further implications of general interest for the ninth century can be noted here. First, the ability of bishops and abbots to maintain followings on this scale indicates (if it does not presuppose) the growth of a money economy to facilitate the payn1ent of renders and offerings, and the accumulation of episcopal incomes, in cash; for while some transfers to warriors were made in kind (weapons, for instance), it seems likely that the 'annual gifts' they received were in coin.[36] If this was already so in the ninth century, as it remained quite largely in the twelfth, then any monochrome picture of 'the feudal system' as one in which land was virtually the sole reward for military service, beneficed vassals the major and crucial component in armies summoned by kings, and liability neatly calculated on a standard ratio of land to men, is plainly in need of some retouching, as Prestwich and Gillingham have recently shown for England.[37] In Carolingian kingdoms too, the quotas of warriors due from churches in particular were apparently arranged bilaterally between king and bishop (or abbot or abbess): thus in 865, missus and banner-man together were to check that such an agreement had been carried out. In a given quota, the bishop's military household would form a key element. A useful periodisation of medieval military systems taking full account of the Church's part therein would therefore stress continuities through the early and central Middle Ages, say, from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, and contrast the later

" Lcsne, *Histoirt*, 2, ii, pp 481-2. Cp K. f. Werner,'Heeres-organisation und Kriegfllhrung im deutschen Kllnigreich des 10 und 11 Jhdts.', in *SS Spoleto* 15 (1968) pp 791-843, esp pp 8 30 (rcpr in Werner, *Srruuurts poJitiquts du mondt franc* (London 1979)), Auer, 'Kriegsdienst des Klerus' in M/OG 79(1971) pp 376-7, and 80 (1972) p 68, nn 31-3. These figures will include members of episcopal *fami/ia,* along with beneficial vassals.

,. The implication of Hincmar's *Dr Ordint Palatii,* c 22 is that the West Frankish king's military following were paid annual gifts in cash. Asser c 100 explicitly mentions annual cash payments by Alfred to his bellatores, and Alfred in bis will (Whitelock, p 536) left 200lb, to 'those who follow *<folgial)* me'. for ch<, abbot of Flcury's annual gifts to his *vassalli,* sec G. Tessier. *l«ctuil des Att,s dt Chatlts I/ le Chauv<,* 3 vols (Paris 1943-55) I, no 177, p 468. See also below, p 127 n. 39.[1]

" J.0. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', in *EHR* 96 (1981) pp 1-35; J. B. Gillingham, 'The introduction of knight service into England', in R. A. Brown ed, *Procttdings of* rht *&ttk Conftrtntt* 4 (1982) pp 53-64.

Middle Ages when qualitative economic change permitted annies to be supported on tax revenue raised from ecclesiastical sources among others: a development which eased at least some of the most practical and embarrassing problems of the Church's involvement in war and in general made kings and princes less dependent on the Church's military service. A second aspect of the way in which the ninth-century Frankish Church organised its service may be significant. Through their recruitment of fighting-men, bishops and abbots and abbesses could provide a channel of social mobility to their *casati homines*, not differing in kind from the advancement of vassals by lay aristocrats[38] but perhaps operating on a larger scale and more continuously, in so far as money oiled the system (churchmen are conspicuous as lenders, and borrowers, in the ninth century).[39]

So much for what Hincmar's account of the allocation of episcopal revenues in West Francia has to tell us about the Frankish Church's *militia*, its 'solace' to the Carolingians. It is time to pose my third and last question: why did Hincmar affect the use of the comparative method? For in fact the difference he purported to explain did not exist. The English churches, I have argued, owed military service to their kings just as Frankish churches did; and so too did the Italian churches which Hincmar again alleged were unfamiliar with 'the heavy custom of our regions'. The

" Cp Werner, 'Untersuchungcn zur FrOhzeit des franzosischen fiirstcnrums{8.-10. Jdts)'. in *Di, Weir als Gtschich1t* 18 {1958) pp 256--89; 19 (1959) pp 146--93; and the important contribution of C. B. Bouchard. 'The Origins of the French Nobility: a Reassessment', in . *merican Historical Revitw* 86{1981) pp 501-32.

!'I Condemnations of che practice of usury by ecclesiastics arc frequent in the ninth century. (There is a good example in *d£C* p 121). The taking of cash-payments by clergy of all ranks but especially bishops is also condemned. (Again, the *dEC* offers several examples: pp 107, 113, 123-4, 127). Both the bishops attacked by Hincmar (Rothad ofSoissons. and Hincmar of Laon) were accused of simony, and one of pawning church plate. For the scale of the church's cash-contribution to successive Oanegcld, in Hiocmar's tjme. sec F. Lot, 'Les cributs aux Normands et l'Eglise de France au !Xe sieclc' in *BEC* 85 {1924) pp 58-78. All chis should be set in che context of the relatively extensive monetisation of the economy of Charles the Bald's kingdom demonstrated by D. M. Metcalf, 'A sketch of the currency in the time of Charles the Bald' in Gibson and Nelson edd. *Charks tht &IJ* pp 53-84, and of the increasing tendency for the renders of peasants on ecclesiastical estates to be paid in cash.

., *A1GH Epp* 8, no 198. p 206. In *d£C* p 135. Hincmar cites two letters of Gregory 1 to Italian bishops alongside the letter to Augustine: conditions in England and Italy arc alleged to be the same and contrasted with the military service owed by the church in 'these Gallic regions'. But for the real situation in Italy. sec above 123, n 26, and C. Wickham, *Early Mtditval Italy* (London 1981) pp 137, 140--2.

truth is that Hincmar-'incorrigible Hincmar', as M. Devisse was once moved to exclaim[41]-was not really concerned with the practice of contemporary English or Italian churches. He was no true forerunner of the Annales School. And yet his 'comparative method' was neither entirely bogus nor redundant. For Hincmar was trying to come to terms with a genuine contrast, not in space but in time: the contrast between the Church of the Apostles and the Fathers, not so richly endowed with worldly wealth and in which a bishop and his clergy might realistically hold their goods in common, and the Frankish Church of his own day with its vast estates and revenues, its bishops wielding power that had an unmistakeably economic and political, as well as legal and spiritual, basis.[42] It was Hincmar who imagined Frankish lay magnates jeering at him and his episcopal colleagues: 'those villains, those non-noble men . . . *Their* ancestors did not help [previous kings) to rule their kingdoms'. And instead of insisting as he easily could have done that Frankish bishops were noble to a man, Hincmar offered this hypothetical riposte:

> When God came in flesh ... and disposed the government of His kingdom, he did not choose for this purpose rich men and noble men, but poor men and fishermen. And as it is written, 'He hath chosen the base things of the world and things which are despised to confound the things that are mighty'.•3

Of course the debate is imaginary, the context polemical and the assertion unique in Hincmar's work (and indeed in early medieval writing, I think). But the very fact that Hincmar wrote this, even once, suggests that at least at this stage of his career he was conscious of the paradox that an 'established' Church, beneficiary over centuries of the gifts of the faithful, would be rich and its pastors aristocratic, where Christ and his followers had been poor and lowly. The apostles had had resources that were the mere

41 Devisse, *Hincmar* 2 p 603.

" Hincmar shows his awareness of the contra.st in a torrent of appeals to St. Paul and the age of the Apostles: *dEC* pp 125-36. He also attempts to rationali>c the transition from apo>tolic arrangement$ to the acquisition of landed wealth by the Church: *ibid* pp 135-6. For similar concerns in Pseudo-Isidore and their specific ninth-century context, sec the penetrating comments of W. Goffart, *T u Mans* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966) ch I e.\p p 20.

" *MCH* Capit 2. no'N'/, pp 440-1.

minimum required to enable them to preach the Gospel.[44] The situation of their ninth-century 'successors' was very different: they were accused of greed for worldly goods, not only by laymen but by their own parish clergy (prime victims of that cupidity) and by Hincmar himself.[45] The *De Ecclesiis et Capel/is* is amongst other things a passionate appeal to the higher clergy to be content with modest personal consumption. But it is more than that. In it Hincmar offers one solution to the dilemma of the institutionalised Church. How could a church that was already so rich insist, as ninth-century churchmen so often did, on not just retaining lands but on gaining, or re-gaining, yet more? Because, answered Hincmar, their income was required to enable the Church to perform its military service to the kingdom that defended it. Hincmar was not justifying a system based on precarial grants that were, after all, still regarded in principle as mere temporary expedients.[46] He envisaged a more permanent solution in warriors maintained by and closely attached to ecclesiastical lords. Not the Church's warfare but the Church's wealth was the real problem. And the war, long since justified, would now justify the wealth.

For Hincmar this was a viable solution, first and foremost because the Church's military service could be conceived in ninth-century West Francia as a public service.[47] Hincmar saw in his own time as in the early Church a state which provided the benefits of peace and order to its subjects. He began the *De Ecdesiis et Capel/is* by quoting St. Augustine: '"Honour the king." Don't say, "What does the king mean to me?" What then do possessions mean to you? Possessions are possessed through the laws of kings.'[48] For Hincmar as for Augustine, the ruler's *raison d'etre* was his function in making and preserving law. To apply law within, to protect a law-ordered society from external attack, force would sometimes be necessary: the Church's offering of military 'solace'

" *dEC* pp 129-32.

" Such complaints were not new in the ninth century; nor was Hincmar then the only one to make them. But the depth of bis concern in the *dEC* is very striking.

.. Constable, 'Nona et decima'.

''' Cp above 122-3, nn 21, 26: and Hincmar of Lion's self-ju.stification in *PL* 124. col 961, admitting that he bad gtantcd benefices on episcopal lands to his own kinsmen, but insisting that this bcnefitted both church and si,ire.

• *dEC.* prefatory letter. *MCH Epp* 6, no 108, pp 53--4. For this theme in Hincmar's political thought, sec Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy (in the political thought of Hincmar of Rheims', below, chapter 7, pp 133-71.

to the ruler thus had automatic justification. Hincmar's view of the Carolingian state may have been rosy but it had a basis in political reality. Ninth-century churchmen did not only preach peace as the end of war but joined king and lay magnates in practical efforts to achieve it, as when the assembly of Soissons in 853 agreed that no public courts should be held in Lent except to deal with 'concord and making peace between disputants'-a curious foreshadowing of the Truce of God.[49]

Secondly, Hincmar could readily justify in patristic terms the Church's participation in warfare that was defensive, as it was increasingly often in the ninth century, and could also be presented as Christian (the Bretons though not pagans could be branded 'false Christians').[50] A saint seen by a monk in a vision defending his earthly *familia* and its property wore helmet and mail-shirt, and he felled *his* Viking enemy with blows none the less lethal for being invisible.[51] For centuries the Church had invoked God's power to 'destroy the enemies of your people'.[52] Now the Frankish bishops assured their king that he had been anointed (another syn1ptom of the close entente between Church and state) like the victorious warrior-kings of the Old Testament, his role 'to defend from the wicked by royal strength the holy Church, that is, the Christian people committed to you by God'.[53] Because churchmen had to join in that defence, war had become a fact of ecclesiastical life. Pope Nicholas I in a moment of irritation at Frankish kings who used their bishops' military duties as an excuse for inaction on

.. *MGH* Capit 2. no 259., c 8, p 269. The foreshadowing was noticed by Devisoe, *Hincrnar* I p 499 n 166. Sec also J.M. Wallacc-Hadrill, 'War and Peace in the Early Middle Ages', in his collected essays, *Early Mtditval History* (Oxford 1975) pp 19-38, esp 31-5. for **a** fairly optimistic assessment of the Carolingian Church's success in preaching peace (though I cannot share his view that 'Frankish bellicosity' had come 10 **be** in need of reactivating in the ninth century: there is 100 much evidence not only for inter-Frankish violence, but also - and contrary to **a** currendy-fashionable view-for local **and** spontaneous resistance to the VikingJ! Cp Lupus' letter, above p23).

., *PL* 125, col 966. For the Vikings as *pagani*, see Wallace-Hadrill, 'Tbc Vikings in Francia·. in *Early Medieval Hisw,,y* pp 222-7 (though in *my* view exaggerating the 'positive force' of Viking paganism in reality).

11 *'franslatio Sarn:ti Gmnam Parisiensis.* cc 29, 30. ed C. de Smedt, *Anakcta &llandilmo* 2 (1883) pp90-I, 92.

''' So, one of the prayers in time of war in the Gclasian Sacramentary ed L. C. Mohlberg, *Libtr S4cramtntorum Rommw A.ttltsiat Ordinis A.nm Circuli* (Rome 1960) p 215.

,., Prayer at the handing over of the sceptre, *Ordo* of Louis the Stammerer (877), *MGH* Capit 2. no.304, p 461. For Hincmar's authormip, sec Nelson, 'Kin p. law and liturgy', below, chapter 7, pp. 138, 152.

other important business, might denounce such 'secular service' as reprehensible, quoting 2 Timothy 2:4: *Nemo militans Deo i,nplicat se negotiis saecularibus.*[!>4] But how untypical a protest this was (both of Nicholas and his contemporaries) can be gauged from Hincmar's thinking this very same excuse appropriate in a carefully-worded letter to Nicholas written only months later.ss

We know more of Hincmar's thoughts than those of other ninth-century churchmen. But in finding a new application of Augustine's compromise with a violent world, he probably spoke for them all. The institutionalised warfare of the Church was not just permissible but necessary: in practical terms because it sustained the Carolingian state, in ideological terms because it transcended the opposition between apostolicity and landed wealth. The solution was *zeitbedingt* in both senses of that useful word: it was needed by churchmen at a particular time and it required the conditions of that time. In the tenth century, changed conditions-the collapse of the Carolingian state in West Francia and in Italy-left a 1nere warrior-clergy, so it is often claimed, without institutional support, at the mercy of the feudal laity. Yet even in those kingdoms (and the East Frankish case needs no further labouring since the solid demonstrations of Werner and Auer) something of the ninth-century systen1 survived-and more perhaps than Erdmann allowed for-into the age of the Crusades. The liturgy of knighthood has ninth-century West Frankish roots (I am thinking of the benediction *supe, militantes* in the Leofric Missal),[56] and the earliest dubbing rituals should be linked with the warrior-households of particular bishops, that is, with the *familiae* of particular saints.[57] Can we believe that any wide gulf separates these *milites* from, on the one hand, those warriors of Carolingian bishops and abbots and abbesses who went to war behind their banners and kept their mail-shirts in holy places, and on the other, the *militia sancti Petri* and the soldiers of Christ?[58] **At** least, to end

" *MGH Epp* 6. no 38, pp309-10.
" *MGH Epp*8, no 198, p 206.
,. Ed F. Warren (Oxford 1883) p232. Sec below. 'Earliest surviving royal *Ordo',* esp 348, n37, and 350,n 41.
s, G. Duby, *Lts Trois O,drts* (Paris 1978) p 358. This point is missed by J. Flori. 'Chevalerie et lirurgi•e in *Lt Moy,,, Ag*<84 (1978) pp 245-78, 4.34-8.
" I. S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soldier. of Christ', in *Hisr&ry* 58 (1973) pp 169-92 esp 179.

where I began, there are comparisons that may repay some further sniffing out.

KINGSHIP,LAW AND LITURGY IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF HINCMAR OF RHEIMS

0VBR the past three decades, Hincmar of Rheims has attracted increasing scholarly attention from various points of view: K. Weinzierl, J. Devisse and M. David have discussed his use of civil and canon law; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, C.-R. Briihl, H. Fuhrmann and H. Lowe have shown the interrelation of law and politics in his thought and action; M. Andrieu and C. A. Bouman have revealed his large contribution *to* the development of royal and episcopal consecration rites; K. F. Morrison and Y. M.-J. Congar have thrown fresh light on his ecclesiology; H. H. Anton has given detailed consideration to his work in the genre of the 'mirror of princes'; and W. Ullmann has offered some thought-provoking comments on his political ideas.[1] All of these studies are relevant to Hincmar's view of kingship, but the conclusions towards which they tend, implicitly or explicitly, are far from unanimous, especially in relation to Hincmar's treatment of law. Was he, as Weinzierl maintains, a consistent and high-minded defend<.>r of the ancient law of the church, or should we follow Bruhl and Fuhrmann in seeing him as a more eclectic figure who could manipulate law to suit political interests? Did his emphasis on law serve in the main

1. K. Weinzierl, 'Er.bischof Hinkmar von Reims ols Vcrfcchter des geltenden Recl11s', in *Epiuopus. S1udi,n libtr das Biuhofsa111t ... Kardinal ,.,, Faulhaber ... dargeb,a,ht* (Regensburg, 1949), pp. 16-6 ; J. Devisse, *Hin,mar el lal..Ai*(Dakar, 1962), and *idem,*'Essai SW' l'h.istoirc d'uncexpression qui a fait fortune:*"Conriliumti aux ilium"* au IXe siccle', L, *!,1oy,n Age,* (1968), 179-205; M. David, 'Le scrment du sacre du !Xe au XVe siecle', R,r,11, *du M'!)'tll Age Latin,* vi (1950), parrs 1, 2 and), *passim;* J. M. Wallacc-HadriU, 'Archbishop HinCJnar and the authorship of Lex Salie,', *Tijduhrift ,oor Ruhtsge,,hidttis,* xxi (19n), 1-29, reprinted in *Tht Long-haired Kings* (London, 1962), and *id,m.,*'The Via Regia of the Carolingian age', in B. Smalley, ed., *Trends in Mrdieval Poli11'tal TQ{)l(ght* (Oxford, 196s); C. R. Bro.hi, 'Hinkmariana 11. Hinkmar im Widerstreit von kanonischem Recht und Politik in Ehefnigcn', *Deutuhes Ard,iv,* xx (1964), 48-77; H. FubrmaM, *E,;,,/11111 und Verb,,itung dtr pseudoi,idoritthen Fa/Jrh,mg,n* (Stuttgart, 1972-4); H. Uwe, 'Hinkmor "00 Reims und der Apolaisior', in *FutsdJrift fiJr H. Htimp,I* (Gottingen, 1972), iii, 197-225; M. Andrieu, 'Le sacre episcopal d'apres Hincmar de Reims', *R.et,ue d'HislOirt E.«llriastiqs,,,*xlviii (19n), 22-73; C. A. Bouman, *Satring am/ Crowning* (Groningen, 1957); I<. P. Morrison, *The T,..,, King,lqms* (Princeton, 1964); Y. M.-J. Congar, *L'P.«llsio/01,i, du haul ,,,,,_,,n-dge* (Paris, 1968); H. H. Anton, *Furstmspieg,I und 1-le"uhertthos in der Km-oling,rz.tit* (BoM, 1968); W. UJlmaM, *l'ht Carolingian R,naiss011tt and tht ldiaof Kingship* (London, 1971).

to enhance royal power, as Morrison implies, or, as Devisse has argued, to limit it? Did he hold the king answerable to God alone, as David would contend, or did he press the hierocratic claim attributed to him by Ullmann, and assert a right of episcopal surveillance over the king? By re-examining these questions, I hope to show that Hincmar's theory of restraints on Christian kingship had a firmer and more extensive juristic basis than has been generally realized.

It is clear that Hincmar placed special emphasis on the legal aspects of the royal function itself.[1] Augustine had long since distinguished the person from the office of the king in the following terms:

> Aliter cnim servit, quia homo est, aliter, quia etiam rex est; quia homo est enim, servit vivendo fidcliter, quia vero etiam rex est, servit Ieges justa praecipientes et contraria prohibentes convenicnti vigoresaociendo.[2]

For Hincmar as for Augustine, an essential component of the royal office was the making and preservation of law·, new royal laws being created to conserve the public rights and interests enshrined in existing laws. Herein lay the king's claim on his subjects' obedience.[3] While Hincmar also echoed the patristic notion that an evil king was established by God as a punishment for sinners, and therefore should not be resisted,[4] his originality lay

1. See Devisse, *op. tit.* pp.74 ff., and the very pertinent brief remarks of Wallace-HadriU, 'The Via Regia', pp. l ff. Anton, *op. ,it.* pp.307 ff., seems rather to underestimate the importance of law.

:z. Ep. 185, *Curpsu Serip1or1'11t &dtsia11i,or11m LaJim,r11111,*)vii. 17 f.

- In *De Regis Persona et R,gio* ,*Wm,urw,* c. 16, *Pa1rologia Lalina* (hcre,frer PL) us, col. 84s, Hincrna, quoted the passage from Augustine cited above, and *ibid.*, c. 17, quoted from Pseudo-Cyprian, *Dt Xi! A/mJiviJ Souuli,* c. rz: 'Populus sine Jegc'. (Ed. S. Hellmann, Texte und Untersuchungen, pp. 58 lf.) Anton,*op.tit.*pp.78and10), **notes that the royal function *ltfP reno,art, !tgu rl4J'11#'1,* etc., was already present in carJiec Carolingian writings. For Hincmar's views, see *De DiPt>Ylio.* PL 125, col.** 7i4; *S,btdula,* PL u6, col. 617; letter to Louis **111,** PL 116,col. n9, declaring that the king had been elected 'ad regimen rcgni *sul, ,,nditwn, dtbita, legu ,er,,andi'.* Dcvisse, *op. ,it.* p. 79, rightly infers that for Hinanar, the king who transgressed the *lrgt1* was *ip,o fa#O* deprived of office. The objection of Moxrison, *op. ,it.,* p. xii,ls unconvincing. See *infra,* pp. 170 ff. M. Jacquin, 'Hinanar et Saint Augustin', *Mllang,s C. Mo,1/tr* (Louvaln, 1914), pp. p8 lf., mainly criticizes H;ncmar's theologi<:al methods. For Augustine's influence on his idea of kingship, see Anton, *op.,it.* pp.186, with n. 719, and 300 f. For Hincmar's own 1'{SS. of Augustine, see F. l>{. Carey, 'The Scriptorium of Reims du,ing the Archbishopric of Hinanar', in *Oassiral 411J Mtdinal Studi,s in Honor of B. K. Rand* (New York, 1938), esp. pp. *S*1 lf.

4. *De Regis Persona,* c. 1, PL ui, col. 814: 'Quod bonos rcges Deus faeit, malos pcrmittit'. *CJ.* Ep. 15, PL u6, col. 98, quoting Rom. xiii. But, in this same letter, Hincmar distinguishes between *pottt/41* as an institution, ordained by God, and the behaviour of individual power-holders: 'Slcque [6deles) non rcsistunt ordinationi **Dei.... Resistu.nt autcm *inigm, iniqJJQntl.ll ope:ribus ti maN!atis'*. Ep. JS goes on to provide a resolution for the tension in Hine.mat's thought: ' uRegem honorjficare et** obedire rcgi quasi prac<:cllenti" (l Pct. ii. 17, •): vidclia:t qui regls rcgum obedit **O'W\d-atis. ct eius cus-todit judicia. *Aliaquin* ut sancrus Petrus dicit: "Obedite oportct** Dco magis quam hominibus"' (Act. v. z9). A *rtx,*therefore, is to beobeyed, whereas **an *im'q,1111,* as a m!re man►is not. Morrison. *op.tit.*p. 2.29 with n. 41, seems to miss the**

in his insistence on a much more positive evaluation. The king as legislator and as executor of justice through conformity with his own and his predecessors' laws was truly acting on God's bcllalf.[1] It was the high value he set on this royal service which made Hincmar so concerned that the king should be bound to the observance of la\vs, once made. Too much was at stake for the option of merely tolerating an unworthy king to carry great conviction. Hincmar's an.'<iety for the maintenance of the law caused him not only to revalue the royal office but to confront, more resolutely than any previous Christian thinker, theproblemof controlling itsexercise.

In one sense, of course, the priesthood already controlled the Christian king when penitential discipline was imposed on him as an individual sinner.[2] But although in the case of a ruler, the priest's jurisdictional power affected his tenure of office as *\veil* as his person, the Frankish bishops who, in the first h'.\lf of the ninth century, wished to pronounce upon the way in which rulership was exercised, faced the difficulty that the ruler's power had origins quite outside their control. The events of 833 demonstrate the point. The deposition of the emperor Louis the Pious ,vas then declared by the divine judgment of battle, which the bishops only con.firmed.s God's agents were Louis's rebellious subjects. The bishops accordingly did not claim themselves to have deposed the emperor, for they had, after all, played no part in his making•; and they were

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point. Anton, *op. di,* p. 2.97 with nn. 76o and 761, gives an exceUcnt commentary on this pas.sage, but without noting that Hinem3,:'s definition of a *rex* here centres on the making and keeping of law: 'Et de legibus quibus ecdesia moderatur et christianitas **tegitur, Christi Domini sapienda dicit: "[!.go sapientia habito in consilio: per me rcges regrtant, et lcgum conditores justa dcceroun**t[11] **(Prov. viii. 12, 15). Conditorcs** quippe legum non nudo verbo, sed scripto legcs condideruot ct condunt Quas **non illi reg'!s custodiunt de quibus Deus ... dicit: "lpsi rcgnaveruru, et non ex me:** principes exstitcrunt, et non cognovi" (Hos. viii. 4). Sed illircgcs cas [lcges) conduot ***alque tomtrvant,*** **de quibus item Dominus ... didt: "Per me reges regnant"'. See** *infra,* pp. 26o ti.

1. ***Dt Rlgil pu10na,*** **c. 16, PL 115, col. 844: 'Reges rcgi rcgum serviant Domino ...** *el leges tft,ndo proip,o'.*

2. See 0. D. Watkins, *A Histor.,of Pmanu* (London, 1920), ii, 66s ff.; B. Poschmann, *Ptnatr<tand the Anoiming of 1/,e Sit/e* (trans. F. Courtney, London, 1964), pp. •H ff.

l· I follow L. Halphen, *Cbar/,mag"' ,1 /'Empire Carolingien* (Paris, 1947), pp. 291 ff. *Sec* also T. Schieffer, 'Die Krise des Karolingischen lmperiums', in *Ft1l{(brift G. K,,/1,n* (Bonn, r9n), pp.12ff., and E. Boshof, *Erz.bis,hof APJ1bard IIOfl* Lp (Cologne, 1969), pp. 245 li. The biographer of Wala of Corbiesaw the desertion of Louis's troops as the **manifestation of a *imt11m Dti iudirium:* Monumenta Germani.ac Historica (hereafter** MGH), Scriptores 11, p. i6s. The bishops in their *Rdotio* of 83j declared that Louis hod been deprived of imporial power by a *i11dieium di•inum:* ll{GH C.pitularia Regum **Frnncorum (bereafrer Capit.) u. p. 53. Foe Hincmar's interpretation of these events,** see *infra,* p.136,•n. ,.

4. Louis had bun crowned and anointed king by the pope in 781; crowned emperor by bis father in 811: crowned and anointed emperor by the pope in 816: for details, see Brilhl, 'Friinkischcr Kronuogsbrauch', *Hutoru,ht Zeitubrift,* cxciv (1962), 3u. Whatever *,a,a,trr* was supposed 10 have been conferred through theanointingevidently **gave no more immllnity from deposition than did a bishop's consecration. But it** may well have b:cn regarded as indelible: just as a deposed bishop could b: reinstated without requiring any re-coosecration (if. the cue of Ebbo of Rheims in **840,** Capit.

also chllry of drawing any such inference from their subsequent imposition of penance. They grounded their action on the *c11ra animarum*, and Louis's disqualification from bearing arms, which in practice rendered him incapable of ruling, was so to speak a side-effect of the penance imposed on him.[1]

The development of penitential theory during the Carolingian period enabled the bishops in 833 to use public penance as the penalty for misgovernment construed as a public sin; but they could construct no juristic claim to depose a ruler who was directly answerable only to God - hence the significance of the *i11di,i11n1 dei* - nor could they claim jurisdiction over his office itself, however abused. The confession and penance of Louis, unlike his prior deposition derived, legally speaking, from an act of self-limitation. On this basis, there could be no sound episcopal case for the trial and judgment of the emperor.[2] In the changed conditions of the reign of Charles the Bald, the West Frankish bishops strove to increase the prestige of the royal office and to operate through it.[3] Yet the king's power, though seriously weakened, was still

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11, **pp. 111 f.), so Louis at bis restoration in SJ4 was not re-anointed, though be was** re-crowned both then (Sunday, **t Mar.),** and the following **year** (Sunday, ,8 Feb. 8H), These *8tfu1ig,111gsl<:ronw,gm* arc discussed by Brohl, *ubi supra*, pp. 278 f.

1. In their *Re/aJio* of **833,** the bishops stressed how **g,ea,** had to betheir'sollicitudo ... **circa salut.cm cunctoru.m**[1] **(Ca.pit. u, p. S1). Their cone.era for Louis was •ne.animam** suam pc>tderct' *(ibid.* p. 13). *Cf* Capit. 11, p. 447, the declaration of the synod of S1voonicscs (859): 'Episcopi namque secundum illorum ministerium ac sacram **auctoritatem uniti sunt ut mutuo consilio atque au:xilio rcgcs regoorumquc primorcs argue populum sibi commis.sum in Domino regant ct corrigant'. Devisse, an. cit.** *(supra*, p. I 33, n. I), p. 192, suggests Hincmar's authorship here. For ecclesiastical penalties imposed on kings, see P. Kern, *Golltsgnad,ntum unJ Widtrllandtrt<hl ;,,, fri/h,ren 1\fi11e/a/Jtr* (2nd rev. ed., R. Budmer, Munster, 1954), pp. H8 lf. For disquali• **fication from beating arms, see *RtlaJio*, Capit. 11, p. H; *Anna/ts F11/Jet1tt1* s.a. 834, ed.** P. Kunc, p. 27; Penitential of Halitgar (c. 840) 111, c. 7, in **PL** 105, col. 678. Ullmann, *op. cit.* pp. 66 f., notes the peculiar relevance of this penalty in the case of kings, whose raison d'etre in contemporary eyes lay mainly *in* their military funaion.

2. *Cf* M. David, *La Sou11traintll ti Ju Limitu j11Tidiqsus du Powoir monar,hiqm du IXt au XV, sihlt* (Paris, 1954), p. 119: 'A quoi bon un proccs quand la pcine pdccde Jc jugcment?' Hlncmar, ignoring this drawback, later re173lued the bishops' role in 8H. In *D, Di,,ortio,* quaestio vi, PL us, cols. 757 f., Hincmar insjstcd that Heb. xiii, 17 ('Obedite praepositi3 vesttis .. .' etc.), applied to *ti r,ges;* then quoted GelasjU$ on ***J>tNtJifi,a/is auetqrifas;* mentiooed Ambrose's excommunication of 1bcodosfos ('ab ccclcsi-a separavit, ct per poenitcntiam rcvocavit'); and went on: 'nostra aerate pium** Augusrum Ludovicum a regno dcjectum, *pot/ satisfacti0nt111* cpiscopalis unanimitas ... et ccclesiae *tt rtgm,*rcstitwt'. A few lines later, Hincmar developed the idu that a true king was not subject to law in the sense that be w>s jU$t by dclinirion, and 'lex non **est posita justo sed injustis.... Adultcr, bomicida, *inj11.thu,* raptor, ct atiorum vitiorum obnoxius quilibct, vel secrete, vcl publicejuditabilur *a sa«rdntibm>* qui swlt throni Dei,** in quibus Deus sedct ct per quos sua decernet judicia'. Herc without • ploiting the argum<nt based on the conseeration of kings by bishops (see pp. I39 lf. *infra),* Hincmar wtung the last ideological ounce from rhc bfahops' spiritual jurisdiction. *Cf.* also bis argument of 868, *infra*, pp. 163 f.

3. For the background here,sec J. Reviron, *Lu idlu polifi,4-rJigitus,sd'sm tvlque du]Xe Iiwt: Jonas d'Orllons ti,.,,Dit,111itutimu r,gia* (Paris, 1930), pp. 94 lf, and n3 lf.; B. D,laruellc, 'En relisant le *D, Jns1if111ion, R,gia',* in *l>fila11g,s Halpb,n* (Paris, 1951), pp. 181 ff.;and Ullmann, *TIHGro1Pthef Papaf* G,,,,m,,,um(3,dedD..,London,1970),pp. 125 ff.

strong enough to threaten ecclesiastical interests as the demands on royal resources grew more pressing.[1] Hincmar therefore, for **all** his confidence in Christian rulership, still faced as archbishop the problem of defining and controlling its function. Augustine's *rex-homo* distinction might have enabled him to reconcile the divine ordination of the royal *ojfi&e* with the episcopal control of the king's *person.*[2] But the events of 833 had effectively shown that an episcopal claim to the disposition of the ruler's office (and this would beequally true of an emperor or a king) could find no basis in spiritual jurisdiction over his person. That claim could be lodged successfuUy only ,vith the episcopal mediation of the office itself.

For almost a century before 848, the papacy had virtually monopolized the inauguration-anointings of Frankish kings and emperors.[3] But in 848, the performance of the royal rite was appropriated by West Frankish bishops, probably at the instance of Hincmar himself.' Thereafter Hincmat's strong personal interest in

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On the synods of ,he early part of Charles the Bald's reign, see F. Lot and L. Halphen, L, *rlgn,d,Charlul,Cha,m(par/ 1: 110-81;)* (Paris, 1909), pp. 74 lf. (no further volumes appeared); H. Borlon, *Das friinlti1tb-de11t1theSyMdalr«ht dtt Frilbmi11ela/1ers* (Bonn, r931, rcpr. Amsterdam, 11)63), pp. 290 lf.; C. de Clercq, 'La legislation religieuse &anque **depuis i'avCncmcnt de Louis Jc Picux jusqu'amc Pausses Dk.retalcs', *R.1111« dt Droit*** *COntJniqu,,* v (19H), 280 lf. and 390 lf.

1. This emerged clearly in the case of Hincmar of Laon. Sec H. Schrors, *Hinkmar, Erz.bilebof ,0;1 Reims* (Freiburg i. B., 1884), pp. 29s f.; E. Lesne, *Hi:l(}ire de la Prvprilll eee/11iastiq1i,tn Fram,* (Lille-Paris, 19,6), 11, ii, 38• lf.;and*infra,* pp.160 f. !'or Charles the lhld's growing political weakness :ind consequent dependence on the church, see Brllhl, *Fodrum, Gis/11111, SeT11iti1ur1 Regis* (Cologne, 1968), pp. *SO* ff.; P. Prinz, *KJ,ms mu! Krieg* (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 73 ff., U}; Wallace-Hadrill, *Ear!, Germanic Kingship* (Oxford, 1971), pp. us ff. Hincmu's protests in 868 agaiost royal interference in the affairs of the church of Laon reveal the still extensive scope of royal authority, at any rate in **this northern see: *Pro t"lesiat liberlatum d,fen.sione q,wtrrnWnu,* in PL t Z.J►cols. 103s-70,** esp. ,op lf., and *,f* similar ideas in a late wo,k (881), *De oj/itiis ,piuqpor11m,* PL us, cols. 1087-94. For Rheims' recovery of lost land and rights, sec G. Tessier, *Rneuil des At/ts d, Cbarl,s II leCbauvt* (Puis, 1943), i, 110 lf. and ,62 lf. Por Hincmar's views on **the deployment of these resources by che *11't<.e.ssort1 apctlolorum,* see Capit. n, p. 431.** *Cf* on the general social problem, K. Bosl, 'Potens-Paupcr', in *Frilhformtn d,•r Gtsells,hi,/1 in millelalterlit!Jffl Emopa* (Munich, 1964), pp. 114-1*S*,and Devisse, *'l'a11perts et pa1,p,r1as* dans le mondc arolingien. Ce qu'en dit Hincmar de Rcims', *R.t.111 du Nord,* xlviii (1966), 273 fl'.

•· W. Jl,lohr, *Di, Korolingiuhe Rei,hsidu* (11,IUnstcr, 1962), p. 141 n. s83, complaining, somewhat unfairly, that L. Knabe, *Dk gelasi(IIUsdJ< l1Ptigtwol1en1heori,* (Berlin, 19}6), pp. 77 f., and David, *op. eit.* pp. u1 f., had 'overlooked' the fact that Hincmar distinguished between the power of kingslup and the king's personal conduct.

3. For the possibility of papal inAucncc on Pippin's anointing in *n* 1, and the role of Boniface as *Stl'llllS 11 legalus apo11oli,ae stdis,* see W. Levison, *England and theC,,,,1intn1 i11 th< Eighlh Cm1ur:,* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 88 lf. and 119 ff.; and thecommenrs of P. L Gansbof in *Stllimana Spal,10* vu (196o), ii. 396 f. Frankish bishops may have anointed Frankish kings in 768 and 771, though P. E. Schramm, *Kaistr, Konig, und Pap,1,* (Stuttgart, 1968), t, 197 ff. with nn. 10 and, o, plausibly suggests that *eonsteralio* in these contexts may mean no more than a blessing. From then on, certainly, until 848, every anointing of a Frankish kingor sub-king (or emperor) was performed by a pope: for dc1ails, see Bruh!, 'Kronungsbrauch', *passim.*

4. *Anna/es Bertinumi,*s.a. 848, ed. F. Grat (Paris, 1964), p. ll• L. Levillain, 'Le sacre de Charles le O,auve a Orleans', *Bibliolheq,,t d, l'fule des Charttt,* I.xiv (190). 31 lf., regarded the anointing as a royal makeshift. *Lot* and Halphen, *op. eil.* p. 194 with n. 2,

royal anointing and its liturgical elaboration is attested by the four *Ordi11es* which he composed, and by many allusions in his writings.[1] He recognized that rulers achieved power, historically and in his own times, by various means, some, like heredity and election, admissible by ecclesiastical norms, and others inadmissible, like force or intrigue.[2] The former were direct expressions of God's will, while the latter were merely permitted, rather than willed, by God.[3] In the ninth century, the West Frankish bishops in anointing their kings appeared, like Samuel and Nathan in the Old Testament, as visible mediators of the divine will.[4] According

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rightly criticize Levillain"s interpretation, as docs P. Zumthor, *Chark, le°"""'"* (Paris, '9l7), p.116. *Cf* Schramm.Konig •*on l'rankrtid,* (2nd edn. Weimar, 1900), i. 17. Earlier **views assume royal initiallve; buts« nowUUman *CMolingion Rmaisranct,* pp. 79 *ff.*** Technically, rhis was an anointing only to 1be kingship 0ʃhe Aqui12inians, but it was evidently regarded by Hincmar and by Chades himself, at least when convenient to do so, as an anointing to the whole West Frankish realm: see rhe letter of thesynod of Quicrzy (858), O,pit. 11, p. 4;9 (for Hincmar's authorship, *if.* his own admission in *D, tollu1ulit rapini1,* PL 121, col. 911), and the *Li/)l/111, oJ.,,.,,11 W,ni/on,u,* (819), O,pit. u, p. 4p. These references stcongly support tbe argument from silence that Charles **had received no other anointing as West Frankish king, *e.g.* at his design:uion or accession. Since the Orleans anointing was an Aquitainian affair, Hiocmar's absence is** explicable: *if.* E. Dilmmler, *Gu,hithlt du 01tfrtln1'i11//,n &i,iu* (2nd cdn. Leipzig, 1887), **i. H7, n. 3. Wcnilo of Sens officiated because Orleans was in his province. Hincmac** was a stickler for metropolitan rights, •nd had himself been consecrated by Wenilo: J. D. Mansi, *un,i/illnnn u/le,Jio* (Plorcnce-Vcniee, 1719-·78), xv, col. 794. But even if **not present, Hincmar's already great political influc.ttce and his licurg.ical interests** make him the likoliest source for the idea of the anointing. Between Easter (25 l'-far.) **when he was recognized by the .Aquitainians at Limoges, and May when he was con sccratcd there, Charles visited nou-h srcrn Prance: see G. Tessier, *Rrtutil,* i. 284-6,** *n<>.* 107 issued in April *at* Quierzy, and 286-8, no. 108 issued in M.:iy at Compiegne. He could well have contacted Hincmar during this period.

1. **Hincmar·s *Ordinu,* preserved *in* a now lost Liege MS., were edited by J. Sirmond, *Hinu1tal'i ... flJHra* (P,uis, 1648), i. 741 ff., and arc conveniently reprinted in Capit. n,** pp. 425 ff., 4!l ff., 416 f., and 461 f. On Hincmar's liturgical work and technical mastery, sec the voluablc study of Bouman, *op.,it.(tupra* p.133, n. 1),esp. pp. 103 and **r 12 ff., and in relation to the episcopal consecration-•dte, An<lrieu, 'Lesac:re episcopal',** *pa11i111.* Sec also A. Sprcnglcr, 'Die Gcbctc dcr Kconungsordincs Hinkman von Reims', *Z,it1<bri/t fiir 1&,heng,1tbi,htr,* L,iii *(* t910/11), 241 ff.

2. ***Dt DiPOrlio,* quacstio vi, PL 1 z.s, cols. 1s6 ff. In hereditary or elective succession, God aets *111imiurio angtlorum ti hominmn.* Previous commentaries on chis passage have** been superseded by that of Anton, *op.it.* pp. 295 ff.

;. *Cf* p.!34, n. 4 *tupra.*

4- **See Hincma.r's references to the bishops as *l«llfn ftntnt,s* for Samuel in the synodal** letter of 8J8, Capit. n, p. 4;9; *Dt Du,orti,,* PL 111, col. 632; *Defol.,Carolo regiurvanda* (871}, PL 12), col. 979; and, for the related ossumption of identity berw,,cn episcopal and divine action,synod of .lv!caux (84)), c. lio<i, Capit. 11, p. 415, ond syno<lof Quier,y (8J8), *ibid.* p. 428. A major oomponcnt in the typology of the prophet os thecorrection of ening rulers: sec *Dr Ditiorlio,* PL 125, col 756, for the prcccdentS of Nathan and David, Samueland Saul, Ahias and Jeroboam. For someimplications of royal anointing in this contelCI,seep.I42 *infra.*Secalso Anton,*op.rit.* p. 347, but surprisingly neglecting the Old Testament models in Hincmar's *Ordintt:* in the anointing-prayer of 877, there are references to the victories of Ab.raham, l'-!oscs and Joshw, to the humili<y of David and the wisdom and peace of Solomon. Hincmar was inAuenced here by St Paul's similar list of *,x,mpla* in Heb. xi, whence also (v. 31) he borrowed the wording for the ccntr,1 passage in the anoiming-prayers of 869 and 877. By placing this •frer a quotation from the *Btntdirtio ,hriPnotu,* Hincmar produced an explicit linkage of anointing with the successes of the Old Testament heroes 'qui per lidem viccrwlt

to Hincmar, Charles the Bald was 'crowned and consecrated to the Lord in the possession of the kingdom (of Lotharingia] by the agency of the bishops'.[1] Earlier Frankish tradition was permanently breached when a king could no longer be made without the bishops' explicit intervention.

Hincmar reaffirmed Isidore's statement that secular princes had to render account to God for the *ecdesia* committed to them for protection by Christ.[2] But he did not forget Gelasius's observation chat the *;acerdole;* had to render account *pro ipsiJ regib11s homin11m.*[3] These t,vo notions of responsibility could now be fused, for the consecration which carried the king into the ranks of the governors of the *ccclesia* also represented in concrete terms the mediation of a specific *mi11isteri11n1* by the bishops of a given kingdom. Useful and necessary as kingship was, it was an office in which a suitable candidate could be installed only by the hands of those directly accountable to God.[4] Thus Hincmar linked the bishops' responsibility at the Last Judgment with the earthly manifestation of their authority:

•.. tanto gravius pondus est sacerdotum, quanto eriarn pro ipsis regibus hominum in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem; et canto est digniras pontificum maior quam regum quia reges in cuJmen regium sacrantur a pontificibus, pontifices aute1n a regibus consecrari non possunt.•

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regna et operati sunt iustitiam atque adcpti sunt promissiones'. See Capit. 11, pp. 4):7 and 461. Rieb evidence for the influence of Old Testament modds is to be found i.n eighth- and ninth-century prayer-texts, including rcgol benedictions. The topic awaits detailed sn,dy. The fine work of R. Kottje, *S111ditn* t'''' *l:.injl11Jf du A.'f. au/ Rubi tmd Liturgie desfriilxn Afitltlofttrt,6.-8. }ht.* (Bonn, 1964), deals with Other matters.

1. **Hincmar·s *Adn11ntiatio* im.mcdiarcly preceding the consecration of 869, Capir. 11, pp. 5-40 f.: 'non incongruum videtur istis vcncnbilib cpisctipis, si vcstrac unanimitati place-t, ur *inob1t11Ju regt1i,* undc vos ad illum sponte oonvenistis ct vos ci commcndastis, *sattrdotali minislerio* ante lnne hoce*orone/11r ti 1mra un.ttione Domino ,onsftretur'.* J\.{orrison,** *op. eit. (supra* p. 133, n. ,), pp. 187 f., argues that the cunsccratiun of the king's person 10 the Lord, and his receiving his royal title through episcopal benediction, **are mutually exclusive. But the above passage, read jn full, shows the inappropriateness of Morrison's sharp diStinction.**

1. *Smt.*iii. j ,, no.6,in PL8i, col.713 f. E. Ewig,'Zurnchrisdichen Ki>nigsgedanken **im PrUhmiuclaltcr', in *Vorlriigt und Forulmngtn,* (ed. T. M'ayer, Constance, 1956), Hi,** ; t f., contrasts this with Gelasian theory. *Cf.* similar notions of responsibility in Pseudo-Cyprian, c. *9,* ed. cit. p. 53; Cathwulf, l>{GH Epp. *IV,* p. 50;; Jonas, *De ln,til. Rig.,* ed. cit. pp. 14) f.; and the episcopal statements of 819 and 8;6,!>{GH Concilia u pp. 651 and 716. Anton, *op. ,it.* pp. ;17 f., nn. 887-9;, cites further references in **Hine:mar's writings, but negkcts his liturgical work where the same idea underlies the** blessing, 'Oerum ac populum' in the *Ordo* of 8(½) and the sceptre formula of 877.

;. Ep. 11, c. 1, ed. A. Thiel, *Epiftofat p,mtifium, Ro111anoNU11 gmuinae* (Braunsberg, 1868), pp. 310 f. On the doctrine of responsibility here, see my note in *}011n1n/ of Theofogi,al Studitt,* xviii (r967), I)4 ff., and the impo<tant revisions oft>{. H. HoeAich, 'Gelasius I and the Romao Law: one further word',*ibid.*xxvi (197!), "4 ff.The passage is quoted in the synodal letter of 858, Capit. n, p. 440.

4. *Cf.* the *ndtmntiotion,s* of Adventius and Hincmar in 869, Capit, 11, pp. 338 ff., and p. 138, n. 4, *supra,*

5. PL 125, col. 1071, in the *0,10* of thesynod of Fimcs, Apr. 881. *Cf.* also *ibid.* cols. 1087 f.; the contemporary letter to Louis UJ, PL 116, col. 119 (wi1h the corr<'Ction of Anton, *op. tit.* p. ;44, n. 10;8); and the so-called *Ad ,pittopos,* Hincmar's last c1<tant

If the bishops' obligation to render account was at once a privilege and a burden, their indispensable role as consecrators gave them *maior digmtas* - a term which implied not only superior sacramental pov.,ers but also superior governmental position.[1] In Hinemar's view, he and his colleagues, uniquely qualified as they were to consecrate their king to his office, acquired thereby a jurisdiction over him. Hincmar modelled his conception of this jurisdiction on the analogy of the mettopolitan's position with regard to his sufftagans[2] and here he invoked the principle:

ab his potes *iJltlirari* a quibus poruis1i *ordhtari.*[3]

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work, PL ui, cols. 1007 ff. Probably influential here was Heb. vii. 7: 'Quod minus est a meliore benedicitur'. For funher comments on H.incmar's use of the Gclasian theme, see Knabe, *qp. tit.* pp.88 f. and Mohr, *op. tit.* pp.144 f. In the *De Online Palatii* in **Capit. u. p. S19, written also in 881, Hincmar quoted Gclasius on two *ordinationum qffie,a,* without adding that one wu superior to the other or mentioning the conseaation of kings. On the work, and the circumstantial reasons for this omission, see Anton,** *op.tit.*pp.288 lf. and i46 with n. 1044.*Cf.* also Lowe, art. cit. pp.219 ff. But even here, **when writing for the coun, Hinanar insisted on the significance of the king'sanointing in the viewof iu ministrants:'In sacrarcgumhistoda legimus, qu.iaprincipcssaccrdotum, quaado sacra unctiooe *rtgts in regmm1 sarrabant ... !tgtm,,in 111-anum tUIS dahanl* ut scircnt, qualitet sc ipsos regere ct pravos couigere et bonos in viam rect:am deberent dirigcrc'. *Cf* similar statements at Ft.mes, PL 125, co). 1071; in the *Dt Di orlio,* PL Uh cot 757;** and in the suptre formula of 877, Capit. 11, p. 461. On the soura,s of these ideas, Anton, *op. ,it.* pp.57, n. J8, aod 309, n. 834-

1. **The dual meaaiog has attracted little attention in th.is oontext. See** s.v. **'Dignitas'** in H. G. Heumann, rev. E. Scckcl, *HandlexiMn Z/1 dtnQudltn d,s ro111iffbtn Ruhts* (9th edn. Jena, 1907), for both the general senseof prestige and the technical sense, in late **imperial law, of an official post in the civil govcrnmcot.1lonison,*()p. ,it.* p. u7, n. 1,** notes theofficial senseof the term, but does not consider Hincmar's useof iL Although **his usual word for 'office' was *oj/i,illlfl,* less often *111ini1ttriffm,* Hincmar did sometimes** use *digmtas* in this sense of a specific post or function:*1.g.* in PL ui, cols. ro40, 104r: **PL 115, col. 700; PL UJ, col. 1007 and cJscwhere, quoting Gclasius, Tract. 1v. c. 11,** ed. Thiel, p. i68 ('digniratibusdistinctisoflicia potcstatis utriusquc[Christus]discrevit').

1. **See E. Perels, 'Einc Denkschrift H.inkmars im Prozcss Rothads von Soissons',** *Nu,es Arthn,,* I.xiv (1922), 43 ff.; *Opus,uJ,,,,, LV Capitu/onm,* in PL 126, cols. 29<r494 (hereafter *LV Capit.); Epis/Q/11 de iure metropolitanorum* in **PL** 116, cols. 189 ff. Among many citations ftom canon law, references to canono of the African church arc particularly frequent: I have counted over fifty instances (including repetitions) in *LV Capit.Cf.* also the critical apparntus in Pcrcls, *r,bi mp,-11.* Schr<lrs, *op. tit.*pp.392 f., •nd **Anton,op. *tiJ.*p. JJ4, n. 98), indicatea few of Hincmar's c.itationsof Africancanons with•** out stressing the significance of this source. Metropolitan jurisdiction, a major theme **of African councils, was something of special cone.em to Hincmar: see *Dittionnairt tit Droil Canonique,*** art. 'Afriquc' (G. Bardy), i. 296 ff.; P. Monceaux, *Hutoir, Litlirairt* ***d4 /'Afrkple ,hrlti'tnn,* (Paris, 1901), iii. 80 fl'. and 21 t; and for Hincmar's vjews, E.** Lcsne, *La bierartbit lpiJropale en Ga11I, ti ,n Germani,, J,f>-882* (Lille, 1905), pp. 122 f. and 171 f.; F. X. Arnold, *Das Dioz.eummht nath dtn S,hrifltn Hin.1:mars ,on Rei,111* (Vienna, 193i), pp. B ff.; H. G. J. Beck, 'Canonical Election *to* suffragan bishoprics according to Hiocmar of Rheims', *Ca1holi, His!M'i&al R,,ie»•,* xliii (t9i7), 137 ff.; Fuhtmann, *op.,it.(,upra* p.133, n. 1), i. 219 ff.,ii. •ll·

3. *LV Capi1.*, **PL** 126,col. 378. *CJ.* a lengthier statem<>nt of the same point in a le11er to the bishop of Laon, **PL** 126, coL 5i9: 'Si pocui propter minisccrium mihi collarun, **cxorarc dcum ct tu per impositt Oneo, manuum meai:um 6cres ordimtus episcopus, possum et debeo *eodmr minUttrio* te obtestari per auc.toritatem ut facias quod faccrc ckbet episc.opus'. Herc, col. 519, and in another letter, *ibid.* col. 2:76, Hincmar writes** of the bond of quasi-filial ob gation which binds• new bishop 10 bis conseceator(s).

Hincmar drew his inspjration from texts that were available in the contemporary Pseudo-lsidorian collections. In c. xv of the Capitula Angilramni, for instance, which dealt with the restriction of a bishop's jurisdiction *to* the clergy of his own diocese, Hincmar could find the statement:

> Nam qui cun1 *ordinare* non po1·uit, nee *i11dkare* ullatenus porcrit.[1]

Similarly a false decretal of Pseudo-Calixtus, cc. xiii and xiv, dealt ,vith theimpermfasibility of a metropolitan's interfering with his su/fragan's powers over the priests in their ruoceses:

> Quia sicut *ordinatio,* ita cius et *iudicaJio* ... Nam qui *ordinart* non potcrit, qualitcr *i11dicabit?*[2]

The contextof thesepronouncements would hardly have commended them to Hincmar.[3] But in c. xxiv of the Capitula Angilramni, he could find a simjlar text in a more congenial setting:

> Quandocumqnc aliquis cpiscoporum criminatur congregatis omnibus eiusdcm provinciae episcopis causa cius audiatur, ut non occultc iudicetur vel dampnetur, quia ab aliis *i11dicari* prius non potest, nisi ab his quibus *ordi11ari* potuitJ

This canon is partly based on Antioch, c. xv,[5] but the explicit linking of *ordi11ari* and *i11dicari* has no ancient precedent. Here, as in the other cases cited above, the link seems to have been forged by ninth-century Frankish clerics, and **it** suggests a significant new emphasis on the crucial role in consecration rites of the bishops as meruators of office conceived as the emanation of divine grace. Hincmar's use of the *ordinari-i11dicari* principle involved an original twist: as archbishop, he virtually monopolized **it** so as to amplify,

,. *Dure/alts Pst1«fo-ltidoria11a,,*ed. P. Hinschius (Berlin, 1863), p. 761. On the C.pitula Angilramni,see G.1'1ay, 'Zu den Anklagebcschriinkungeo in den Capitula Angilramni', *Zdt,chrift fiir Kinh,ngt1'hithtt* (1961), lxxii. pp. 1o6 ff., and Fuhrmann, *op. ,it.* i. 161 ff. **and 117 with n. 85 for their use by Hincmar. Because of their tran'lmission along with th-;: work of Pseudo-Isidore :ind their origin in <he same circles, Puhrm3nn includes** them under the heading 'Pseudo-Isidorian'. The wording of Capit. Angil. c. xv 6nds close parallels in cwo false decrctals, Ps.-Julian, c. xii, ed. cit. p. 468, and Ps.-Sb«us, **c. vi, *e-d.* cit. p. 192.**

,. Ed. cit. p. 139. *Cf* the ceappearance of this tc>I in clcventb-ccntu.ry collections: ***A.Mt/mi epil(.opi Lu.temit eollutio UJmmum,* v1, c. 114, ed. P. Thancr (Berlin, 1906-15),** p. 324, and c. 194 of the Collection of Seventy-four Titles, *ibid.*

l· A basic issue in the case of Rothad of Soissons (sec pp. 157 f. *infra)* was chat of a **bishop's jurisdiction ovc.r a pdcsc in bis own diocese. when Hinemar as metropolitan** claimed powcc co intervene. Sec Schri>rs, *op. rit.* pp. •l9 ff:, and Fuhrmann, *op. ril.* ii. 154lf.

4. Ed. cit. p. 768.

j. *Errlesiae Orridmtalis Monumtn/a l11ris,*ed. C. H. Turner (Oxford, 1913), 11, ii. 28o f. *Cf* Pseudo-Isidore, ed. cit.p. 271. A formof dus canon was crnnsmiucd in the Dionysio-Hadriana, c. xciii, PL 67, col. 16•. On chis collection, see p.15 , n. 1 *infra.* The basic **principle here is implicit in other early canons, but none c,cpLicidy links *ordinari* and *i11dittJri.***

rather than (as the Pseudo-Calixtine decretal had implied) to limit, metropolitan powers. The archbishop's canonically-based right to consecrate suffragans to their offices could nO\\' be presented as the basis of his jurisdiction over every aspect of their official conduct.[1]

Hincmar's real masterstroke was to grasp the relevance of the episcopal case to the royal case. Obviously existing canon law did not yet cater for the consecrated king; but once he, like the bishop, was anointed into his office - and J-Iincmar was in no doubt about the constitutive nature of this rite[2] - the *nvo* cases could be treated as analogous, and canonical rules transferred fron1 one to the other. Just as the bishop, through his consecration, joined the ranks of the governors of the *ecclesia* and beca1ne thereby subject to the rules of that body, so now the king, being, in his official capacity, *,onsecra/111 do111it10,* and receiving his office through the mediation of those same governors, entered the realm of the rules that bound them. Charles the Bald expressed Hincmar's ideas when he referred to his own anointing,

> a qua consccrationc ... proici a nullo debueram, saltem sioe audicntia et *it1dicio episcoponm,,* quorum ministcrio in regem sum consecratus.l

Through his consecration, then, the king, like the bishop, became answerable to the judgment of his episcopal consecrators, and Hincmar, logically enough, made this the ground of their *111aior dig11itns.* The form and the substance of this jurisdiction now invite fur1her exploration.

1. **On H.inc.tnar s methods in rdatinn to anon law, sec Fuhrmann, *op. ,it.* L T13 ff., ::md u I f.: -w'o Hiukmat die Falschcn Dckrct.1k11 im \\i'egc stan<l-c.;J1, vcrstand er cs, sic auch £Ut sich passcnd zu m:u:hcn.._ *Cf ibid.* 2.0J wiah n. *n>* for smother comparable llincmarian "Vcrfa1schung'.**

•· S<:e the preliminaries to the cons.:cration of 869, C.pit. 11, pp. 338 ff., quo1cd in **pan, *supra* p. 139, n. 1.; the anointing-pra)'CC 1,f thi..: 869 *Ordo:* •ungat tc in rcgni rcgiminc ...'; the *Ordo* of 877, *ibid.* 461: •... in rcgni rcgiminc sublicnitcr coJloca.'**; the *l'ro E«. Lib.* Def., PL ui. col. 1040, where Hincmar told Charles: '*... epiuopali* ***,1 StUtrdololi ,mr.tion* ct bencdic1ionc *rtginm diinilaltn,* pmius qu.am tcrrcna potcstatc *ton«tuli utiJ'.* l\forrison, *op.* *,i,.* p. 187, mistranslates this pas gc anddisregards the *Ordi s.* For the constitutive nature of the royaJ anointing. sec also rhc *&nt.ditlio rtgiJ in rtgno.* in the second ('B')of the *&ntdutiana/1 ojl:rei,i,,,g.* ed. R. Amiet (Henry Brads}13w** Society vol. 88 for the years 19) I and 19i•, publ. 1974) 100-1.

3. ***LibtlllfJ ,011/ro lfYmilontm,* c. 3, Capit.** 11, **p. 451. The passage continues:•... etqui throni Oei sunc tlicti. in quibus Deus scdct ct per quos sua dc.-c.emic iudicia; quorum patcrnis compdonibus ct *tatli'goloriis iJrdki,i* me subdcre *fut* paratus *ct in* praescrni sum subc.litus'. For the basic meaning of *,onsuratio* in Christian usage as d(;dication** 10 **a particular funcdon, sec an. 'Consecra1io'** (L. **Koep) in *Realltxi.ton jlir .Anlike und ChriJ1mt11m,* iii. i81 ff. See. for the back.ground to the *Libtllu1,* Halphen, *Charltmagne*** *rl /'l:,,npirt Carolin_,jm,* pp. ll9 ff., and for Hincmar's probable au1horship, Lot and **Halpcn, *op. tit.* p. r93 with n. 1. For a similar statement, sec Charles's letter to Pope** Hadrian II, PL 116, col. 881, complaining that the pope had misjudged him since he **had been nullo cri1nine publico *i,1 alfdimlia episcopoli legalittr n r,gulariltr au11.1alum,*** *111i11im, a111tm ro11vi,111m'.* **<..'f.** also *ibid.* cols. 876 and 88}, and the synod•! krter of 818, **Capit. u, p. 439. Hincmar's k"tck of consisccncy in cxpcssing such vic\\.-S is understandable: as Anton, *op. tit.* p. 41, observes, Hincrnir's statements were 'wcitgchcnd** iagcsp<>lirisch bccin!lussr'.

In the first place, it became desirable to establish firm criteria on which an episcopal judgment could rest. This could most suitably be done at the time of the king's inauguration. Although from the mid-ninth century, the Frankish magnates often intervened decisively in the choosing of kings, and Hincmar readily acknowledged their role here,[1] the formal procedures of election came under clerical influence, in striking contrast with earlier Frankish custom. Not surprisingly, the procedures adopted sho,ved similarities \Vith the corresponding phase of episcopal ordination. From thefifth-century onwards, the episcopal ordinand had had to satisfy his consecrators of his doctrinal orthodoxy and personal suitability, and these assurances becan1e the formal preliminaries to the consecration itself.[2] In the ninth century, Frankish bishops, certainly in the province of Rheims, had to give oral and ,vritten professions of faith and obedience as a precondition of their consecrations.[3]

The giving of ,ritten professions by bishops elect may well have been in West Frankia, as in contemporary England, a fairly recent innovation.[4] Although monks and nuns gave *professiot1es* 'of a rather different kind' from an early date, clerics do not seem to have done so before the seventh century,[6] and then, only from Visigothic Spain *ic* there dear evidence for the demand of written professions

1. **CJ. rh prdiminari('s U• the consecration of 869, Capi<. 11, p. 339. and Jlincmar's :1ccounr of the events k.-ading up tv that of 877. Ann. Bertin., ed. cil., p. 219. Sec also Hincmar's orcful s tcmcnr ro Louis IU, PL 126, col. 119: ·Non vos me clcgistis in praclationc cccksiac scJ ego cum collcgis mcis ct cctcris Dci *at prqgrnitfJf'11111 t1estror,1111 jiJe/Jb111* vos clcgi aJ regimen regni'. Sec.: the Noe discussion of \Y/. Schlesinger, •Karlingischc Kvnigswah.lcn', in *&itr.igt zur drutl(btn Vr:r/11JNmt,sgrs,hitb1t* (Gottingcm,** 196J), i. 88 lf., esp. 13l ff.

2. ***S1a1J1/t1 l:.rclesint AnJUj«a.* e<l. .-\nJricu. Lu *Ordi11es RomaHi du haul 1110Jtfn tigt* (Spicilcgium Sacrum Lova.nicnsc :cxh·, f..ouvai 19sr), iii. 616 f. Sc also *uk111*•• 'Le** sacre episcopal', pp. JI ff.

l· The evidence wos fuse published by Si,mond, *C.n,ilia A111iq11a Calhar* (Pa1is, **1615), ii. 651 lf., tcpdntcJ by E. Baluzc, *C.apitulorla Reg11111 1:ra11(0111111* (Paris, 1677),** ii. 614 ff., and thence convcnicndi• in PL 87, cols. 91i ff. From the province of Rheims survive the profossion of Adalbcrt of Thcrouannc (871(?)-87) and the examination of Willeben of Ch:llons (868-78). For the profession of Hiocmar of Loon, see *infra*, p.161, n. 1. Sec T. Gottlob, */),r kirehli<he Aml,eid dtr /Jirrbiifr* (llonn, 1936, rcpr. 196J), **pp. qo ff.; Andrieu. 'Le sacre Cpiscopal', pp. 31 ff.; &ck, 'Canonical election', pp.q 8 ff. Hincmar of Rh{:ims• :uchicpiscopal professi<m. promising due subjection and obedience ro the pope, and aid for his own suffragans, is printed, ttnJ its aurhcn** cicicy dcfcnd,-d, in l\lGll ᑭ - vnr, Karolini Aevi vi, fasc. i, no. 1. *Cf.* Gottlob, *op.eit.* p. l' and u. 136.

4. So Goulob, *op. ,it.* p. t 50, s«ms to infer. On the English professions from the **late eighth century onwards, see now the indispensable work of lvf. Richter, *Canltrb11ry*** *Profusio,,,* (Canccrbury and York Sociccy, vol. lxvii, Torquay, 197;). Richrcr suggests, **p. x:x:cvii. th.:tt .,,he purpose of their introduccion .inco England may u:cJIhave be.en** 10 reasS<:n the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury after the short-lived metropolitan ambitions of the bishopric of Lichfield under Hygebeorht at the end of the eighth **century'.)n some ,vays, this English context is unlike. those of seventh-century Spain** or ninth-century West Frankia: sec p.144 *infra.*

5. L. Herding, 'Die Professio der Kleriker und die Entstchung der drei Gclubde', *ZtilStbrijt fiir KatholiSth< Th,ologi<*, !vi (19;•). pp. 148lf.

from ordinands of every grade as a prerequisite to consecration.[1] Behind this 'Spanish symptom' were specuic circumstances to which Dr l'vlichael Richter has recently drawn attention: social and political tensions which evoked a strong central government, its power manifested in the series of great Toledan councils to which 'members of the ruling class' both lay and ecclesiastical 'were called together at regular intervals'; and a similarly centralized church, headed in the later seventh century by an archbishop of Toledo intent upon establishing for the metropolitan see an effective primacy strengthened by the regular practice of episcopal profession. Richter has concluded that 'the profession of obedience ... sanctions a pronounced hierarchical structure of the Church'.[2]

At least as far as the national church was concerned, many of these conditions were reproduced in the West Frankish kingdom in the mid-ninth century. In a time of political crisis, the episcopate became increasingly conscious of its O\vn unity and responsibility - a consciousness at once the cause and the effect of frequent synodal activity[3] - and the archbishop of Rheims was using all his resources of political influence and canonical expertise to bring his suffragans under fumer metropolitan control.[4] It is against this background that theextant episcopal professions should beconsidered. Compared with contemporary English examples, they are surprisingly long and detailed, and their association ,vith the formal examination immediately preceding the consecration-rite is clear. The archbishop himself posed the whole series of searching questions concerning moral and educational qualifications, and it was he who finally received the ordinand',svritten profession of doctrinal orthodoxy and obedience 'to the privileges of the church of Rheims'. Orthodoxy \Vas defined by reference to the canons of previous councils, the *placita,* which were read out to, and acknowledged by, the ocdinand and a copy of which he formally 'received' from his consecrators

r. See Richter, *op. eit.* pp. xii ff. It was clcady the epb,cupal practice of giving a written profcssitm of obedience *to* the- *ordinoiort1* which fotlucnccd Hincrnar's shaping of the king's commitmcm: sec pp.153 f. *infra.* Priestly, monasticand other professions are thus of no direct relevance here. David, *La So1ttJtra!i:eli,* pp. 90 ff.>obscures this point.

2. *Op. ,it.* pp. xv f.

- Sec the works cited *supra,* p.136, n. l, and my ('2J)Cr, 'Notional synods, kingship as office, and royal •nointing: an early medieval syndrome', *SCH,* vii (1972), below, ch. 10. 239 ff. Some neglected aspcctS of Charles the Bald's government, suggesting CQntinuing efforts at central control, have rightly been stressed by J. Campbell, **'Obscrvatil)ns on English government fcom the tench co the twelfth cenrur)". *Trans.*** R. *Hill. So,.,* xxv (1971), esp. pp. 44 ff.

4. See Schri.lrs, *op. ,it.* pp.;t 8 ff.; Perels, *art. tit.* pp. 44 ff.; Beck. 'The selection of bishops suffragan to Hinonar of Rheims', *Catholi, Huiorical Rni,u,,* xiv (1919), •H ff. Lcsnc, *La hitrar,bi, lpiscopai,,* pp. 17 ff. and •l9 £., discusses metropolitan privileges at Rheims. Sens and elsewhere. On Rheims-Sens rivalry later in the ninth century and its impact on royal consecrations, see Schramm, *K6nig a;on Frankrtith,* pp. 112 ff.

and electors after his consecration.[1] Through his profession, therefore, he personally subscribed to the laws of the church - quite literally underwrote them. If obedience was a crucial part of any suffragan's profession, so also (and this has been less often stressed) was his 'confirmation' of the canonical *reg11/ae:* in Hincmar's view, this aspect of episcopal incorporation in the church's government seems to have complemented the role of synodal *assens11s* in the creation of the church's law.

Given hisconcern with discipline, with subordinating the bishop's office to metropolitan jurisdiction and with clarifying the rules governing its conferment, Hincmar's interest was naturally in episcopal, rather than monastic or priestly, profession: in a written and legally-enforceable obligation, rather than a vocational commitment. His emphasis on the written documents involved in the election and examination of a bishop was part of a more general insistence on conformity with written law - whether the *regulae* of the church or the *leges et 1tatttta* of Christian princes.[2] Since both

1. The profession of Adalbcrt, PL 87, col. 916: '... sed ct observaciones ac rcgularia **mandata, sacrorumquc oonciliorum *platita,* quae post ordinationcm cpiscopaltm in libellis canonic.is secundum morcm ecc:lesiastic:am *propriis 1ub1rripti*o11ibu1 *roboratis col/uta,* ct. mihi uadcnda coram omnibus praedixisris, me se:rvaturum profiteor, et omnibus supra sctiptis cum corclis ct or.is profcssionc subsaibo.'** ***CJ.*** **the *txa111inatio* of** Willebert, PL 87, col. 915: following the ordinand's satisfying the doc1ri02l requirements **laid down in the *Statllta &detiae Antiqua,* 'Tune rclccta sunt ei *pl.adta* quae episcopus iam ordinatus ab ordi.natoribuseceleaoribussuissuscipere debct'. Hincrnar's use of the term *pl«ita* to mean conciliar decrees was certainly inAucnced by ancient** canons, esp. c. xxi of the Carthaginian canons of 419: 'Ut ordinandis episcopis vcl **clcricis prius ab ordinatotibus suis *platita tontil1'j;r11111 eJ11ribus eor1011 1'1ml,111t11r* oc sc aLiquid contra staruta coocilii fccissc p0<:niteant'. The reading *ordinandis* is coucaly** given by Hincmor in the preface to rhe *LV Capil.*, PL u6, cols. 292 f., following the Dacheriana, 111, c. cnxv, ed. J.-L. D'Ach ry, *Spirikgi,1111 ,;,,, ,o//uJiq* ***,,,nvn*** *aliquot 11riptorum* **(2nd edn.• Paris, 172.3), i. 561, where the Dionysio Hadria.na gives *ordinalis,* in at least one version, PL 67, col. 189. Hi.ncmar continues, *foe.,;,.:* 'Quae (pJaci,a) a me tibi ordinando ioculcata sunt ... Quando libru.m sauorum anonum ct re.gu.Jam paswralem beati Grcgorii ... imanum mis..i, , .. ipsos libxos ... tcit3 obsccvaturu.m cooscnsjone tua confumast.is\ He concludes by quoting c. xiii of the coundt of 419** (seep.158,*infra),* Ep. 84 of Leo I, 'de sua erga lcges conscnsione si contra illam fecerit', and finally, 1 Canbagc, c. xiv: 'Quac vd fact:> vcl dicta superius comprcbensa sunt, **vcl ab aliis coociliis cons.cripta, quac sccundum Jegem invcniuntur, custodire nos opc.>rtet. Si quis vetostacuta supcrgrcssus corrupccit, veJ pro nihilo habcnda putavcrit, si laic.us est communione, si clericus c„st honore privctur.' *Cf.* Hinanar's argument in *Dt On/in, Palatii,* c. 1 S, ed. cic. p. p;;: [4]Ncquc iux-ta dec.rera ex sacris anonibus** promulgata bcaci Grcgorii prae1oria ... debent (cpiscopi] inutiliter obscrvare, ne **ineurrant iudicium ut conua *pla,ita ,anonum sibi in orJir:alione 111a tradita* facientes ipsi sibihonorc privcmec.clesiastico'. On *pril•olio hDnoris,* seep. 157, *infra.*On the significance** of 1be synodal *aumslll* for Hincmar's ecclesiology, sec Morrison, *op.,;,.* pp. 19 and 91 ff., and the brilliant sketch of Congar, *L'E.eelrtio!,,gi,,* pp. 169 ff., noting, p. 174, of the **mid ninth century: 'Nous sommes done a un moment ou ... lcsstruccures canoniqucs** enrn:nt dans la conception *dtJgmo1i9"'* de 1'8glise' (his suess). Professor Ullmann **kindly points out to me that the result was precisely 'une conception *Jitridiqut'.***

2. ***Cf.* che reference to laws made cnon nudo vcrbo sed scripto·, in the letter to** O.arles the Bald, *11,pra* p. 2.µ, n. *4,* and also the rext quoted *infra,* p. 163, n. 3. For **Hincma,:'s appreciation of written Jaw. see Devissc, *Hinrmar ti la Loi.* pp. 88 ff., and** Morrison, *op.eil.* pp. 88 lt Po, the wider background, see F. Gffishof, 'The useof the **written word in Chademagne's admioistration\ in *Thi Carolingian, anti tbt Frankish***

king and bishop performed similarly ministerial functions, since both were similarly consecrated, Hincmar when designing formal preliminaries to a king-making rite logically drew on the existing well-developed model of the episcopal examination and profession, with their peculiarly apt stress of office defined by reference to laws. Interestingly enough, in the earlier Spanish case also, there are obvious parallels benveen the undertakings which kings had to give on oath before they could be inaugurated, and the *ad11otatio pla,iti* demanded of every cleric before he could receive his *ho11er*.[1] The introduction of the profession changed nothing in the content of the office, nor in men's expectations of the office-holder. What was new was the personal, public and written commitment to specific laws and rules. For from this it followed that quite precise conditions could be set on the assumption of office, and that these conditions thereafter stood as the terms on which the office was held. If the conditions were to operate effectively, their breach would have to entail the application of equally precise juristic sanctions. Here Hincmar was able to provide a neater and more theoretically-convincing solution than those adumbrated in seventh-century Spain.[2]

Part of *the* explanation for 1-:1.incmar's achievement lies in his own legal knowledge and liturgical creativity. Another no less important part lies in the political creativity of the West Frankish

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,*Wonorelr,* (London, 1971), esp. p. 126 with n. 6. The stress on written docultlfflts in Charles the Bald's capitulaties is no less remarkable: sec DeYissc, art. cit.*(tupra,* p. J 33, n. 1), p. 181, and Campbell, art. cit., p. 48. Underlying these Carolingian efforts at **governmental consistency and continuity was, I suggest, in practice if not in Jegal** theory, a trend in public bw analogous to that traced in private law by L. Stouff, 'La formation des controts par l'eaiture dans le droit des foimules du V au XII siede', *No11nll, Rm« Hi11oriqut d« Droit F,.,,,a;, ti Etranger,* xi (1887), 149 ff., esp. 2)9 and 274 f.: both in the later empire and in the barbarian kingdoms, the written document **was regarded in common practice, though not in theory, as •1e prjncipe de la force me.me du contrat'.**

r. *Cf* the wording of x, Toledo, c. 10, **PL** 84, col. 47i: '... ut unusquisque qui ad **ccclesiasticos gradus est ascensurus, non ante honoris consecrationcm accipiat, quam *pl«ili 1ui gdnotatMne* promiuat, ut fidc:m catholicam ...' etc., with xv Toh, c. i, PL 84, col. 396: '... non ante conscendat (rcx) regiamsedem,quam ... pollicitusfuedt ...'** etc., and Lex Visig. 11. i. 6, MGHLcges ,, **p.** p: •... non ante quispiam solium regale **conscend-at quam iu.ramenti foedere ... promittat', etc., the royal oath occurring here in precisely rhe context of succession to the *rt1 rt,gni, i.t.* tbe official, not personal** resources of the king. For comparable notions in episcopal and royal conte><ts, sec Ullmann, 'A note on inalienability', *Stwli Crtgoria11i,* ix (1972), esp. 12) £. with n. 30. **On Visigothic royal oaths, see David. 'Le Serment/ pp.)9 ff. Hiocmar may have** been familiar with the Tolcdan councils through the Hispana: sec p.156, n. J *infra.* **Ullmann. *Caroli11grtlfl R1nai11anu,* p. 81 with a. *2*, suggests that he may also have been** familiar with the Visigo1hic laws. The question of direct Spanish influence needs **further investigation.**

2. The limitations of seventh-century Visigothic theory are well brought out by P. D. King, L,,,,,*mu/ Soriet.:,;,, tht Vi,igolhit Kingdo111* (Cambridge, 197:), pp. *44* ff. The removal of Wamba (68))shows panllel$with rhecase of Louisthe Pious in the Cl<ploiNl-tion of penitential discipline. Though Wamba had be<n anointed king by thearchbishop of Toledo, the latter's successor Julian did no, claim an episcopal jurisdiction over the kingarising from that fact.

fide/es, laymen and clerics alike, who from the early 840s helped to create a new polity: the West Frankish realm. Active participants already at Strasburg (84z) and Verdun (843), these men joined with Charles the Bald in making the *pac//1m* of Coulaines in November 843.[1] They promised to uphold the *honor regis*, while Charles in turn 'granted' (the term is *pertkno*, but the context here imposes on *it* a promissory sense) certain guarantees for the *honor ecclesiae* and, significantly, the *honor fideIium:*

> *ugem vero tmicuique ,ompetentem* sicut antccessores sui tcmpore meorun1 pracdecessorum habuerunr, in omni dignitate ct ordine, favcntc dco, *me observatun,m perdono.*[2]

The pact signalized not confrontation but a hoped-for working partnership between king, clergy and *pop11l11s*. The *lex* ackno,vledged by the ancestors of king and subject alike set limits on the arbitrary exercise of the king's ,viU and, at the same time, imposed obligations on the *fide/is*. Thus at the outset of Charles's de facto rule, the law appeared as the guarantee of the social and political relations which underpinned the realm: subjectively, *it* enshrined what were perceived as the 'fair dues' of the *fide/is*, while objectively, as the king's law, laid down, for example, in the pact of 843 itself, it preserved the structure of the state as a whole. The dtafrer(s) at Coulaines succeeded in expressing and in giving shape to contemporary political realities; and the pact, written down and preserved, became the source of subsequent definitions of the terms on which royal power was exercised. At Beauvais (845) and at Quierzy (8 j 8), Charles gave to the bishops renewed commitments to uphold ecclesiastical privileges, while for their part the bishops

1. C,pit. 11, pp. •n lf. The fundamental study is by P. Oasscn, 'Die Vcrtrige von Verdun und C-oulrunes, 843, als politische Grundlagcn des wes,frankiscllcn Reichcs', *Hist.Zrits,l,rift*, cxcvi{1961), t ff. SeealsoSchlesinger, "Die Auftosung des Karlsreiches', in *K,,r/ der Gross,,* ed. H. Beumann (Dusseldotf, t!)6}), i. 792 lf., esp. 8J8 ff. Devisse, **an. cit .. throws valwblc light on the interrelation of political theory and practice in** Charles the Bald's reign, though apparently without reference to Classen's work. For the role of the *fidtlu* in 842 and 84J, sec Nithatd, *Historiar11111 libri IV*, iii. ! and iv. 4 (ed. P. Lauer, Paris, 1926), pp. too ff. and 130; and Capit. 11, pp. 171 ff.

2. **Capit. n, p. 2), Devisse. art. cit., p. 181 with n. u, interprets *l#x to111pt11ns* in** terms of a 'gentile' personality of laws, and suggests interestingly that a demand for **the affirmation of this principlecould have arisenat thistime in response to rumours th2t Charles, under clerical influence, was cons.idering the subslitulif>n of the territoriality** principle as cxemplifu:d in Visigothic law. Again, the possibility of Spanish influence **deserves attention. But *ltx ,omj>fltns* in association he.re with a man's *dignilas* and *ord.o*** hasas much to do with feudal as 'gentile' politics. For the his1oty of these and similar **notions in Frankish public law. see Kern, *Go11ugr1odm/11111*, pp. 294 ff., and *p:*149, n. 1 *infra*. Devisse insists, similarly, *u1;; supra*, 1:hat *pn-d011art* betc retains itsoriginal sense of** concession. I prefer to follow Lot and Halpheo, *op.cit.* p. 93 and David, 'Le sctmcnt', **p. 53. n. 26, whose interpretation takes into account the total context. Classen, 'Die** Vcrtrlge', p. 30, points out that as ,.r1y as 8,u/6, the syoodists of M,.ux-Puis altered **the wording of 84): •... nostram magnificcntfam observaturam *promillimus'*. This was bringing *nqmtn int*<>line with *ns:* a royal concession not concealed by the assumed** magoi&cence of the royal 'we' I

in their *C()flJi/ium* of 856, and Hincmar himself in 868, reminded Charles of what had been settled at Coulaines.[1] At Meersen (851), Charles declared that he and his *fide/es* would act together to ensure that 'et vobis lex et iustitia conservetur, et vos nobis sicut antecessores vestri nostris antecessoribus fecerunt, debitum honorem et auxilium exhibeatis', and again, in 858, he undertook, *1ic11t fide/is rex,* to keep every one of his subjects *honorat11m ac salvat11m.*[2] Church and lay *fide/es* were to thrive together.

Whoever may have composed the text of the pact of 843, there can be little doubt as to ,vho plagiarized and publicized, built on and elaborated its terms in the decades that follo,ved: everything points to the key role played by Hincmar both in the continuing quest for consensus and in the persistent emphasizing of specific royal commitments. He is surely the likeliest candidate for the role of collector of a series of West Frankish public documents covering the years 843 to 856 and beginning with the *pact11m* of Coulaines.[3] Ten of the pieces in this collection are referred to in the *Consili11m* addressed to Charles the Bald by the bishops assembled at Bonneuil in 856. Although direct evidence is lacking, Hincmar's prominence at this time and his masterminding of so many synods **in** the 840s and 850s make his presence at Bonneuil very likely. The *Consilit1n1* itself bears some hallmarks of his hortatory style in addressing kings: a string of previous royal commitments is cited, stress is laid on the king's subscription of laws *mantt propria,* and Charles is finally enjoined, '[haec capitula] diligenter et frequenter ad memoriam reducaris ac relegatis'.[4] If Hincmar's authorship is

t. Capit. 11, l'P· 187f. (Beauvais), 296 (Quierzy), and 424 *(Consi/i,,,,,* of 8i6). For Hmcmar's appcol to earlier promises in the *Pro Bee. Lib. Def.*, PL 12i, col 1o66, see *infra,* pp. 163-4. See also Schramm, *Klinig "'1R Frank.rtitb,* pp. 68 f., and C. Odegaard, 'Carolingian Oaths of Fidelity', *Sp,,ulum,* xvi (1941), 282.

2. Capit. 11, pp. 74 (O,arles's *Adlo<utio* at Meerseo) and 296 (promise of sis). For o,her borrowings from the text of Coulaines, see Capit. n, pp. 198 f. (Meaux-Paris, 841-6), 303 (Pitres, 862), 3H f. (Pitres, 869), H9 (Metz, 869), H l f. (Quierzy, 877). *CJ.* also Hinctmr's *lmtntrlio* to Louis the Stammerer, Nov. 877, in PL 121, cols. 987 f.

J, Classen, 'Die Vcrtrige\ pp. 18 ff., analyses the content of this collection a.nd notes the possibility that Hincmar was responsible: see esp. his comments, p. 28, n. 1 aod 29, n. 2, on the Hague MS. ro D 2 (cited in Capit. n as 'Hague MS. 1'), Dcvisse, an. cir.,seemingly independently, lends support to this view on internal stylistic evidence, though be does not discuss the collection as such.

4. Capit. u, pp. 424 f. *Cf.* Hincmat's advice to Louis ID, PL 126,col. 192:'diligenter relegi cam (professionem] facire coram vobis'; also *Pro Eu. Lib.* Def., PL UJ, col. **1040:'ilia quae ... subscripslstis...ante oculos et mentis et corporis revocare dcbctis'. For comparable evidence of Hincmar's references to previous royal commitments, see** p. 148, n. 1 *n,pra.* For tbe collection of materials in the cathedr•I archive of Rheims, see Lesne, *Hinore dt la Propriill Etdhiasti'1,ue,* Jv. Su f., and Fuhrmann, *op. ,it.* iii. 672, n. 141 and 726, n. 318. Dcvisu, art. cit., says nothing about the *C.nsiliNm,* which admittedly lacks the particular 'Hincmarian' verbal traits with which De-.isse is con-**cerned. The lack of direct evidence of Hincmar's presence at BonnueU need *not* be** significant; only a chance reference In Flodoard has preserved the fact of his presence at Quicr,y in 817 (Scbrors, *op. ,it.*pp. 77, 274 with n. 2J), yet V. Krause, 'Hiocmar von Reims der Verfasser der sog. *Co/lutio dt raptoribus* im C.pitular von Quierzy, 8)7', N,,,,, *Ar,bi,,,* xviii (1893), J03 ff., argues convincingly that Hincmar wrote the

accepted for the *Consi/ium*, then, given their almost identical list of *capitularia*, the collection of public documents can probably also be assigned to him.

The incorporation of a royal commitment into the clerically-conducted procedures of later Carolingian king-making was certainly Hincmar's work.[1] There is no sign of any formal promise before the consecration of Charles in 848, nor of his son in 855, neither rite being conducted by Hincmar.[2] In 869, however, Hincmar was responsible both for the rite whereby Charles was consecrated to the kingdom of Lotharingia and for the formalities which preceded it.[3] Though not built into the rite itself, these

Admonili• which accompanied Charles's legislation. A further sign of Hincmar's influence might beseen in th<:citation here, Capit. 11, pp. 285 *ff.*, of relevant capirularles of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: for other CJtamplcs of Hincmar's drawing on such sources, sec p.163, n. 3 and p.170, n. 3 *infra.*

1. **Sec David, •Le serment', pp. 127 *tr.*, and Bouman, *op ,it.*, p. 141. Earlier instances of rulers' promises, in many cases unrelated *to* access.ion, are given by Kem, *Gollu-gnadmtum*,** pp. 294 ff. **For** some Visigothic evidence, sec p. •!4, n. 1 *supra.* For the **Franks, see the sixth-ce.Juur)' caseof Oiaribctt, Gr gory of Tours, *Historiat Fran,on1m,*** ix. o, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, 19p, .t.{GH SS. rer. Merov., i. pp. 448 f.: **•... rege popu.1us *hie* saernmeotum dedit; similitcr etiam ct *illt cum 1J.IT11mtn10 promisil, ut* legcs consuctudincsquc novas popu)o non infligcrct ...** •, **These mutual commilmcnts** show a certain sinularity ro those of Coulaines. 1 know of no orber example from the intervening period, though, for a promise by a new Burgundian mayor of the palace **(percpistolasetiamct saccamemis' to prcscr'9c to each his •gradum honorisct dignetatem** seo amiciciam', *if.* Prcdegar, *Clmmid,*, iv. c. 89, ed. Wallace-Hadrill, pp. 75 f. In 81; when Charlemagne crowned Louis co-emperor, the latter had to pronuse obedience **to a series of paternal admonitions including an injunction that •nuJJum ab hono.te suo sine causa discrctionis eiccissci>: Thcgar., *Vila LU(H)lli,i,* ed. W. Pertz. MGH SS.** 11, pp. 591 f. But Louis's undertaking was given ro his father, not to his subjects. *Cf.* the comments of Schlesinger, 'Karlingischc KIJnigswahlen', p. 93, on the '.t.facht-vollkommcnheit' of Pippin and Charlemagne. K,.rn, **•*P,·it.* pp.oend 4** neglects **the important distinction, since observed by Schramm, *Kaiw, Kanigt lln.d P.ipste,* it** 180, between royal commitment *(VupflidJJung)* and royal instructions issued to the people *(Vorubriflm). Voruhriftm* may well have been issued by the early Carolingians, bur *Vupfliht1111gm* are a ninth·ceotury development. Yet, rbough formaUy so different, their•imilarity of content 10 earlier *,apitula* andpr,nptasbould benored:</.mycomments on the comparable Anglo-Saxon material in *SCH.*xi; below, chapter 14, pp. 335-6. The.._rlyCaroLingians' p,omises to the popes,di&e11ssed bySchramm,op. *cit.*i. pp. 149 f., **are *not* rcJcvant here. (The reference of Morrison, *op. tiJ.* p. 201 and n. 68, is very** misleading.)

:. **But the evidence on both events is meagre: on 848, sec p. 137, n. 4 *supra;* on 855, the sole sou.rec is Ann. Bertin., ed. cit.. p. 71,and e.xccpt under Hinanar's author--ship, as these annals were from 861 to 881, such a source could not be c.x:pected to** give det•ils of roy•I inaugurations. For the different nature of the evidence for 869 and 877, see *infra.*

l· C.spit.11, pp. ll 7 *ff.* :the preliminaries,and 416 f.: the rite,in the formof a protocol, ***i.t.* instead of rubrics, having short statements in the peifect tense indicating how the** *Or@* was aetually performed. Such explicit details arc rare in contemporary liturgical books: Andtieu, 'Le sacre episcopal', pp. 40 ff. The significance of the protocol form was noted by Schramm, 'Ordincs-St<ldicn **11:** die Kronung un Prankreicb', *Arcbi• fiir Urleundenfors,bung.* xv. t (1938), 12, and by Bouman, *op. cit.* pp. 8 f., who however wrongly <lstd the term to designate all four of Hincmar's *Ordinu.* On the single .t.{S., **now Jost, see.p.138, n. 1 *1upra;* the preliminaries too were in thisand another lost MS.,** but Hincmar also gave them in full in the Ann. Bertin. Schramm, *Konig wn Frankr,i,b,* pp. 27 f., noting the formal similarities with procedure at synods, observes: 'Wie von selbst musste slcb da das Ver&hren, durch das dle Klrcbe scit alters Beschlusse ciner Versammlung herbdrubrte, zur Nachahmung anbieten'.

formalities were conducted by the officiating clergy inside the church, and were presented by them as necessary preliminaries to the royal anointing. Adventius of Metz informed the congregation on the bishops' behalf:

... Videtur nebis, si vobis placet, ut, sicut. *pest illius verba* vebis manifestabimus, signe certissime demonstrabimus, quia ilium a dee *tlec/11111* et nebis datum *pri11cipem* credimus ...

Et si illi placet, dignum ipsi et *11ecessari11m 11obil* esse videtur, ut c.'<. eius ore audiamus, qued a christianissime rege fideli et unanimi in servitie illius populo, unicuique in sue ordine cenvenit audire ...

The bishops sought not only a unilateral undertaking from the *princeps electu.s*[1] but a reaffirmation of the murual understandings between him and his leading subjects. Charles's *Responsio,* appropriately addressed to the people 'faithful and unanimous in his service', was not quite the *Herrschereid* that Schramm has clain1ed. It was, almost verbatim, a repetition of the terms of Coulaines, here given a new significance by their setting. For Charles's *Responsio* of 869 ,vas represented as the precondition of his being made king of Lotharingia. ln form it was neither a promise nor an oath, but an announcement: 'Know ye that I preserve .. .' etc.[2] lts true analogues were the *adnu11Jiaflo11es,* the formal public statements made by Charlemagne and his successors ,vhich thus became binding law.[3] From the time of Charlemagne on,vards, the *ad,11111/iatio,* like the oath, tended to get written down,[4] an understandable development

t. **CaUing Charles** ***rtx no.sltr,*** **Capit. 11. p. 140, Hincma.r seems to have referred only** 10 the kingship of the WeSt Fronks. Adventius of Metz spoke for the Lotharingians **in caliing Charles** ***printtp1*** ***nt)Jftr,*** **and again, 'a deo clectus et nobis datus** ***prmttp,•.*** **For** t\dvcntius's role, sec 0. G. Ocxlc, 'Die .Koro!inger und die Stadr des hi. Arnuli', ***Friih111illtlalttr!ieht Studitn,*** **i (1967), Ht ff. For the constitutive chara<:ter of anointing** sec p. I42. n. 2 *supra. CJ.* the 'Fruhdeutscb' *Onlo,* where the ruler is termed *pr1i1e,p1* **until the anointing ar.d only thereafter,** ***rtx;*** **C. Erdmann,** ***For"bu11g1n z.ur jXJ/1ii1,/N11*** ***/de,n,,.,/1 dts Friihmillt/alltrs***(Berlin, 1911), pp. 8 ff. See also Ullmann, 'Der Souvcriini• t:itsgcdanke in dco Kronungsordines', *l'nt1thrf/t />. E. Sthramm* (\'"iesbaden, 1964), i. 77, n. 24. H. \-.,olfram, *lntit11!,1io* (Graz-Colognc, 19(\7), pp. 145 ff., shows the use of ***prinu.ps in*** **eighth-cemuq[1] titles co desjgnate one who exercised royal** ***poustas*** **without the royal** ***11()111m.***

2. **Capit. n, p. 339:'Sciatis me honorem*et* cultum Dci ... conscrvarect unumqucmquc vcsuum ... honorarc ... ct unicuiquc in suo ordinc** ***stt1.mdtn11sib, ,on,petffltu kgu*** **tam c:cclesiasricas quam mundanas** ***!tgem el i1111i1ia111*** **conservare; jn boc. ut honot regius ct potcstas ae dcbita obedicotia atque adiutorium ... ab unoquoquc \'estrum ... mihi** cxhibcarur'. The reciprocal natute of the nbligations is heree,cplici,.*Cf.* simibr wording **:and involvement of the** ***popuh11*** **in Charles's** ***Adbxutio*** **at Mecrscn, 851, quoted** ***supra,*** p.148. 'n.is te t also appeats in the eollecrion of documents discussed *supra,* p.J48.

3. For examples, see Nirhard, iii. l, ed. cir. pp. 100 ff.; Capir. 11, pp. 68 fl., 72 fl., 153. At these meetings of C.rolingian brothe,-kings and their *jidtlts,* os Classen, 'Die **Vcurage\ p. 31 observes, it is Charles whose** ***adnmtltatior.fl*** **puticu!arly stressdie** Rechtc der Fidelcs als .Mittragcr des S12ates'. On the *adnunltatio* and the verbal pro-**mulgati1,n of law, csp cially under Charlemagne, see A. Dumas. tLa parole et l"CCrhure dans k capitulaircs caroJingiens',** ***}.,fi/angt1 Halpl1t11*** **(Paris, 1911), pp. 20<) ff.**

4. **Classen, 'Die Veruagc', f). 1 S· Note che p:1rallel, unmentioned by Classen, of Advcndus'*** ***admmtiatio*** **in 869 which in mosc MSS. seems to have been headed:'... haec quac sequuncut pitul.a Adventius episcopus ... r>ublice popu.Jo et** ***1tripw*** **et verbis**

in view of the increasingly vital role played by clerics in the promulgation and the preservation of public law and their increasing awareness of the need, not least in their own interests, for governmental consistency and continuity. In the political context of the West Frankish kingdom, a royal *adnuntiatio,* once given permanent and tangible form as a written text, and kept for reference in a cathedral archive, assumed a new and particular importance. On the one hand, the *fide/es* had a strong interest in holding Charles the Bald to the terms of public statements they heard from hiso,vn lips, yet increasingly the *fideles* in contact•ith the king comprised only the great magnate families, operating in practice asfactional groups, ,vhile legally, it has been argued, they rernained the recipients of royal commands.[1] On the other hand, Hincmar and his colleagues could now become the custodians of the law not only in fact, as scribes and keepers of the texts in which Ja,vs were fixed and preserved, but also in juristic theory, as king-makers and definers of the royal function *leges servandi.* The king's *adn1mtiatio,* ,vhich the *fide/es* received as a command, was therefore at the same time, from the episcopal standpoint, a royal undertaking in so far as the king was bound to obey his own just laws. Juxtaposed to the king-making rite, the 'announcement' of the *elect11J* was now endowed with a conditional sense, and became indistinguishable in function from a public promise given co the king-makers. This ex-plains why Hincmar could invoke Charles's *Responsio* of 869 as a *'pron1issio ...* quam verbo *cl scripto,* antequam rex consecraretur, *epis,opis* fecerat'.[2]

denuntiavit'. For the sources) sec the commc11ts of Borcdus, Ulipit. 11, pp. H7 f. The same !l{SS. give Charles's *rup.Mio* the heading;'Post ha« Korolus rcx haec quae **sequuntur ... cunctis qui a.ffucrunt *dtnlfJuia11il'*. Schramm. *Ko;,,,., Konige und P.ipste,* ii. l49, suggests that :} written document could have been involved here also: for confirmation, sec *infra.* For the transition from spoken to written word) S(...'C Charles's** srotemcnt at Coblenz, Capit. 11, p. 1 H' '... capirula a communibus lidclibus nosttis ***ditlata* et nobis *rtfula* nos obscr:vacur pcomisimus'. Compare rhe verbal forms of 842 with Ann. Fuld., s.a. 876, ed. cir. p. 89:** '... **cuius sac mcnti tcxtus *thtutonka Jing«a ton1tript111 in nonnullis loti1 babetur'*. For the written oath, see H. Mittcis, *Jl.m1rt.ebl 11nd S1aa11g,wa/1*** (\"1cimar, 19n), p. 61 with Classen, *11bi supra,* p. • l, n. -CJ.also p. 145, n. 1 *111pra.*

J. **Pox the JegaJ position of the *jidtlu,* see UllmaM) *Caroli11gJOJ1 R.tnaiuantt,* pp. 11) f.,** ,nd *idmJ.,* 'Schranken der Konigsgewalt im Mittdalter', in *f{iJJ. }ahrb11,b,* xci (1971), 1;. *CJ* also \'<lallacc-Hadrill, 'Vi, Regia', p. ;9, noting, however, praccical resisrancc **'of an untidy sort'on the part of the *populus.* Classen, art. cit., shows 1he significance of** Coulaines in the developing reciprocal relations between *rex* and *folt/tt.* It was the disunity of the latter which came to pose the mos, acute political problem; *if.* the acute comments of Ll.iwe art. cit.*(111pra* p.133, n. 1) 121 ff. J c:innot follow Ullmann, ***Caroli.111/an Rmai11a11"*• p. 1 u, in stressing only the divergence benveen the aims and** interests of 'the hicrorchy and the kingon the one side and the m2gna,cson the other'.

2. **FJodoard, *Hillori'a R.emtnri1 Eulesta,,* iii. *c.* r8, MGH Scriptorcs xur, p. 108** = Hincmar's RcgiStcr no. 116 in Schrl.lrs, *op. til.* p. 144' 'K.oroli ccgi de XU abusivis **colligens dicta pauum et *,omtil11tiom1 rtgur,-1,* scd et de promissione sua cum admoncns,** quam vcrbo .. .' etc. Schrtlrs dates tlus '870-J' and observes, p. is;, n. r H, that 869 must h2ve been the OCC2sion referred 10. Though the text of trus letter is loSt, the fact **that *it* existed deserves more attention.**

At the next West Frankish king-making, in 877, Hincmar brought form and function more closely into line. Now built into the *Ordo* proper was a *Petitic episcoporum,* requesting a guarantee of ecclesiastical rights and privileges, to which the king replied with a *Promissio:* 'I promise and grant .. .'[1] The term 'grant' *(perdonare),* a throwback to the wording of Coulaines from which the promise itself was ultimately derived, was now hardly consistent with the obligatory nature of the king's commitment. Herc, the distinction between *promittere* and *perdonare* was blurred, only the former's sense remaining.[1] The promise concerned ecclesiastical interests alone. But the new king had also given, a week before his consecration, a more general commitment. After promising to uphold the *regulae* of the church, Louis the Stammerer had continued:

> Polliceor etiam meservaturum *leges ti sta/11/a* populo qui mihi ad regendum misericordia dei committitur, pro communi consilio fidelium nostrorum, secundum quod praedecessores mei, imperatores et reges, gestis inserueru111, et omnino inviolabiliter tenenda et observanda dccreverunt,3

The reference to *leges et statt,ta* \Vas no mere conventional phrase. The insistence on the maintenance of (written) laws as the essence of divinely sanctioned rulership reflected Hincmar's vie\vs on government in general. *Leges et statuta* had their counterpart in the *reg"lae ecclesiasticac:* just as the bishops' subscriptions appended to synodal decrees affirmed and confirmed their binding force, so did the royal subscription in the making or reissuing of secular la\vs, and just as a bishop's profession at his ordination committed him to maintain the canonical *reg1dae, so* the ku1g's profession appropriately bound hi1n to observe *inviolabiliter* the la,vs \Vhich his predecessors had made or ,vhich he himself might make in the future.

The royal undertaking of 877 followed nearly two months of negotiations between the young Louis the Stammerer and the great men of the realm as to the disposition of various *ho11ores.* Louis's preparedness for concessions made possible the fuUilment of Charles's deathbed command designating Louis as his heir and directing the dowager Richildis to hand over to her stepson the regfllia: sword, clothing, cro,vn and sceptre. The *ho11orts* were duly

1. Capit. 11, pp. ;64 f.: 'Promi110 et perdono .. .'. *Cf.* a further reference to 'hanc **sponuncam promissionem mcam•.**

•·*Cf.supra,* p.147, n. •·

>· **C.,.pit. u, pp. J64 f.; and AM. Bertin.• ed. cit., p. 221, where the editor assumes** that Hincmar mi,pbccd events and that the *profusio* actually follou[0]cd the •noiming. But the view of A. Boretius, O.pit. 11, p. ;64, is certainly preferable: the Ann. Benin. **account should be received as it stands. There were two c-.piscopal petitions, the first** associated with the distribution of *bonorts (infra,* p. 153). the second, demanding con-6nnation of ecclesiastical privileges. built into the *Ordo* itself. Both the *prof,ssio* of ;o Nov. and the royal *promiuio* of 8 Dec. were responses to episcopal requests. For **further details, sec Boretius, *ubi 11tpra.***

assigned to those who demanded them: *pa,tiJ hoMribtfl 1ing11/is q11os pelierunt.*[1] The formal agreement here implied was presumably the occasion on which Louis gave his promise to preserve the laws and statutes for his people. In his subscription, he used for the only time the title:

misericordia domini dei nostri et elcctione populi rex constitutus.•

The *fide/es'* acceptance of Louis, sealed by the agreement on the disposition of *ho,wres,* was the reality behind this notion of an *ele,tio pop1 /i.* There is no evidence of any other secular formality. The swearing of *fidelitas* by the magnates ,vas coming to be seen in theory as in fact as the expression of their choice of king. But that choice was depicted by ecclesiastical writers, and perceived no doubt by the *fide/es* themselves, as a manifestation of the divine will. God acted through the agency of the *populus.*[3] Hence the *e/eclio* of Louis's title, as in canon law usage, bore the connotation of divine approval and ,vas therefore both apt for the occasion and quite compatible with the invocation of the *misericordia dei.*

It was Hincmar himself who gave Louis's first promise the label *professio,* while the bishops' petition was answered ,vith a *pro111issio* in the *Ordo* proper. Schramm observed that Hincmar was clearly very conscious of an analogy ,vith the bishops' commitment: 'the forms of the church set the pattern for those of the st.·ue in those areas where they were already further developed'.[4] But he did not go on to link the profession specifically with consecration to office, which for Hincmar was the essential con1mon factor in the royal and episcopal *Ordi11es.* 1,[. David has stressed the parallel between royal professions on the one hand, and 01onastic and clerical professions in general on the other, concluding that the clergy had in son1e way incorporated the king into their ranks and made him

1. **Ann. Bertin., ed. cit., p. 2.21. For these events, sec Schramm, *KiJnig Jt0111:ra11kreith,*** pp. !4 ff. (though, p. j6, wrongly terming Richildis Louis's 'mother'), Briihl, **·Hinkmarfana', p. 71, presents an ingenious and plausible explanation of chc rifr at this** time between lay *primoru* (counts and Jay abbots) and bishops: the former insisted, as a condition of their accc-pting Louis, that he repudi.ie his first wife and marry a lady of **their rank and choosing. Episcopal objections wc.te set aside.**

,. Ann. Dcrtin., */or. ,it, Cf* the comment of Schramm, *Konig uon T'rankreirh,* pp. l! f.: 'Das ist um so auffallender, als ga, kcine \ 'ahlversammlung stattgcfundcn hiittc'. But the swearing of *fidtlitas* by the *primores* now took the place of any formal ckcrion: sec Schlesinger, 'Karlingischc Konigswahlen', pp. 1 *;s* ff. 'fhis is also suggested by **Adventius's words in *869,* Capit. .u, pp. ;40 f.: 'Non focongruum vide-rur ... ut in obtentu regoi, unJe vos ad iUum *1ptJnU ,011111111/tis 11 01 ti eommtnd<Jstis* ... Domino consecrctur', and by Charles's response to che *pop11!11s:* 'vosaccla.masris me Dci clcctione a<l . , . gubcmationem hie advenisse'.**

3. *CJ.* though in reference 10 the Anglo-Saxons, my comm nts In *SCH,*xi (1975); below, ch.14, pp.335ff. For a different view of Louis's title, see Ullmonn, *Carolingian **Rma1i1ance,*** **p. 96: *mistril'Crdia Dei* and *tlutio populi* arc •two irreooncilables'.**

4. *Konig von Frankni,b,* p. *S*!•

into 'a kind of cleric'.[1] But the *rex et sacerdos* conception cannot legitimately be invoked in such vague terms here. Schramm was surely right to discern a precise and exclusive analogy with episcopal profession. What is relevant is Hincrnar's idea of the king as a *minister,* that is, one holding an office of government over the *pop11l11s cbristian11s* and responsible for the welfare of the *ecclesia.* Hincmar himself, as a bishop, had refused to make the apparently unconditional personal commitment *(i11 omnibus)* involved in the oath of the Jay subject to the king, insisting instead on the qualified commitment of a profession *sec,mdum 1vinisleri11111 11111111.* **1-lis** fierce protest to Charles the Bald over this issue is well-kno\vn.[2] **It** is worth noting the appearance of the distinction between profession and oath in close conjunction ,vith Hincmat's account of Louis's profession of 877: as part of the agreement between the king and his *fide/es,* the bishops commended themselves and their churches, making a profession *(projite11Jes juxta Jt(t(m minisleri11,n),* whereas the abbots[3] and other lay magnates commended themselves, promising fidelity with oaths *(sacramentis*). It can be no coincidence, therefore, that Louis is described only a few lines later as giving a profession - a type of promise made by an office-holder rather than an individual, and by which the interests of the *ec,/esio* were ahvays reserved.[4]

In Hincmar's account, nvo other features of Louis's profession are also significant. Not only \Vas it made to the bishops, but it was written down, and the document, signed by the king. was likc •ise handed over to the bishops:

> Ad suprascriptam vero episcoporum peticionem haec quac scquuntur rex Hludowicus professus est *epis,opis,* et istam ipsam doruuionis scripturan1 n1anu swi *eis dcdit....*

'fhus, like the promise within the *Ordo,* tile profession remained in the archiepiscopal archive, to be brought out and held up to the king whenever the bishops might consider timely a reminder of its contents.[6] Hincmar's stress on the profession as a written docun1ent

1. ***La** Sou eraintli,* **p. 104; andp. 128, n. }t: 'le monarque, par le s.accc. ccssc d'ttrc un simple laic'. But David cites evidence from a later pcrivd, whose rdev:,nce to the ninth century cannot be assumed. On <hcocratic kingship, see the sensible remarks of** H. Ficbrenau, *Das karolingi,,bt lmp,rium* (Zurich, 1949), p. G6, n. j8, and, from a different standpoint, IY.'. Durig, 'Der rhcologischc Ausgangspunkc dcr mittdahcrlichcn litucgischcn Auffiissung vom Hcrrscher als Vicarius Dei', *Hist. Jahrbll(b,* lxxvii (19)8), 176 ff. *Cf* also Anron, *op. cit.* pp. 110 f.

2. On the letter of 876, PL 125, cols. 1121 f.,secR.Boutruche, *S,ign,urit ti Flodali#* (Paris, 19J9), pp. J8j f., 200, andnowtheexhaustive discussion of Anron. *op. tt'l.* pp. pl ff.

3. Ckarly lay abbots: *cf.111pra* p.153, n. 1.

4. See Schlcsingcr, 'Kadingische Konigswahlcn', p. 120; *Anton, op. eil.* p. 317.

!·Ann.Bertin.,ed.cir. p. 22t.

6. *Cf supra* p. 148. n. 4 and p.151. n. 2. Seealso Hincmar's admonition 10 Louis Ill, **PL 115, col. 112: "Recordamini, quaeso, *pro/t11ilmi1 wstrat* qwm in die consecrationis vesuac promisisc.is'. The reference here js to the *)T0'111iJ1M* given *in* response to the** bishops' petition in the *Ord,,* itself, as in C.pit. n, p. 370. In terming this a profession, Hin<:mar suggests the functional similarity of the two commit=.

bearing the royal signature, quite distinct from the simply verbal undertakings still prevalent in lay society, illustrates hisextension of canonical practice to cover the royal case, through a spedfic analogy with episcopal profession.

The profession of 877 included a guarantee not only for the ecclesiastical *reg11/ae* but for secular *leges* too. Hincmar was implicitly claiming that the bishops were responsible for the surveillance of all the king's official actions, including, that is, the protection of the *honor foie!u,m*, the interests of the */>Qp11!11s* enshrined in the laws,[1] as well as of the institutional church.[2] The bishops' reception of the profession from the king presupposed their qualification to judge whether or not the king ,vas performing his function of preserving rather than destroying the laws, and maintaining rather than undermining the subject's *i11stitia.* Though the notion of the king as *tutor ret/li*[3] remains only implidt in the profession, the limitation placed on his freedom of action in the ongoing interests of the ruled is as noteworthy here as the infusion of further content into the *maior dignitas /> Qnlifi,11,n.* .

But did the analogy between royal and episcopal professions have still more concrete significance in terms of episcopal jurisdiction? 1-i. David has argued that Hincmar, in demanding from the king a profession rather than an oath, also had another purpose in mind. \','hile on the one hand he wanted to impose conditions upon the king, on theother, he was anx.ious to preserve the kingship from an excessive and dangerous limitation of powers. He therefore preferred the profession, whose breach entailed only excommunication, to the oath, whose breach meant deposition from office.• Hincmar, in other words, had no intention of claiming for the episcopate the right to depose an unjust king. Now it is true that the distinction bet\veen penalties on which David based hisargument can be found in twelfth-century canon law.[6] What is more questionable is irs relevance to the ninth-century situation, and in particular to the thought and practice of Hincmar.

1. See the text of the profession, *n,pra* p. 152. Though given 10 the bishops, Louis's **comminncm. was equally to preserve the laws 'for the *popu/111'*:m<l'in acoordancc with the coUcetive counseJ of our *fidt!u'*.**

2:. **For the king's protective function in regard to church fonds, see *Pro Eu. Ub.*** *Dtj.*, PL 125, col. rop;andfurther references in Anton, *op. ,it.* pp.i;o ff.

3. See Ullmann, *Caro/ingiaJJl?Jnaiuancr.*. pp. 1.u f., 177 *tr.*• :ind *idnn., l.AJJI nnd Po/iJit-s* *in 1/Je/1-fiddlt Ages* (London, 1975), pp. 205 f. The notion appeared, but was hardly **worked out, in the ninch century.**

4. David, 'Le Scrment\ pp. 6o ff.• 104, n. 92, and *idem.. La Souvtroimti,* pp. 9'> ff. and 128. Schramm. *Kaistr, Kdnige 1111d Ptipstt,* i. 181. calls David's interpretation 'plausible'.

5. Oa,·id, *La So,twraillllll,* pp. 90 ff.• cites evidence from Grati:tn on various types of profossiun from various periods. But, as he himself shows, pp. 100 ff., the distinetion between l>·ing and perjury was not entirely clearcut even in the twelfth century, ;\nd the penalty fot the latter offence could „ary. *Cf ,ilnn.,* 'P,.rjurc *ct* mensongc d ns Jc O.cret de Graticn', *S111Jia Gratiana,* iii (19)5), t 19 ff., esp. 1 jO f.

David recognized one difficulty for his own interpretation: in the *Pro ecclniae liberlatum difen;ione,* Hincmru: asserted that the penalty for a broken profession was depo5ition: *privatio honoris.*[1] David tried to mirumize the significance of this statement, however, by claiming first, that it was made 'incidentally', and second, that it was not in conformity with the theory or practice of ninth-century canon law. Since Hincmar could have had no 'serious intention' of rejecting the contemporary norm, the *privatio honoris* passage, David assured us, should be dismissed.[2] But the problem here is more complicated than David's cursory account implied. Three objections to his view can be made. The first concerns the interpretation of the law itself. In David's presentation, the single authoritative text appears as n Carthage, c. xiii:

Qui contra suam professionem vel subscriptionem venerit, ipse scab *hoc* <*oelu sep,,,-avil.*[3]

David himself had little doubt that excommunication was the penalty here prescribed. But the meaning of this single sentence should be appraised in the context of the whole canon from which it is taken. Canon xiii, the last issued by the synod of 390,[4] deals

1. PL 115, col. 1040. *Cf mpra* p. 163,n. 1.

z. **David, *La Souvtrainttf.* p. 12.8. n. 30: •Nous ne pensons pas qu'Hincm:ir ait sCrieusement t•intention par I de s'inscrire en faux contre la rtglcmentation canonique en vigucur de son temps. ct qui nc pn!conise pas un deposition',**

1·lansi 111, col. 697. *Cf* David, La *Souv,rain,tl,* p. 92 with nn. t 7 and 19. The canons **of this council we,c not included in the collection of Dionysius but were trJnsmittcd through the Hispana:see P. L. Cross, 'History andfiaioointhe Africancanons', *J()urrtal** *ojThtologiea/St,,Jiu,*n.s. xii (1961), 247 n. r. On thestiUunresolved problemsconnected with the Hispana's rec,,p1ion in Gaul from the eighth century onwards, see Fuhrmann, *op. tit.* pp. I) 1 ff. and 665 f. (The work of G. l\fartinez Diez hos unfortunately been inaccessible.) In the *LV Capit.* c. xxxiv, PL u6, col. 420, H.incmar advised: "Lege **Brcviarium Africae provinciae canonum scdi apostolic.ae missum, et ab cndcm scde corroboratum'. This *BrniarUlm,* conrajning 1 Carthage 'in fronte', seems to have** consisted of a collection of African canons like thatof the Hispana. For the existence of such • collection, on whlch the Hispana itself drew, in sixth-century Gaul., see F. M2assco, *Ceschirhte d,r Qu,l/m 11ml dtr Litera/ur des ,am;niuhm R6<hls im Abendkmdt* (Gnz, 1870), pp. 772 ff. For II Cartboge, c. xiii in the Hispana, see PL 84, col. 188. From here it entered the wotk of Pseudo-Isidore, ed. cit., p. 290. *Cf* also the version in BenedictUs Lcvira 11. 304 and 111. q8, in PL 97, cols. 782, 818: 'Quicomn profes-**sionem vcl subscriptioncm suam vcnerit, *in ,ontilifJ deponaltlF*. Upit. Angilramni c. iv, ed. *cit.*, p. 767, gives: 'Si quis contra .... siclcricus fuerit *depona1ur,* si laicus anathc,-** matlzenu'. There is presumably• botrowing here of a distinction found *ibid.* c. xliv, ed. dL, p. 761, derived from I Carthage, c. xiv, quoted *mpra* p. 145, n. 1. It was the Capit. Angilramni form which reappeared in the elcvcnch-ccntury collections of Anselm and the Sc•cnty-fou1Titles:see ed. cit., p. 166. This may help toexplain why no **useseems to havebeen made in theclevcnth ccnrnryor laterof an argument frombreach** of profession 10 justify the deposition of a kingor emperor by the pope. On the formal **characteristics of canons of the 'Si quis contra ... ' type, see J. Studm1ann, 'Die** Pl!nformcl der mittdaltcrlichen Urkunden', *Artbi, fi1r Urk,mdtnfor,ebung,* xii (1932), 2) *t* ff.

4. On this council *tub Gtnetblio,* see Monceaux, *HiJloire Li1tlrairt,* iii. 2.2) ff., and on its canons, 1aasscn, *op.tit.* pp. t! 1 f.

with the formal ratification of the preceding decrees. The presiding bishop asked his coUeagues for their assent:

> Omnia ergo quac *a ,oe1t1 glcriotiuimo staluta* sunt, placet ab omnibus custodiri? Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Placet, placet, custodiantur ab omnibus. Geneclius episcopus dixit: *Si*, quod non opinamur, ab aliquo fucrit violata, quid statuitis? Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Qui contra ... (etc).l

Here, separation from the episcopal legislative body could only signify deposition[2] - removal fro1n the *coet11s glorio1issin1111,* whose subscriptions confirmed the synodal decrees. And in fact the canon bears the title, unmentioned by David 'Ut episcopus qui contra professionem suam in concilio habitam venerit, *depqnatur'*.[3] Closely comparable is the final canon of **r** Carthage, also concerned with the future observance of decrees just made, and specifying, for clerics, the penalty of *privatio honoris.*[4] Thus, even if it could be shown that Hincmar relied on II Caxthage, c. xiii in punishing episcopal breach of profession, it would remain likely that deposition was inferred to be the prescribed penalty.

The second objection to David's view relates to his absolute distinction between excommunication and deposition as penalties. The case of Rothad of Soissons is relevant here. This was one of only two cases of episcopal deposition in which Hincmar as metropolitan was directly involved.[6] The issue turned on the obedience owed by a suffragan to his archbishop, and the latter's claim to jurisdiction. Two stages are discernible in this case: fust, in 86t, what amounted to a suspension from office, and second, in 862, a definitive sentence of deposition which was in principle irreversible. The *atla* of the synods which pronounced these judgments are

1. l>fansi n1. col. *"97. Proj,uio* is used here for the formal acknowledgment of the binding authority of canons, especially those establishing bosic doctrine. **A** bishop expressed this in putting his *,llbm-iptio* 10 synodal decrees. Thus regular synodal **attendances evoked a series of professions. For the more spcc16c sense of profession at ordination, $cc p. 145, n. 1 *tupra.* Document ry form was common to both types.** Although Richter, *op. tit.* p. ,a:i, states that 'a profession ... could be given either **orally o.r in wdting\ Hincmar's emphasis is on the written document, which of course** could **be** read out aloud.

2. **Monceaux, *op. tit.* iii, 227, interprets the ca.non thus.**

— Hisp<1na, PL 84, col. 188, and Pseudo-Isidore, ed. cit., p. 296. Note also the uneqwvocal formulations of lknedictus Levita and Capit. Angilramn.i, cited p. 156, **n. 3 *mpra.***

4-1 Carthage, c. xiv, Maosi 111, col. t)S, quoted p. 145, n. 1, *supra,* In Hincmar's **citation. For his source, se.e p.156, (n. J *1upra.***

I· The other case was that of Hincm2r of Laon: see *infra,* pp.160f. ·For the Rothad case, see tt;ncmar of Rheims's letter *to* Nicholas I, MGH Epp. v1n. i. pp. 144 ff.; Perels, art. cit., *pa,,,;,,;* the comments of Schrcirs, *op.tit.* pp.• 8 ff. and Register, nos. 8), 86 and 89; and Fulttm.1nn, *op. tit.* ii. •l4 ff. In such cases, deposition was a last resort. prcfcrted method was abdication, if necessary under heavy pressure as in the case of Ebo of Rheims, ll1GH Concilio n, p. 702. tt;ncmar ttied to persuade both Rothad aod H;ncrnar of I.aon to sui,.cribe their own condemnations: Fuh.rrnann, iii. 629ff.

unfortunately lost. Hincmar himself, however, reports the 861 sentence thus:

> Hinanarus . . . synodo conprovinciali . . . Rothadum . . . *tpis,opali privaf communione* secundum decreta canonum, donec obediat.[1]

Rothad's removal from *episcopal* communion was clearly something more than straightforward excommunication. Simply because a bishop was involved, it must in fact have meant provisional suspension from office - removal from the *coeltu epis,opalis.*[2] Perhaps a time-limit was specified for Rothad's return to obedience, for the following year, again in Hincmar's ,vords, '... quoniam corrigi noluit ... *deponitw-'.*[3] Although Hin'tn1ar seems 10 be distinguishing between suspension and final deposition, the former nevertheless implied the possibility of the latter. It is reasonable to infer that in Rothad's case, *privalig epi1copali1 co1111111mio11i1* constituted an imminent threat of deposition, unless amends were forthcoming. Thus, far from being mutually exclusive categories of penalty, excommunication and deposition could be sequentially related in the case of an office-holder within the *e,desia:* the provisional suspension from office which excommunication necessarily involved could, if the guilty man proved obdurate, befinalized as deposition.

The third objection is yet more damaging to David's case. The fact is that Hincmar, though he certainly had access to it, seem nowhere to have cited II Carthage, c. xiii. What he did cite - and there was a critical difference between these two related texts - was the thirteenth of 138 canons collected and formally approved by the council of Carthage of 419. Often termed the *Codex &clesiae Africanae,*• this collection was incorporated in full into the second redaction of the *Codex Ca11011u,n* of Dionysius Exiguus,[5] and thence

, , **Ann. Bettin., ed. ci,., p. 86.**

2. **F. Kobc-t,** ***Die S111pmsion du Kircbmditntr no.t/Jden Gnmdsiitz.m du r<JMni.s,htn Ruhls dargutellt*** (Tubingcn, 1862), pp. H f., 102. On the legal aspects of the comparable case of the excommunication/suspension of Henry IV by Gregory Vil, sec Ullmann, ***Growlh of Papal G011ern11unl>*** **pp. 299 fr., and Morrison, 'Canossa; a revision',** ***Traditio,*** xviii (1962), 141.

3. Ann. Bertin., ed. cit., p. 9z. Nicholas I ove«ode this judgment: sec Fuhrmann, *op. til.* ii. z) 7 ff.

4. The name was given by the scventccnth ntury historian C. Justel. Sec Maassen, *op. ,it.* pp.173, n. • and 1n ff. on the canons, which were based on the legislation of previous councils including that of 390.

l• On the formation and structure of *the* collection of Africon canons in the first and second rccensions of Dionysius's work, see Cross, 'History and fiction', pp. •H ff. and 240 with n. 3 on the MSS. of otbcr early texts iocluding the African canons. Cross's exposition partly supersedes Maassen, *op. <it.* pp. 422 ff. and 771 lf., and P. Fournier ond G. Le Bras, *Hisloirt des Col/etJiQllt Concniqu,s tn O"idtnt* (P:u:is, 1931), pp. 18, n. 2 and 24 ff. Dionysius's second •=nsion isprimed in PL 67, cols. 39 ff. with the African canons at cols. 181lf. Some of the canons of 419 wuc also printed from another early sixth-century collection, 1-{S. Vat. Lat. 1342, following Justel's edition, in PL 56, cols. 863 ff. Some canons arc numbered djffcrently, and show small v:u:iants, in the different collections: sec *e.g. ill.fra,* p.159, n. 3.

into the Dionysio-Hadriana, ,vhich became 'the most significant *Liber canonun/*[1] of the ninth-century Carolingian church. It was the Dionysio-Hadriana, both as it stood and in combination ,vith other nw.terial, which shaped Hincmar's canonistic thought.[2] Less often remarked, the African canons in particular seem to have been a major influence, probably because they \\'ere largely concerned with the problems of provincial organization and discipline which so much exercised Hincmar himself. The thirteenth canon of 419 is a case in point. As transmitted in the Dionysian version, it reads:

Ut non liceat episcopum nisi a plurin1is ordinari; scd si nccessitas fucrit, vcl a rribus ordinetur episcopis.

Aurelius cpiscopus dixit: Qui ad hacc dicir sanc1i1as vcstra? Ab univcrsis cpiscopis dictum est: A nobis vetcrum sraruta debere servari, sicut ct inconsulro primate cuiuslibet provinciae tam facile non pracsumant multi congrcgati cpiscopi cpiscopum ordinarc: nisi nccessira fuerit, tres episcopi, in quocumquc loco sint, eius praecepro ordinare debebunt cpiscopum. Et si quis contra suam professionem vcl subscriprionem vcncrit in aliquo, *ipst st honort privabit.*[3]

Here rhe penalty of deposition is explicitly prescribed for breach of profession. ffincrnar cited this canon, 'Si quis . . . se honore

r. So, H. 1"!ordek, 'Dionysiu-H.1driana und Vews Gallica - historisch gcordncrcs und sysrematischcs Kirchenrecht am Hofe Karls des Gr<,ssen', *Ztitsrbrift fw- Ruhts· g,11hithtt,* Kan. Abt. xliv (196j)), j8. F'lurnier and Le Bras., *op. tit.* pp. 94 f, inclined to regard the Oionysio-Hadtian•, given to Charlemagne by Pope Hadriru, in 774, as a kind of 'official code' foe the Carolingian church. Any impression of uniformity in ninth-century practice must now be qualified in the light of Kottjc, 'Einhcit und Vielfalt des kitchlichen Lebens in der Karolingerzcit', *Ztitsebri/J ftir Kirehtnge1thi,btt,* l:avi (1905), Pl ff., showing the variety of materials which continued 10 be copied, **though 1he Dionysio-Hadrfana was partjcuJarly widespread in north-ea.stern France** and the Rhineland. See also Mordck, *ubi n,pra,* and *id,m,* 'Die Rtchrssommlungeo der Handschrift von Bonncval', *DtJdHhtt Arrbi,,* xxiv(1968), H9 ff. See now *idem, Kirch• enrecht ,md Reform im Fronktnrelch* (Berlin, 1975).

z. Sec Schr6rs, *op.tit.* pp. 89 If.,and Weinzierl,art.cit. *(tupra,*p.14,, n. 1),pp. 148 f. Kottje, 'Einheit und Viclfalt', p. H7, n. 6o, lists two Rhe.ims MSS. of saee. tx med. containing the Oionysio-Hadriana, and also, p. l40, n. 70, two Rheims 1"1SS. of the Dacheriana dating from Hincmat's period.

I· PL 67, col t88. The Oacheriaoa, ii. c. lxiii, ed. *cit.*, p. H9, gives: 'Ut cpiscopus **qui comra swm possessionem** (!) **in concilio habitam \'enerit, depon.atur. Si quis contra suam possessionem ct sub iptionem venerit in aliquo ipsc se honorc ptivabit.** Gcncclius episcopus dixit: Omnia ergo .. .' etc. A comparison with 11 C.rthage, c. xiii, quoted *1upra,* p.156, shows that thecompiler of the Dacheriana (or of his model) **rearranged the se.nrcnce-order.and ioserted thecanon 'Siquiscontra... 'in its Dionysio-**Hadriana form. MS. Vat. Lat. 1342 *(n,pra,* p. 158, n. 5), PL 56, col 867, gives as 'c, ,cii' **of the 4 t 9 oouncil a version of this canon which con.fl-ates its two forms thus: 'Si** quis . , . ab hoc coctu separabitur'. 1"1odern editions of these coUections are urgently needed. 1-leaowhile, David, *La So.,,.rain<fi,* p. 92, n. 19 justifiably remarks: 'JI subsiste **une incertitude sur le contenu original de cc canon'. All that is relevant in the present context, however, is what form or forms were available in the ninth century. David** overlooks boththe variety of,canonicaJlsources, and the presence of the text specifying ***prWatio bcnorit* in the Dionysio-Hadria.naitself. The association of the profession with consecration in this text is noteworthy, in view of Hincmar's cone.ems.**

privabit', not just once and 'incidentally' as David has alleged, but at least eight times[1]: often enough and consistently enough, therefore, to show that this if anything represented his canonical norm. Yet he had available in the Hispana and in Pseudo-Isidore an alternative text prescribing, not the unequivocal *privatio horroris* but *separatw toetus*, whose initial meaning at least ,vas e.,ccommunication. It would be false to argue that Hincmar necessarily preferred the Dionysio-Hadriana to other possible sources: ,vhatever reservations he had about some Pseudo-Isidorian texts, he was prepared to exploit others when it suited him, and even to tinker with them on his own account.[1] If he chose to cite the thirteenth canon of 419, this was less for its source, the Dionysio-Hadriana, than for its content. This can be demonstrated by a closer examination of the contexts and purposes of the various citations.

Four of them occur in connection with the one case of episcopal deposition in which Hincmar was intimately involved and on which fairly full information has survived: the case of Hincmar of Laon.[3] The elder Hincmar summoned all his resources of canonistic learning to justify the sentence imposed on his nephew. These were public arguments, designed to convince other experts, including the papacy. One of the main charges brought against the bishop of Laon was precisely breach of his professions, the one given at the time of his consecration to his uncle the metropolitan of Rheims, the other at the synod of Attigny (870) when he reaffirmed his promise of obedience 'to the privilege of Hincmar, metropolitan

1. For details, sec *irrfra,* and for a clear allusion in the *De Ordint Palatii, supra,* p.) 45, **n. 1. No signific-a..nc.e seems attached in ninth-century usage to a distinction between** dcpo.,ition as a penalty imposed by an ecclesiastical authority, and self-deposition as apparently prescribed inc. xiii of 419. In any case, a sentence obviously had tO be declared and enforced by an ecclesiastical authority; the varyiog syntax used *e.g.,* in 1 Carthage, c. xi• *(!Mnor, pri,,.tur)* and e. xiii of 419 *(st /Jqnor, pri.,,!n))* would make no **diffc..rence to the practical outcome. The active voice onJy emphasizes that the wrong•** doer deserves his own punishment. The implication of all the African disciplinary canons is that jurisdiction and enforcement are the responsibility of the •ppropriatc **authority - in the present *case,* a provincial council. See arr. •o positionct Dcgradadon** des deres' (E. Vacandard) In *Di<t. dt ThlobJgit Catholiq,M,* iv. 4! 1 lf.,esp. 498 f.

•· Sec p. I 42 with n. 1 *,upra.* Some earlier commentators tended to exaggerate the **conAkt between "old law', as represented by the Dionysio-Hadriana, and the 'new** law' of Pseudo-Jsidoxc, and thus to sec Hincmar as simply committed to the former: sec Schrl:>rs, *op. <it.* pp. 89 ff., and esp. Weinzierl, art. cit.*(supra,* p.133, n. 1). But *if.* now Fuhrmann, *op. ,it.* iii.664lf.,**arguing** that Hincmar believed both thesecolkctions to be the work of Isidore of Seville. Despite the important characteristictendencies of Pseudo-Isidore, both in ninth-century episcopalist and in eleventh-century papalist aspects, clementS of continuity with older law also need emphasis.

l· *L VCapit.,* preface and c. xxxil, PL 126, cols. 292 and 414; *SdJed11fa sivt Libt/1111* presented to the coun<:il of Douzy (871), cc. xvii and xxxiv, PL 116, cols. 189and 627. *Cf.* also Hincmar's parody of the same canon, *infra, 161:* At the first of these citations, Sirmond, *Hin,mari ... Op,ra,* ii. J89 misleadingly preferred to 1 Carthage, c. xiii; **reproduced by Migne,** *,it.* ***op. dt.*** **p. 108, n. 19 gives 'Council of Morrison,** Carthage I (!) c. 1 f. Ontheconflict between the two Hincnurs, see FuhrmaM, *op. ,it.*iii. *65* r lf.,with full bibliographicaldetoils.

of the province of the church of Rheims'.[1] When the archbishop claimed, and his colleagues accepted, on the basis of the thirteenth canon of 419, that the recalcitrant bishop must be deposed, and when, moreover, the sentence itself was swiftly carried out, there can be littledoubt that this canon, far from being cited 'incidentally', was held authoritative, and far from being mere theory, determined Hincmar of Rheims' actual conduct of the case against his nephew. So much was it a familiar part of Hincmar's canonistic equipment tliat he could paraphrase it ironically: his nephew might more aptly be said by his own recent actions to have declared his own condemnation in tlie words: *'Ego Hi11,mar111 ,011tra meam profe1nonem vei 111b1&ripti011en1 venien1, 1ponte me bonore privavi'*.[2] Oearly, in the view of the elder Hincmar, this Carthaginian canon provided firm grounds for punishing a breach of episcopal profession by deposition from office.

Hincmar cited this same canon again in a letter (June 881) to Louis Ill, protesting about the young king's intervention in the election to tlie bishopric of Beauvais.[3] The king had expressed the hope that Hincmar would prove *in omniutilitati regni pro/fr11Hs et devotus,* to him as to his predecessors. Hincmar answered that Louis should preserve what tliey had preserved, rather than try to force him in his old age to abandon the *sa.rae regula* which he had faithfully observed for thirty-six years in episcopal office. If I were to do so, Hincmar continued, *'a gradu epistopaii . . . merito deddam'*. For according to sacred canons decreed by the holy spirit: 'Si quis contra suam professionem vel subscriptionem venerit in aliquo, *ip;e se bonore privabit'*. The king could therefore reap little profit from compelling the archbishop to an action which would ipso facto render the latter liable to deposition.

The canon appears, finally, in a short ,vork ,vritten in July 882, following tlie settlement of the Beauvais dispute: *Quae exrequi tkbeal episcop11s, et q@ c11ra tr1eri res et fac11/lates ecclniaslica1.*• Hincmar's theme was the inviolability of the church's temporal possessions and the consequently strict limits on a bishop's freedom of action, since not only secular powers but bishops themselves were bound by the earlier legislation of councils and kings. Again Hincmar suggested that it was futile either for a king to command, or for a bishop to take, any action which meant breach of the latter's profession, for the canons had decreed: 'Si quis contra suam

1. *LV C,,pit.,* preface, PL 126, col. 292; *S,bu/"'4,* cc. ix, xiii, xxxili, PL n6, cols. l 7S. JSJ, 624; the promise of Attigny, PL 124, col. 999, on the political context of which sec P. McKeon, 'Le concile d'Attigny (870)', *L, Moyen Ag,,*lxxvi (1970), 414 lf.

2. *S,h,du/a,* c. xvii, PL 116, col. 189.

l· PL 126, col. Ill, OtttheBeauvais affair, SC<: SchrOrs, *op.,it.*pp.416 lf.,and Beck, 'The selection of bishops', pp. JOJ lf.

4, PL ui, c,ols. 1087 lf. Schrors, *op. ,it.* p. 439, o. 101 justifies the date, though p. ii6,at Register no. io7, be wrongly gives 'July, 881'.

professionem vel suani scripturam venerit in aliquo, *ipse se honore privabit'*.[1]

Hincmar twice cited this same canon in relation to the office of a king. In the *De Divortio*, addressed to the Lotharingian bishops in 860 and protesting against their support for Lothar !I's divorce, I-lincmar argued that the king must keep the la,vs to ·which he had himself subscribed. Canon xiiiof 419 was thenquoted in justification, though with the word *profeuio* omitted. Kings could not claim, Hincmar continued, that this canon applied only to bishops, for all Christians acquired both royal and priest!)' dignity through their baptismal anointing. A king, therefore, who acted against the *conscriptio* of his o,vn hand in contravening the *leges* was deprived of both the title and the office of king *in oc11/is dei*.[1] I\if. Devisse has admired the sophistication of Hincmar's argument, discerning here 'thegerms of a real contract theory'.[3] But perhaps more note,vorthy are the limitations imposed on Hincmar by the facts of the Lotharingian situation in 860: king Lothar never had made a royal profession, ,vhich left only the appeal to the more general notion of

1. The whol<: passage, PL 12), col. 1 reads: 'Epitcopo erimn nupcr ordinato agcre calia vel talibus conscntire non praecipiat (rcx), undc sc ipsum pe1dat ct cocam Deo ecclesiasticam gratiam amiuat.Cumcoram omnibuset e1ectorjbus ct ordi.natoribus suis districtissime professus ante ordinacioncm suam fucrit, ct *propria man11 sulueripseril* sacras regulas S3nccorum conciliorum, quantum sderit et potuerit, servarurum. Qui sacri canoncs spiritu Dti conditi, *ct* totius mundi revcrcntfa comccrati ita dcccrnunt: 'Si quis contra suam professioncm ... (etc.)'. Qui autcm res e.r facuhatcs ecclesiasticas Bclvaccnsis ccclcsiac ipsius conscnsu vcl favorc pessumdarc prac5.umpscrint, qui auctotitaccm eas illis dare vet constntire non h2bu..it, sollicitis ime cavcant, r.e supra scciptas sacrorum canonum scntcmias, ab omnibus nobiscpiscopis, ad quorum notitiam ipsorum sacrilegia pervenctint, inte-otatas, suscipiant, er abomnichristianorum socictatc modis omrtibus scparcntur'. The reading *srriptura* instead of *substript/o* seems to have been present in the ma,wscript used by Sirmnnd, *Hm,mari ... Optr4, ii.* 768, and m•y well represent a copyist's cnor, esp. since the ,vord *s,riptura* (though in another sense) appeats a few lines ea.rJiec in the same text.

2. PL 125, col. 700: '[lmperatorc-s ct rcgesJ ita pracdcccssorum suorum bcne statuta Jcbent in omnibus conservue, sicud sua c.onstinua a suis successoribus cupiunt conservari. Et non lcvc regibus vcl quibuscunque aliis vidctur infringtte *quod tuis student 111anil>1u roborare,* qui.a ex divina doctrii\a, ct apost0tica traditione, tam maxima res sempcr ab ipsis primis sacculis manus c:Qnfirmatio fuit, ut de ipsis apostolorum vicariis, iJlj ipsi apost0lorum vicadi supcrcoelcsti auetoritatc dec.revcrint, 'Ut qui contra suan, subscriptioncm in aliquo venerit, ipse se privet honore'. Et non dicant reges hoc de episcopis ct non est de regibus constitutum: scd attendc-ntcs quia si sub UAP rcge ac sacerdote Christo, a cujus nominis derivatione christi domini appellamur, in populi regimine sublimat; ct honorati cssc dcs derant, ... cum sint homincs sicut et ceteri. et parcem cum his in regno coclorum habere volunt qui sacro pcruncd sunt chrismatc. quod a Christi nominc nomcn accepit, qui ex.inde unxitsac:erdotcs, pcophetas, reges et marryres, illc unccus oleo lactiti3e prac consortibus suis. quiquc fee.it cos in baptismate ceges et sacerdotes Deo nosrro. ec genus regium ac regale saccrdotium, secundum apostolos }ooMcm et Pctrum (Apoe. ii. 26; r Pet. ii. 9): intellcg•nt ct crcdanc se in oculis Dei privari regii nominis et officii dignitatc, quando si illud placitum Dco fuit quod manu firmavcrunt? faciunt contra manus suae consaiptioncm, licet illud nomen usu.rpent ante oc.ulos hominum terrena et instabili potestate'. In the citation of the Afrian canon, 'Ut qui' has been substituted for 'Si quis' to produce a subordinate clau"e flowing on from 'decre\'erint'. Significantly, the canon is cited in the context of legislation, a point neglected by Nuon, *op. ,it.* p. 294, n. 7l 3·

)· *Hin<mar ti 14 Loi,* p. 71, n. 4.

the royal promulgation of laws, and though he had been anointed king, Lothar's consecrators had been those very bishops who now connived at what Hincmar insisted was a breach of the Jaws. For these reasons, whatever appeal his own theory might have had for contemporary clerics in general, Hincmar when he addressed the Lotharingian bishops in this panicular case could argue for the application of canon xiii to Lothar only because of the initiation-anointing which the king shared ,vith all other Christians - *si.111 et &eteri.*[1] Yet it was impossible to construct on this basis juristic sanctions specifically on the royal office; and absence of any control on earth meant leaving any royal breach of the laws to divine judgment, so that in practice a king's *privatio dig11itatis* could be said to have occurred only *in0,11/iJ dei.*[2]

In 868, Hincmar addressed a strongly-worded protest to Charles the Bald against infringements of the *libertales e&desiae.* Again an appeal was made to canon xiii of 419 to establish that the king was subject to the laws, but this time the canon could be cited in full, for Charles as king hadgiven explicit written undertakings which could readily be identified as professions.[3] At Beauvais **in** 84*5,* Charles

1. Fo, Lothar ll's anointing, see Bruhl, 'Frankiscber Kronungsbrauch', p. 29i and n. *3,* and Ann. Borlin., ed. cit. p. 72 with the editor's comments, p. lxii. *In D, Dir,rti,,* PL ui, cols. 7)6 ff., 1-Unanar portrays the Lorharingian bishops as 'Hofabsolutisten', **in whose view '(te.."-J nullorum legibus vcl judiciis subjacct> nisi solius Dci, qui cum in rcgno ... regem consti-tuit'. See. Anton. *op. til.* pp. 307 f., 317, and. for earlier stigmatjzations of these bishops as (pliable\ 'subscrvfom', etc., Du.mmlcr. *Ctttb. de: ostjrank. R,i,hs,* pp. *3* ff., 19; Halphen, *Charltmagne,* p. H6; Fichtenau, *Kar,li•gisdn lmp,rimn,* pp. •n lf. But *if.* J. Haller, *Nik,lam I und Ps,11doi1idor* (Stuttgart, 1936), pp. l lf.,for **a** more realistic interpretationof the bishops' interests. When the existence **0£ Loth-ar's .realm itself was not threatened, these men could be far from subservient:** see Capit. 11, pp. 441 lf. and 463 lf.; M'ansi, xv, col. 614: Lothar Il's *C,.,,ustalio* (862), presumably written by Archbishop Gunther of Cologne, which contains an interesting and hitherto tittle noticed application of Gelasian doetrine. No sharp corurast should be drawn between West Fninkish and Lotharingian political ideas at this period: Devisse, 'Consilium et auxWum', p. 190, and n. 51, shows the probable influence of Hinemar himself on Lothar Il's *Ad/«utio* (857), Capit. 11. p. •9l· But in the circum-stances of 86o, the Lothacingian bishops naturally rallied uncompromisingly to their king, so that Hincmar could not then c,q,cct their co-operation in asserting the king's **subordination to 'laws and judgments', lo any case, Hincmar's theory of juristic restraints remained his own, even if manyof his assumptions were shared. The practice of royal anointing was a necessary, but by no means sufficient, cause of that theory's** developm,nt.

2. But the implications of this *pri,atio* might be greater than Morrison, *op.,it.*p. 229, **allows: seep. 134, n. *4 supra.* Hincmar was aware that *thris/11.1* meant 'anointed', but** the association was developed here only in relation 10 baptismal anointing. The two **quotations from the *Benedi&ti11 ,hrismalis* were later used by Hincmar to much greater** effect in the *Ordines* of 869 and 877; but in a6o, theirspcciJic relevance 10 the consecrated king had 10 be ignored: *if.* preceding note.

3. Pro E«. *Lib. D,f,* PL ui, col. 1040. After quoting the legislation of Theodosius **and Louis the Pious, Hiocmar continues: 'Uodc non solum ca quac a dcccssoribus ct praedeccssorjbus vesttis bene statu-t2 sunt scrvando, vos fumitatem eis dare oporter_. verumet ill.aquac ip$i gessistis, ct *mflltu proprio suburip1isti1* ct c.um maxima obtestationc vos se:rvaturos perpetuo promittentes, ;,, *mawibm 1attrdolU111 ad 11£t111 Dti tradidisliJ,* ante oculos ct mentis ct c:orporis rcvocarc debetis. Et non modica neces.sitas vobis incumbit, ut *ti tDftlra ta in tl/iquo* egistis, hoc quantocius cmendare, et de actcro ne**

had given a promise *Cllm maxit!la conteslatio11e* to maintain ecclesiastical interests, and Hincmar in rehearsing its terms was careful to stress its permanently binding quality. Its recipients, Hincmar insisted, were not only the bishops present in 84) or even their absent colleagues throughout the whole realm, but all their successors too.[1] The episcopate, like the Jaws themselves, transcended time. Charles's promise had been drawn up in a formal document, signed by the king and placed in the bishops' hands; and in 868 Hincmar could refer back to it, and to the promise of Quierzy (8)8),[2] as well as to Charles's subscriptions of his own and his predecessors' laws. Precisely in this legal context, therefore, Hincmar could now relate Charles's *professiones,* and thus the relevance of canon xiii itself, to the royal anointing: because Charles had acquired his royal *dignitas* through an anointing and benediction performed by bishops, he could be considered bound by the same rules as applied to the bishops themselves as consecrated holders of office, and because after his baptismal anointing Charles had received another and specifically royal anointing, the application of canon xiii now no longer depended on the position which the king as a Christian individual shared with *celeri fide/es,* but on his tenure of public office under conditions clearly defined in terms of written law.

At this point, surely, Hincmar was on the threshold of asserting the !<log's liability to deposition for any breach of his profession and, as a corollary, the authority to depose of the recipients and custodians of that profession: the *praepositi ecclesiae.* But Hincmar did not proceed to this logical conclusion. Instead, leaving canon xiii hanging in the air, and in effect retreating to the familiar position of 833,[3] he shifted his argwnent to the penitential jurisdiction of the church. He admitted now to Charles, as he had to Lothar's bishops, that in practice a bad ruler, deposed in the eyes of God,

contra ilia faeiatis [1] **cavere summopc-rc prvcu.retis. Qufa enlm post illam unctioocm qua** cum eaeteris lidelibus imruistis hoc consequi, quod bcatus Petrus apostolus dicit: 'Vos genus elcctum, regale sacerdodum' (1 Pct. ii. 9), episcopali et spirituali unctionc **ac bcnedietione regiam dignitatcm potius quam terrcna potesratc conseeuti est is:** attendere subtili intellcctu debecis, quoniam ad dillinitionem saned spiritus, quam synodaliauctoritate protulit,exceptinon cstis: 'Si quis,inquit,contra suamprofessionem **vel subsc.tiptioncm vcncrit, ipse se honorc privabit'. Here again Hincrnar cites this** canon in the context of written law.*Cf* Anton. *op.,it.*p. H' with n. 966, for the line ca,ena of legal authotities appealed to by Hiocm,,r in this passage.

r. PL 12,„**col. 1041: 'Haec ...** ***cuna.is*diebu.s vitae vestrae vos servaturos promjsistis? eisdcm episcopis, qu.1 pracs.cntes aderant, et caete.rjs regnj vcstri episcopis, qui corpore pnesentes non aderant,** ***ti (Jf!tnib/11.f eor111n 1u«1110ribu„*** **er omnibus cpiscopis in regno vest.to consistentlbu..s, et** ***in 1'tiPUbus tor11111tkm ,piuopcrum*** **adeorum petitioocm dedistis'.** *Cf* the reference later *in* the same work, col. 1066, to the02th bywhich Charles swore the ,.,*pitul1111t* of Bcaunis: 'coram Deo ct angclis cius, in lidc er dextera v tra, per spatam vestram ;,,,.,,,,,.,,_ Oearly both promise and oath were involved in 845. Hincmar and his colleagues had 10 take account of Gcnnaoic tndltion as well as canonical praetice: both streams converged *in* Carolingian kingship. For the oath on the sword, see Scbnmm, *K,sim-, Kiinige m,d P4p,tt,* i. 180.

- PL us, col. 1042. Sec p.]148, n. 1 *tN/>r".*

,. See pp.'135 f. *mp,-11.*

could 'often' retain po,ver in the eyes of men.[1] But he did not consider the alternative possibility: that a bad ruler might by dee legal process enforced by ecclesiastical authorities be deposed on earth. He cited from the Old Testament the case of David, 1nade king through the agency of Samuel, and later held accountable by Samuel's successor Nathan for the breach of his profession in becoming proud when he had promised humility:

... superbicndo David ... faciens *,ontra projtssione11s111a111* ... digoi1atcn1 regiam, quam peccando perdidii, confessus coram Nathan poenitcndo rccuperavit.[2]

Then in the New Testament there "'as Peter, who broke his profession in denying Christ:

. . . faciens *&onlra suam profusienem*• •. confessus . . . coram omnibus apos1olis . . . apostolatum quem negando perdiderat, confirendo et f!cndo rccepit.

Thus, 1-Iincmar concluded, anyone ,vho confessed, repented and corrected whatever he had done in breach of his profession 'ad honorem redire, et in honore praevaJet, Domino miserante, roanere'. To deny this would be to challenge the authority of 1-fatthew xvi, 19, where Christ had conferred these po\vers of jurisdiction on the *praeposili ei11sdem eccleliae*.[3] Only shortage of space and time, said Hincmar, prevented him from explaining how the exercise of these powers conformed to the *sacrae reg11/ae*. These limitations did not prevent him from rehearsing now verbatim the promises of Beauvais and Quierzy given by Charles to the contemporary *praepositi ecclesiae*. The consequence of failure to fulfil these promises was clear: loss of *regia diu,itas*. But the mechanics of earthly deposition remained unspecified. Hincmar drew back from the assertion that bishops bad po,ver to depose the consecrated king who broke his profession, although hisowntreatment ofliturgyand law had seemed to prepare the way for precisely that. It is not hard to understand why Hincmar hesitated to put forward a revolutionary claim, for which neither biblical history nor ecclesiastical tradition afforded any precedent, and whose political implications in this time of waning royal authority havebeenseen by11:. David• as toodangerous for Hincmar to risk exposing. And yet it is worth recalling that in 859 Charles himself, at Hincmar's prompting and in the crisis of foreign invasion, had stated the possibility of his being 'thrown

1. **PL 12._s, col. 1040: 'Quod lie.et non 6at, sicut saepe solet accidere, in oculis hominum, fit tamcn scmpct: in oculis Dci'.**

•· *Ibid.* The reference is to n Reg., xii.

3. PL 125, col. 1041. Here Hincmar quotes, without attribution, from Augustine, Ep. tB): see p. 134*11,pra*. He was probably quoting from memory, sinee his tex, of Matt. xvi, 19 <liverges slightly from Augustine's and is closer to the Vulgate.

4. 'Le scrmcnt', pp. 6o ff., and *La s()J-aintli,* pp. ?6 ff.

outfrom his [royal) consecration *(proifi a t0t1secratio11e)* by the trial and judgment of the bishops *(audientia et imlitium episcoporum)'*.[1] Nothing that Hincmar wrotesubsequently involved an abandonment of tbis position. M. David seems to ignore the possibilities inherent in Hincmar's argument of 868 when he treats the two *exempla* here as confirming his own belief that Hincmar contemplated only the excommunication, never the deposition, of a king who violated the laws: 'Hincmar fait etat de cette privation d' *honor* seulement pour signaler qu'a condition de faire penitence, le coupable peut recuperer son poste'.[2] But in the case of a bishop, as the events of 861/1 had shown, suspension from office could be the prelude to total deposition if penitence were not forthcoming. Addressing Charles the Bald in 868, Hincmar for reasons of tact and tactics chose to cite *exempla* where such penitence was offered., and where, therefore, loss of *honor* proved temporary. His immediate object was to urge the king to mend his ways, not to provoke confrontation *a l'outrante.* But his argument left open the possibility, in theory at least, that the penalty of deposition might be exacted later if the voice of the *praepositi* went unheeded; and the juristic basis for such a claim was explicitly stated in the thirteenth canon of 419, that *dijfi11itio sancti spiritm,* made manifest by synodal authority, from which the king himself was not exempt.

Although Hiocmar never cited this canon explicitly to Louis III, he did, in two letters of June 881, implicitly e,rtend its application to the king. In thefirst letter, when he quoted the canon in relation to his own office, he had appealed also to the king's profession, and could t!1erefore conclude:

> Si vobis consensero, ut contra divinas et humanas leges, et contra vestraro et meam, coram pluribus in synodo episcopis cohibentibus, professionem faciatis, me perdam, et vos non salvabo.S

See p.142, n. *31upra.*

,. *La Su,,.,raintli,* p. u8, n. *30.* The source of the two *exrmpla,* unnoticed by M. David, is Augus,ine's Ep. rSs, CSEL !vii, pp. !9 f. Hinen,ar quoted this same passage verbatim in LV *Capit.,* c. xx, PL 126, col ! l7, arguing that no man-made law is immu12ble, 2nd that changing circumStances may mean that laws have to be changed. Relating this principle to the question of whether penitent *lap1i* should re12in their offices, he quoted Augustine 10 this effect: the norm was that such men should be deprived of office permanently, for the sake of *rigur dis,iplin4<,* nor through *desp,ratio indmgmJiat,* yet discretion must be used, and if the penitent showed true humility, especially if he held high office so that whole peoples, as well as himself, were affected, rhen severity might be relaxed. [n arguing that the church uses discretion in exercising **itS authority> Hine.mar stresses the scope of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Fuhrmann, *op. ti!.* i. 2:04 fl'., notes that Hincmar was not alw::ays willing to allow that penitent** *lap,;* might be restored, even *J»tl dignam 1a1i,ja,Ji,,n,m,* and shows, p. 201 with n. !4, that the P"ssage from Augustine's Ep. 18i, **and** also a false decreral (Ps.-Calixtus, cc. xi,:-x,c) which borrows from it, both re.late to deposition from office, not CJ<com-**mW1ication, in the case of clerics. H.incma.r's use of Augustine's *txtmp!a* wHl therefore** hardly **bear M.** David's in1erpre12tioo.

!· **PL** u6, col. 1I!. *Cf 111j)ra* p. 161.

Given the conclusion he drew in his o\\'o case, Hincmar's close linking of 'your and my profession' implied that the king was liable to the same penalty as the bishop, namely deposition.

In the second letter, having stressed the condition - *debitas le1ses serva11di* - under ,vhich the king had acceded, Hincmar pointed out the illegality of Louis's action in the Beauvais election,

> ... contra regulas ecclesiasticas, con1raque antiquorum cl christianorum regum leges, conrraque praedcccssorum ac progcnitorum vestrorum promulgationcs scd et contra illorum consuetudinem.

This was immediately followed up by a much firmer warning:

> ... vos videtc ne pro hoc illicito facto e11nonicas sustincatis scotenrias, vel in hocsacculo, vcl in futuro.[1]

The last three words left the threat of deposition oblique, *but* there could be no doubt as to the content of the 'canonical sentences'. The king who acted *contra reg11/as co11fraq11e leges* deprived himself of kingship. The execution of the sentence *in ho,saeCll!o* might remain in suspense, but the king's liability to deposition ,vas clear.

There is one further piece of evidence which suggests that not only Hincrnar but many of his clerical contemporaries may have been able to contemplate the deposition of kings. In the West Frankish realm, from the mid-ninth century, there seems to have been a fairly widespread kno,vledge and use of three privileges granted by Gregory the Great at the request of Queen Brunhilda and her son to a foundation at Autun, all three containing the same remarkable penalty formula:

> Si quis Yero *reg11m*, sacerdotum et judicum atque *sam1lari11m personarum*, hanc constitutioois paginam cogooscens, contra cam venire tcntaverit, potcstatis *honftrisqfit mi dignitate careat*.

It is hardly likely, given the absence of any supporting evidence, that the pope ,vas here foreshadowing another Gregory in independently threatening kings with deposition[3]: perhaps he was

1. PL 126,cols. 119 f.
2. Register XJn, 11-13, 1'!GH Epp. 11, pp. 376-81.

l· Despite the suggestion of Ullmann, *La., and Po/ilia in lht }.,fiddle ,¾u* (Londoo, 197)), p. 114, Gregory I did not, in myview, intend any claim to pajXll jurisdiction over kings, still less any right to depose them. For Gregory Vll's exploitation of his predecessor's penalry-clause in just this sense, see his letter to Hcnnann of tc12, Registe, rv, • and v111, 21, 1'!GH Epp. Scl. n, ed. E. Caspar, i. 294 and ii. !JO, See **OtsJXtr's comments at ii. 150, n. 2, wjtb other instances of Gregory Vll's use of this** text; also Caspar, 'Gregor VII in sclnen Brlefen', *Hist. Zeitubrift*, cxxx (1924), IS f. The pronouncement of judgment on kings was a key issue in the polemics of the later eleventh c,,nrury. Apologists of Henry lV, wbo never doubted the genuineness of Gregory I's penalty-clause, challenged Gregory Vll's interpretation of Jr: judgment, they held, remruncd in God's hands. See *D, ,mi/ate tttktiat constN1anda*, ii. 1l, MGH Libelli de Lite u. p. 227, and for an indictment of Gregory Vlrs misuse of his source, *Conlra epi/10/am flildebrandi*, iii. 9, *ibid.* pp. !91 f.

simply basing his words on those of Brunhilda in her original request.[1] In the present context, the relevant point is the familiarity of this passage to Hincmar and his contemporaries. Flodoard's notice of a letter of Hincmar's to the \vidow of Charles the Bald shows that Bishop Pardulus of Laon had borrowed Gregory's penalty-formula in a privilege which he dre\v up at Charles's request, sometime between 842 and 869, for theconvent of Orrigoy.[2] In quoting this passage to a dowager queen, Hincmar naturally made no attempt to apply the threat of deposition, although he was protesting vigorously at her violation of the Orrigny privilege. But the emphasis he placed on theauthority of the penalty-formula - the ,vords were not those of Pardulus but of 'the blessed pope Gregory' - imply his awareness of their implications. Again, precisely this penalty-formula of Gregory's was used in a privilege for thechurch of Beauvais, confirmed with the consent of Charles the Bald by 'the bishops of four provinces'. Hincmar quoted this part of the Beauvais privilege both in a public letter of 88ı and in the *Qlfae exseq11i debeat epis,opus*.[8] His audience, both at the royal court

1. So L. M. Hartmann in MGH Epp. n, p. i78, n.6, mentioning similar pc.nalty-formulae in decrees of Merovinglan councils and in the Liou *Diurma*, and, likewise stressing parallels in the *Lib,r Dimnut,* Anton, *Studim* tu *d,n Klo,urpri,i!,gim dtr Papst, imfriib,n l\1i11,lalter* (Borlin, 197)), pp.)4 f. with nn. 47, 48. (I am grareful *to* Lin Wood for tlus reference.) But in these other eases, the penalty is always excommunication, not deposition, and kings are never specified. Although the binding of su=ssors 'forever' appears in Metovingnn diplomas and in Marculf's formulae. these texts offer no true parallels for Gregory's penalty-clause. Hartmann's suggestion has been widely a=pted;secF.Homes Dudden, *Gregory th, Great* (London, 1905), ii. 84 f., and Anton, *Studi"',* p. l5, n. 48, with further references. Studrmann, 'Die Ponformel', pp. 268 f., skates over the problem. Still worth consulting, though apparently ignored by Anton, is J. Mabillon, *De rt diplomatita* (Paris, 1681), ii. c. 9, pp. 104 ff., citing two Roman synodal penalty-formulae of 680 and 704 in whieh kings arc specified, though only excommunlation is prescribed. (See now MGH Sctiptores rer. Merov. vr, pp. 217 and 247.)*Cf.* similarfeaturesin the formulaediscussed by P. Sims-Williams,'Continental influence ar Bath monastery in rhe seventh century', *Angl..Sax.,, England,* iv (197)), l f. But the closest par,,llcl to Gregory's formula, hitherto apparently unnoticed, appears in xvr Toledo, c. x, PL 14, col. !44' 'SIquis sane regum succedentium cuncias huius **constic.utionis nosttac dcfiniciones c:ustodire aut adimplerc distulcrit ... ex divino** iudicio rebus omnibus ct bonore praesenri in seeulo careat .. .' (I omit the lengthy spidtuol p:nalties here). Tbc possibility of a direct influcnoe should be noted. I! remains doubtful whether the Visigothic bishops dtew any more practical inferences from the formula than did Gregory L The genuineness of Gregory's privileges for **Autun in their entirety was convincingly shown by Hartmann, *lot. rit.;* see also Antoo,** *Stud,,n,* p.)), n. 47. The untenable view that the penalty-formula is an eleventh• century forgery is unfonunately repeated in the revised editionof Kern,*Go nJ11111,* pp.186, n. l97, and ,9l·

2. Flodoard, *Hisforia Rt111m1i1 tetlffiae,* iii. c. 27, MGH SS. x111, p. 549. &hron;, *op. tit.,* Register no. ll7, does not give the full text. Hlncmar's letter can be dated ***Bn-si.*** **For the privilege itself, sec Tessier. *Reut1il,* ii. s.20, no. 197 bis.**

l· PL u6, cols. 2)0 f.; PL 12), col. 1091. The suggestion of E. Loenlng, *Das Kirebtnrttbf im Rei,ht der Merowinger* (Strassburg, 1878), ii. 192, n. 2, that Hincmar himself forged Gregory's privileges for Autun, is una=ptable. Equally so is the view of Lesne, 'Nieholas Ier ct Jes libettes des monasttrcs des Gaules', L, *l\fl/)"" Ag,,* xxiv (1911), 101 ff., that the privileges were forged in ninth-century Franki•. For the manuscript evidence against this, see Hartmann, *toe. rit.* The hypotheses of Loening and Lesne cannot accommodate the use of Gugory's privileges by popes Nicholas I

and at synodal gatherings was being familiarized with the idea that specified illegal acts entailed the deposition of office-holders ,vhether royal or episcopal.

While recent scholarship has highlighted the importance of law in Hincmar's political ideas, there has remained a tendency to regard the restraints he placed upon kingship as essentially moral, not juristic.• Hincmar, on this reading, was concerned to stress the king's spiritual duties, to urge his conformity to Scriptural models, and to keep before him the threat of divine judgment. From the evidence considered above, however, Hincrnar can be seen, as by some earlier scholars,2 to have claimed not only sacramental *aJtCfori/01* but a specific jurisdiction over the consecrated king. It seems clear that he both designed and used restraints of a concrete legal type, finding in liturgy and law the requisite juristic models and instruments. In the painful struggle to,vards a positive response to contemporary political change, Hincmar was forced to modify western ideological tradition as evolved before, and especially during, the reign of Charlemagne, in order to cope with the new realities of the reign of Charles the Bald.[3] For Hincrnar's interests as a statesman were basically practical: law and liturgy served him as means to political ends.[4] 'fhough he subjected more than one

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and John VIU: for details, see Caspar, 'Gregor Vil', p. 15, "· 1, observing that Nicholas reproduced the penalty-fonnula 'ohnc das ansriissige *r,-gm,/* while John included it. Caspar's denial 0£any significance in this nimh-<:enrury pa[YJl usage may pcrhars bequestioned.(I have been unable t0 follow up hisrefi:rence to rhe unpublished llcrlin dissertation (1922} 0£ B. Hufc.) Dependence on the same Gregorian source can be demonstrated in the rrivilegc of Nicholas J for St Calais (Jaffe-Ewald •7l5 - **unmentioned by Caspar):sec Lcsnc, *ubi supra*, p. 301 with n. h noting scven1I signs of** this dependence, but failing 10 drnw attention to the *St* Calais pcnalry-formula, ed. **PereJs, {GH Epp. Kar. Acvi 1v, p. 683: •.H.aec autem constitut3 volumus omnibus omnino modis inviolabilia ... pe.rmancrc, ct a ncminc vcl *r,1,11111* vet episcoporum vel alicuius ordin.is vioJari … unde constituimus ur primus quisquc hoc (*i.e.* violation of the prh-ilcgc) m(,litus fuerir, *s«i bon ri.s digrrilale p,iNlltr, 1ive sit sar.,ularir*, shi,e sit ecc1esiast..ica persona: dcindc ab ecclesiastica.e communionis soc:icratc fiat alicnu&'.** Pe,cls, *ibid.* p. 680, n. • and Lesnc, *ubi rupra,* pp. 101 ff., treat the St Calais privilege **as spurious. But W. Goffart, 'The privilege of Nicholas I for St Calais: a new theory',** *Rn,11, Bm,di,tine,* lioci (19'>1}, 287 ff., has argued strongly rh>t it is genuine. If so, its **penalty<lause deserves closer attention than it has recejvcd. So also dOC's Hincmar•s** publici,:,uion of Gregory's formula.

1. Sec t-{orrison, *op.,ii.* pp.127 ff.; Anton, *op. ,it.* p.;z9 with n. 9l3·

, . Sec, though wi1hout any anali•sis 0£ the juristic evidence, H. Lilicn£ein, *Die A,11,bau1111gt11 wn Staal 1ma Kircht im Rritb der Karoling,r* (Heidelberger Abbandlungen, Jlft. 1, 190•), pp. 100 lf.; G. Ehrcnforth, 'Hinkma, von Reims uod Ludwig ill von \'v'estfr•nkeo. Eioe kirchenn:chtliche Untersuchung', *Zeil1tbrift fiir Jvr,hengnehi,bte,* xliv (19•1), p. 97.

l· See WaU.cc-HadriU, 'The Via Regia', pp. ;6 lf., and esp. ;8, on ideas of resistance to unjust kings: 'Sooner or later,someone would want to limit kingship itself: Hincmar very nearly did'. I would go just one step further than this.

4. ***Cf.* the pertinent remarks of BrUhl, •Hinkmariana', pp. 76** *{.:* **for Hincmar, as** for rhc Lorharingian bishors during the cont,ovc,sy over Lothar II'• divorce,'stand das friinkische Staatswohl lcmcn Endes hohcr als das kanonische Recht ... (Aber] **es watc g.anz ungcrecht, Hinkmar daraus cinen Vorwurf machcn zuo Ucn'.**

king to harsh criticism, to penance and even to excommunication,[1] Hincmar could hardly have seen any episcopal claim to depose kings as either desirable or practical politics. It was not that his thought, as has been suggested,[2] lacked originality or coherence: rather, his objective was a new kind of consensus, a ne\v strucrure of political relations, by means of which the realm could achieve *soliditas.* This theme provides the unity in Hincmar's public life, linking the 'programme' of CouJaines with that of Funes (881).[3] It can be no coincidence that such terms as *,0111111111is* and *,omn11111iler* appear with a new frequency in a political sense in the public documents of Charles the Bald's reign.[4] Then, as often in medieval political thought, ecclesiology influenced the concept of the state&: king, clergy and *pop11!11s,* recognizing their collective stake in the *,ov1n11111is saws,* were now to act together in the interests of their *co1111111111is 11tilitas.*[0] All, and not only the king, had to accept the li1nits implied here.

In the working out of some of these implications, Hincmar's thought is impressive not only for its originality and coherence

t. For Hincmar's excommunication of Lothar I, sec MGH Epp. v, p. *6os,* and **Flodoard's notice of an absolution, *Hist. Rem. 1-:tt.*, iii. c. 10, ed.dt. p.483(SchtOrs** Register no. 76}. Foe threats to excommunicate Charles the Bald, see *Pro l-'.e,. Lib. D,f.,* PL 1•l, col.1os8,and a letter of 868, PL 126, col.97. For the penance imposcd on Louis Ill, see PL 126, col. *250. Cf* also Hinemoc's very explicit cirations of the *tx,mplum* of King Ozias (11 Para!. xxvi, ,6 fl'.) in *Pro&,. Lib. D,J.,* **PL** 125, cols. 1049, 1057 fl'., and **the decrees ofF11nes, PL 125, col. 1071: •Ozias,,. de tcmplo a s.acerd,>tibus *ejttltt.s* .. *!***
for d1c Ozia., theme in ocher nioth--century sources, as a warning to kings not to go 'extra ministcrium '\'Crstrum\ sec Anton, *op. til.* pp. 410, n. 215 and *4 5.*

2. **M. David, •Le serment', p. 121.**

- For *J1J!idilas rrgni* as an objective at Coulaines. see the preface, Capit. n, p. 2:n. TI,c decrees of P-uncs are in PL 115, cols. 1069 ff.: in the preface, col. 1071, Hinemar **a.nd his coHcaguc.:s declare themselves (non nova condcrues sed quac a maioribus nosttissecundum tram.item sanctarum scripturarum *slaluta,*ct achtistfonis imperatoribus :ic rcgibus *pro1111Jlf.ata,* ct usque ad haec pericuJosa nos-trac jnfclicitatis tcmpora fuc::re *1ervata,* quasi lumina in malignorum opcrum tcncbras ... dcvocamus'. Tbc synodal decrees treated as a whole the affairs of church and state, :tnd were meant to be observed by ll in the realm. C. i: *Ad111011itio ad reg1111 ti mi,1islro1 rtipuhlicat,* included** ""enti•-onc passoges from capitularics, the last of them from that of l\fccrsen (Sp}, with its guarantees for the *ltx ti iUJtiria* of every */idtlis:* seep. **148** *,upra.* C. viii contained a sketch of Charlemagne's government as a deliberately-id,·oliu:d model: 'ct **ad c.,pitium lccti sui tabulas cum graphio habcbat. ct quae sjve in die sive in nocte de *utilitalt f41ttli ec,luku* et de *pro/ulu ti 10/iditalt regni* mcditabatur, in cisdcm tabulis adnotabat ... ct quando ad placitum suum vcn.icbat. omnia subtiliter tractata plenitudine consiliarorum suorum mons-trabat et *ttJm1111t11i consilio* illa ad cffectum perducere f')rocurabat'. If legislation remains in the king's hands, its implemcntati(tn is s.ccn to** rest on consensus:</. Capit.11, p. 07 (Pittcs,86,):'ilia capirula quae conscnsu fidcliwn **nosuorum ficri iussimus'; *ibid.* p. 313 (Pitres, 864): consensus populi'. Hincrnar** depicts Charlemagne in terms made familiar by O,arlcs the Bald. Sec the 6nc comments **of Lowe, 'Hinkma.r', pp. zz:z. ff.'• on this and comparable passages in Hincmar's late works: ', .. was aussieht wie cin Lob der Vergangenhcit, was in Wirklichkeit die** frcilich nicl,r schr crfolgrcichc Mahnung an die Gegenwart, •ich vom Nutzcn des Kijnigs, des Rciches und dcr Kirchc durch kcinc cgoistischcn lntercsscn abbringcn **zu lasscn'.**

4. Sec Capit. rr, Index Verb., s.v. 'Communis'.

5. See S. IX[1]olin, *Politiuand Vfri(Jft* (Boston, 1960}, pp. 127 ff.

6. For theseand similar linked concepts, sec Capit. 11, pp. 73, •H, 328, ere.

but also for its realism and furn basis in Frankish political traditions. He applied to kingship, on the one hand, that order and functional definition which he found, in principle at least, in the church's own internal organization, so that the king's office acquired the same clear juristic delimitation as the bishop's.[1] He appealed to law, on the other hand, less in abstract terms than as a surviving and still evolving common denominator of rights and interests, a publicly-acknowledged regulator of relations between the main competitors for power in the West Frankish realm.[2] Hence the shrewdly utilitarian nature of his attempts at a long series of great public gatherings to commit king, clergy and *pop11h1s* together to the preservation of both the *regulae* and the *leges et slatuta.* At this constitutional level, affirming the identity of the laws with the public interest, Hincmar could transcend any antithesis between the juristic and the moral. His own lifetime (805/6-882) spanned the Carolingian Empire from its heyday to its dissolution: his political thought forms a bridge between the ideologies of theocratic and feudal kingship.[3]

r. Por Hincmar's parallel role in producing similarly-<:onstructcd royal and episcopal consecration rites, see Bouman, *Satring and Cr01Plting,* pp. 11 2 fr.

•· *Cf supra* pp. 146 f.

— Iavery,vateful 10 Mr John Gillingh>m, Professor J. I\{. \'qallacc-Hadrilland Professor Walter Ullm-aru1, who kindly offered constructive c.riticisms of an earlier draft of chis paper. If errors of fact or of judgment remain, they are my responsibility alone.

8

THE ANNALS OFST BERTIN

I

Though the keeping of annals or chronicles had never entirely ceased in Western Europesince the fall of the Roman Empire, the eighth and ninth centuries brought changes that were qualitative as well as quantitative.[1] Before Charlemagne's reign, annalists had been at work in several monasteries in the British Isles and then on the Continent; and one branch of Charle,nagne's family had sponsored the keeping of something rather like annals of the Frankish realm.[2] Still, it was not until Charlemagne's time, specifically with the organising of a royal chapel

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*A1111a/fs dr St. Bertin,* ed. F. Graeer al. (Paris, 1964)
AM	*An11a/es d11 Midi*
ARF	*A1111ales Reg11i Frmuon,m,* ed. F. Kurzc. MGH SSRG (1895)
Astron	*Ano11ymi Vita H/11dovici Pii,* ed. G. Perez, MGH SS II, pp.607-48
Calmette	J. Calmerte, *La Diplomatie Caroli11, ie1111e* (Paris, 1901)
DA	*De11tsc/,es Arcl,iv*
Devisse	J. Dcvisse, *Hi11cmarard1eveq11ede Reinzs, 845-882,* 3 vols. (Geneva, 1975, 1976)
EHR	*Eng/isl, Historical Review*
Ermold	Ermold le Noir. *Pohnesur Louis le Pirux et Epizrrsa11 Roi Pepin,* ed. E. Fara!(Paris, 1932)
FMS	*Friil1mittelalterliche St11di,,,*
LMA	*Le!vloy,•n Age*
Loeand Halphen	F. Loe, l. Halphen*Le Regnede CharlesleChauve,840-851* (Paris, 1909)
Lupus	Loup de Ferricres, *Correspondance,* ed. L. Lcvillain (Paris 1927-35)
MGH	***Mommienta Cermauine Histori<a***
MGHCap.	MCH *Capitularia Reg11111 Fra11con1111*
MGH Epp. KA	MGH *Epistolae Karo/i11i Aevi*
MGHSS	MGH *Scriptores in Folio*
MGHSSRG	MGH *Scriptores Rerr1111 Germa11icanm1*
Niehard	Nithard. *Histoire d,•s Fils de Louis le Pieux,* ed. P. Lauer (Paris 1926)
PL	J.-P. Migne. *Pazrologia Latina,* 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-64)
RB	*Revue Bltzedictine*
Tessier	G. Tessier, *Receui/ des Attes ,le Charles 11le Chau,,e,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1943, 1952, 1955)

[1] Waccenbach-Levison 1953. pp.245ff.; Hoffmann 1958.*

[2] Wattenbach-Levison 1953, pp.l61ff, 180ff.; Wallace-Hadrill 1960.

• For full references to notes in this chapter, *see* pp. I*934* below.

and a 'chancery' (the t\VO cannot be rigidly distinguished) at his court, and the basing of that court at Aachen for at least part of each year from 794 onwards, that the *Royal Frankish Annals* became a court product, kept up by royal chaplains or notaries.[3] Charlemagne himself is usually said to have inspired this development, but palace clerks had their own reasons for writing contemporary history: 'no learned man doubts, I think', wrote one learned man of the period, 'that it is the most ancient practice, habitual for kings up to now, to have whatever things are done or happen written down in annals for posterity to learn about'.[4] The stress here seems to be on the historical consciousness of the learned rather than any use-value to the king. Given the character of the palace personnel and a culture common to the scholars in monasteries and palace alike, the transfer of monastic annal-writing to the court was a natural move. Once theannals were there, it is possible that the king, or at any rate his counsellors, occasionally consulted them and felt glad to know that 'the most ancient practice' was revived. But there is no evidence chat Charlemagne tried to publicise or circulate them, still less use thern for propaganda - a point I shall return to later.

Palace clerks writing up contemporary 'doings and events' worked under severe difficulties in ninth-century Francia. Court scholars were expected when necessary to double as warriors, and not all kings would have responded as good hu1nouredly as Pippin of Aquitaine did to cack-handed Ennold: 'Lay your weapons aside brother, and better stick to your books"[5] The extent to which the court remained itinerant, even when courtiers were not actually campaigning, rnade documents hard to collect and store. The ninth-century royal archive v,1as termed the *arinariun/'* - the cupboard - which is probably just what it was. Written n1aterial, then, wasnot very plentiful for the courtannalist: in the main he noted, rather, what he had witnessed, or what oral informants had witnessed. The court was a centre to which such information flowed. But rumour was rife: it was no clichc when a ninth-century annalist \vrote that the king learned son1c piece of news 'for certain' or 'by a not uncertain n1essenger'.[7] Sheer problems of communication were enormous, and sometimes added to deliberately by Carolingian rulers.[11]

I have glanced first at the production of the *ARF,* in the time of Charle1nagnc and Louis the Pious, because the *Annals of St Bertin* began life as a continuation thereof. Perhaps I should havesaid, *'so-called* Annals

·' Fkckcnstcin 1959. pp.40ff.. 74ff.. Malbos 1%6. In what follows, the *Royal Fra11kish A1111als* arc referred to as the *AR F.*

• Smaragdus, *Vita S. Benedicti A11iat1e11sis. MGH, SS XVi.* p.201.

[5] Ennold. *In Honorem H/11dowiri,* line 2019, p.154, Cp. Lupus, Ep. 72. ii. p.12.

" Ganshof 1958, pp.65fT.

[7] E.g. *AB* s. a. 875. pp.196, 198; 862. p.87; 869. p.156. Cp. 871, pp.182-3.

" *AB* s. a. 8.17, p.22; 864, pp.105, 112. Cp. Lupus, Epp. .15, 45. 101, i, pp.154, 186; ii, p.124; Hinconar Ep. 169, MGH Epp. *KA* VI, i, pp.158-9.

of St Bertin' (though I think it's too late to propose an alternative label) for despite their monastic ring, these annals have no other connection with St Bertin's than the accident that the earliest manuscript was probably copied out there.[9] In the manuscripts (and there are not many), the *AB* immediately follo\V the *ARF.* There is no new heading, no break at all: the *AB* annalist simply takes up the story in 830 where the ARF!efr off in 829. Yet there must have been son1e kind of break in production at this f.oint, because rnost manuscripts of the *ARF* do *not* continue with the *AB.* [0] It seen1s that the break coincides with a change in authorship in circumstances which also contributed to a dispersal of copies of the *ARF:* the arch-chaplain Hilduin, who had exercised some kind of supervision over the annals' production up to 830, in that year joined the revolt of Louis the Pious' sons and fell into disgrace. Hilduin's successor as arch-chaplain, Fulco, evidently included the continuance of the annals-tradition amongst his responsibilities, until he in turn was moved to a new job a,vay from the court in 835.[11] The first five years of the *AB* thus predictably show continuity of themes and general style ,vith the earlier *ARF,* especially perhaps with those covering the 820s. The picture is some,vhat skewed by the fact that Fulco's annals cover years of political upheavals - Louis the Pious' removal from power in 833, his temporary replacement by his eldest son Lothar, followed by Louis' recovery early in 834 - which must have n1ade the keeping of court annals peculiarly hard. It looks as if, though information was being collected throughout, the annals for the early 830s were not written up in their present forn1 until 834. Louis the Pious is consistently depicted as a wronged father, with all the stress laid on his virtues of r.1agnanimity, paternal feeling, patience in adversity - 'as is his custom', con1ments the annalist[12]- and finally, clemency. His enen1ies, especially Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, who stage-managed Louis' enforced penance (and hence de facto deposition) at Soissons, are equally consistently depicted in hostile terrns: their traits, the very opposite of Louis'. are disobedience, disloyalty, filial impiety, cruelty. The annalist tried to maintain the *ARF* tradition in recording the ruler's itinerary, especially where he spent Easter and Christmas each year, when and where assemblies were held and at which one the annual gifts were handed over. But inevitably the entries for 832-3became a chronicle of the conflict between Louis and his sons, with other events neglected. In 834, the annalist's horizon could widen again: he recorded a Danish attack on Frisia, and had moredetailed information on affairs in Italy and in Neustria.[13]

• Lcvillain 1964, pp. v, xviff. In what follows, the *Annalsof St Bertin* are referred to as th<' *AB.*

[1○] Compare Kurzc 1895, preface, with Lcvillain 1964, pp.xxiiff

[11] Grierson 1940a, pp.2nff.: Lcvillain 1964, pp.viiiff.; Malbos 1966.

[r-] *AB* s. a. 832, p.7.

['·'] *AB* s. a. 834, pp. 14-5.

It is worth asking what court chaplains and clerks, in particular Fulco himself, actually did when Louis was imprisoned and Lothar with his own entourage temporarily took up quarters at Aachen. No doubt those of Louis' clerks who stayed loyal to him thoughtfit to lie low for a while: as the *AB* say under 833, 'some of those against whom the rebels' wrath raged most fiercely slipped a\var, and took themselves off to the lands of their friends and faithful men•. [4] Palace clerks had personal links with monasteries - Fulco himself was abbot of St Wandrille as well as of St Hilaire at Poitiers - and would seek refuge there. The resumption of annal-writing at Louis' court must have had to wait till the spring or summer of 835. Thissame year brought another change of arch-chaplain with Louis' appointment of his half-brother and stand-by, Bishop Drogo of Metz,[15] while Fulco went to administer the archdiocese of Rheims following Ebbo's ren1oval from office, formalised in February 835. Unlike his two predecessors as arch-chaplain, Drogo had episcopal responsibilities, which he took seriously. Because he had to spend much time away fron1 the court, Drogo assigned the task of keeping up the annals to one of the palace chaplains. A single surviving manuscript reveals the existence of a copy of the annals from 830 on\vards \vhich may have been made late in 837, for it contains part of the annal for that year but breaks off before the *AB* account of the winter assembly at Aachen.[16] This copy of the *AB* annals for 830 to 837 was preserved at Metz in the twelfth century: presumably it had been made for Drogo, who as arch-chaplain, though not based at court, continued to take an interest in the annals if not actively to supervise them.

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One of Louis the Pious' palace clerks, then, took over the *AB* in 835. Given that he had been trained in thechapel and continued to work there, residing at the court with access to information, v.rritten and oral, coming in there, his annals, like Fulco's, show predictable continuity of style and content with the preceding *ARF.* This continuity in the annals as longas they were being kept up at the court transcends any changes of authorship as between one clerk, or group of clerks, and another. It seems wiser, therefore, not to split the *AB* in the conventional way, like Gaul, into three parts, according to authors, but rather to split it into two: the part written at the court, and the part written elsewhere. The appearance of a new annalist in 835 is, then, relatively insignificant in terms of the character of the *AB.* Still, it is time to identify our clerk as

[14] *AB*s. a. 833., p.9.
[15] Oexle 1967. pp.347ff.
[16] Lcvillain, pp.xxxixff. This is Grat's MS 'M'.

Prudentius.[17] He was a Spaniard by origin, probably from a refugee family who sought their fortune north of the Pyrenees early in Louis the Pious' reign[18] and were doing well enough in Gascony by about 820 to send one of their boys to Louis' court, eventually to take upservice in the chapel. Prudentius' family connexions may have had some effect on his access to information about the Spanish March, Gascony and even Spain itself, but the *AB* yield disappointingly littleevidence and virtually none of Prudentius' correspondence survives[19] to help our understanding of him. More important than his biological connexions, anyway, seem to have been the new social ones of common outlook, experience, culture and personal interest which he made at Louis' court. Two men in particular were there in the 830s who had a major influence on his subsequent career: Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres from 840, and Wenilo, archbishop of Sens from 836 or 837.[20] Both these men had powerful connexions within the Frankish realm: henceforth the Spaniard could hope through them, as well as through Carolingian patronage, for power there too. In the ninth century, an able palace clerk could reasonably expect to end up a bishop.

Prudentius kept ,vriting the *AB* from 835 to 861, when he died on the job. But because hissituation changed radically during this period, so too did the nature of the *AB.* Until 840, theannals continued to centreon the movements and doings of Louis the Pious - his campaigns, his whereabouts on the major feasts, his assemblies, his relations with his sons. Where else than at court could Prudentius have got the information that on 26 December 838, a terrible flood happened in Frisia after which 'thenumberof P.eople drowned was very carefully counted: 2,437 deaths were reported'?[21] Who but a palace clerk would have been so shattered by the conversion to Judaism ('rumour spread the news') of the palace clerk Bodo who had, so to speak, defected while on a visit to Rome?[22] Only at court could Prudentius have used the text of a letter sent by the WestSaxon King IEthelwulfto Louis in 839 reporting an English priest's vision of supernatural warning: 'if Christian people do not quickly do penance for their various vices and crimes ... then all of a sudden pagan men will lay waste their land with fire and sword'.[23] The interest in Viking activities, and inthe Anglo-Saxons' responseto them, would recur in Prudentius' annals in later years.[24] But while he remained at Louis'

17 Wattenbach-Lcvison 1957, pp.348f.

1„ Cp., though with no mention ofGalindo-Prudentius, Higounec 1949.

19 l\1GH. Epp. KA Ill, pp.323-4, 631-3.

21, Levillain 1927; Werner 1959, pp.164ff.

21 *AB* s. a. 839, p.28. The event is recorded between references co Lent and Easter (6 Ai:,ril) 839 prcsun1ably because details were not available at the court until March.

22 *AB* s. a. 839. pp.27-8.

2J *AB* s. a. 839, pp.29-30.

24 See Pauline Stafford's paper in M. Gibson and J. Nelson edd., *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom,* BAR International Series 101 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 137-51.

court, the image of imperial success was kept as bright as possible. According to Nithard's later and plausible account, there was a conspiracy against Louis in 838, but the *AB* say nothing ofit. Prudentius, knowing the emperor n1ight see his work, gave the impression that Louis' arrangements for the royal inheritance of his youngest son Charles were quite secure; but Nithard, writing in very different circumstances, would reveal the opposition Louis' plans aroused.[25]

Where was Prudentius when, 011 20th June 840, the old emperor died? Levillain[26] has suggested that already during the \vinter of 839-40 Prudentius was attached to the court of the young Charles at Poitiers in Aquitaine and remained with him, or with the Empress Judith, thereafter. This would mean that Prudentius' career shifted fairly smoothly from one court to another, in which case his annals should reflect simply a transfer of personal adherence from the old emperor to Charles. But perhaps things were morecomplicated. It may well be that Bishop Ebroin of Poitiers had already taken up the office of arch-chaplain to Charles in 839,[27] but to claim that Prudentius wason hisstafffrom this time onwards, one \vould look for evidence either in Lupus' correspondence, perhaps, of a personal connexion between the two men, or in the *AB* for Prudentius' closeness to Charles in 840. The former line is a dead-end; the latter leads in another direction, for the 840 annal, after recording Louis' death on an island in the Rhine 'within sight of the palace oflngelheim',[28] has practically no more to say, and nothing at all about Charles' doings. I think that Prudentius, along with Drogo of Metz, the archbishops of Mainz and Trier and many others, \Vas at Louis' deathbed[29] and so, like Drogo and the rest, faced an agonising choice: to which of Louis' sons to offer his allegiance and his service?[30] A comparison of the *AB* for 840 and 841, taken together with Nithard's very full account of these years, shows that Prudentius had no detailed knowledge of Charles' movements until the autumn of 841. I suggest, therefore, that like Drogo and others he did not join Charles until news of Lothar's defeat at Fontenoy (25 June) had made that the obvious option. Prudentius duly recorded where Charles spent Christmas in 841 (Chalons) and both Easter and Christmas in 842 (Herstal and St Quentin);[31] and that was the last time he noted Charles' whereabouts at a major feast. Like the early 830s, the years 840-3 were exceptional: continuing political crisis, frequent changes of personnel, moves and campaigns must have made a court chaplain's life hard, a court annalist's

[25] Nithard, i, c. 6, p.26.
u 1964, p.xiii.
[27] Grierson 1934, pp.241ff.: Oexle 1969, pp.166f.
[28] *AB* s. a. 840, p.36.
[29] Astron, *c.* 63. p.647.
[30] Cp. Grierson 1934, pp.244f.
[31] *AB* s. a. ll41, p.40; 842. pp.41, 43.

harder still. Under such conditions, the annal for 842 was something of an achievement, including as it does not only details of the activities of all three Frankish kings and a careful record of Charles' marriage, but also information on Vikings in the Channel and Saracens in the Mediterranean.

The next development in Prudentius' career, and one with a decisive effect on the *AB,* was hisappointment to the bishopric ofTroyes, usually dated sometime bet\veen 843 and 846.[32] This can probably be pinned down more closely. Lupus reveals that he and Prudentius, almost certainly a bishop by then, were engaged on an official mission in the autumn of 844, and he addresses Prudentius as a bishop in April 845.[33] Then there is the evidence of the *AB* themselves which imply some kind ofbreak late in 843: no moreinformation is given after August under that year (which means that Charles' Breton campaign, the assemblies of Germigny and Coulaines, and Charles' wintering at Tours[34] are all unmentioned) \vhile, on the other hand, the 844 annal seems to besettled in a pattern followed by Prudentius thereafter, that is, under each year there is usually some information on events in Italy, especially concerning the papacy, on Viking activities, and on Louis the German, with sometimes a scrap on the British Isles or Spain. Where thesescraps can be checked, incidentally, the information seems accurate, as in the notices of Viking attacks on Ireland under theyear847and of agreat Irish victory under 848: the Annals of Ulster bear thisout and themovements of Irish scholars on the Continent suggest likely lines of communication.[35]

But Prudentius' *AB* from 844 onwards are different in a more fundamental way from the *AB* of the 830s and from the *ARF.* They are not only less full but also much more scrappy, because the ruler's deeds and diplomacy no longer provide a linking theme. The sentences jerk along from onelumpof information to the next, not because Prudentius' Latinity is weak, but because there is nothing resembling a continuous narrative. Prudentius' problems may have arisen partly from trying to keep too many balls in the air at once, in so far as he \vas interested in the doings not just of one Carolingian ruler but of several; but they arose, too, from the spasmodic, patchy way in which news reached him. The annals for 844 and 849, for instance, with their confused and fragmentary accounts of events in far-off Aquitaine, show how hard it was for Prudentius to arrange his material in a coherent time-sequence. The explanation for the changed character of Prudentius' annals from 844 to

[32] Duchesne 1910, ii. p.456; Wattenbach-Levison 1957, p.349.
[33] Lupus, Epp. 40, 41, i, pp.170, 172-4.
[34] Lot and Halphen, pp.74ff.
[35] *AB* s. a. 847, p.54: 848, pp.55--6. Cp. Chadwick 1958, pp.101ff. I am grateful to Glenn McKee for discussion of this point.

861 lies, I think, in his absence, most of the time, from Charles' court, and his living, again most of the time, at Troyes which during this whole period hardly figured at all in Charles' itinerary.[36] Chronic illness 1nay have been another reason why Prudentius visited the court and attended assemblies less often than some other bishops.[37]

Some historians have found it hard to account for Prudentius' silences on what in the view of those same historians were quite important events. Lot and Halphen, for instance, wondering why Prudentius failed to mention the Synod of Ver (844) or the so-called First Colloquy of Meersen (847), were moved to suggest that this was because neither meeting produced successful results. Frankly it is hard to see why the Second Colloquy of Meersen (851) should be thought any more 'important' in terms of results, though this was the criterion, so Lot and Halphen allege, on which Prudentius not merely mentioned it, but included verbatim the text that emanated from it, in the *AB*.[38] Yet if this really \Vas the criterion on which Prudentius inserted, or omitted, 1naterial, why do the *AB* say nothing of the Synod of November 849 at Paris when theological matters which Prudentius certainly thought important weresettled in a manner which he thoughtsuccessful?[39] Two reasons of a quite different kind may beadvanced for Prudentius' placing of the Meersen *capitula* in the 851 annal: first, this \vas a very lean year in terms of other information, and since 850 had been still worse (it is by far Prudentius' shortest annal) he may simply have been grateful for more, and ready-made, material, especially at a time when he was much preoccupied with writing a bulky theological treatise;[40] second- and the point is not quite so obvious as it looks- Prudentius was able to get hold of the Meersen text, for whether or not he was himself present at Meersen,[41] he was certainly in contact at this time, unusually, with the king and with his own metropolitan Wenilo of Sens,[42] both of \Vhom were. Anyway, the 851 annal is the exception that proves the rule: normally Prudentius was in no position to have such an 'official document' at his disposal.

This raises a wider problem: Pn1dentius' annals have generally been seen as, still, an 'official' work, and the obligations of a 'courtier' ('d'un

[36] A charter issued at the monastery of Moutier-la-Celle, Troyes, 011 10January 859, Tessier 1, no. 201, pp.512-4, seems to give the only evidence for Charles' presence at Troyes during Prudentius· episcopate. For die circumstances of January 859, see above p.88.

[17] *AB* s. a. 861, p.85; MGH Epp. KA Ill. p.633.

[18] Lot and Halphen, pp.129 n. 2, 179 n. 1, 227 n. 2.

[39] Lot and Halphen. pp.208. 213 11. 3. Thissynod, unmentioned by Oevisse 1975. vol. I. pp.1271T,, might throw a different light on reactions to Gottschalk in 849 from that offered by Oevisse.

[40] Pl. 115, cols 1011-1352.

[41] Lotand Halphen, p.228 11. l.

[42] Oevissc 1975, vol. 1. pp.146, 152f.

courtisan, ou tout au moins partisan') have been invoked to explain both what Prudentius said or did notsay, and how hesaid it. [43] Everything was presented, according to Levillain, in a way that favoured 'his master' (Charles) which produced 'faults so obvious that historians ... are unable to let themselves be led intoerror'(!) Well, whatever Prudentius' 'faults', they are surely not those Levillain alleges. For Prudentius *did* giveinformation discreditable to Charles, and indeed explicitly criticised him in more than one place;[44] while what hedid not do in any annaJ after than for 841[45] was to put in any phrase or even epithet that might have flattered the king. Odd if this was the best a 'courtier' could do ...

Lowe, evidently recognising the inadequacy of such a view as Levillain's, has offered his own explanation of those *AB* passages in which Prudentius criticised Charles: 'his (critical) position corresponds to the rise of the West Frankish episcopate to a position which it could claim to control and direct the West Frankish king, and, seen fro,n this perspective, . . . it was quite understandable that after Prudentius' death, his work was carried on by Hincmar of Rheims'.[46] But on this anaJysis, it becomes strange that an episcopal spokesman should have neglected even to mention the alleged 'episcopalist' triumphs of Ver and Meaux-Paris (844, 845),[47] and depicted the events of autu1nn in 858 in such very un-'episcopalist' colours. Those events, and Prudentius' treatment of them, have a good deal to tell us about ninth-century political realities, not least as they affected bishops. Louis the German's invasion of the realm of his half-brother Charles did not come out of the b)ue:[48] a sizable faction of the aristocracy of Charles' realm had promised Louis their support, and were as good as their word. Amon,& these were Wenilo Archbishop of Sens and Odo Count of Troyes. And \vhat then was Prudentius' position, with his metropolitan and his local count gone to welcome the invader? We can only guess at the degree of Prudentius' complicity when Louis came to Troyes in November and made it briefly his base in West Francia.[50] By the

[43] Levilain 1964. pp.xiiif.

« *AB* s. a. 846, p.52; 853 p.68; 855, p.70. Under 846, the forthright criticism of Charles' attitude to 'episcopal warning' at the Assembly of Epernay looks to *me* like a Hincmarian interpolation (1hope to defend this view elsewhere), as do the comments on Gottschalk and the Synod of Quierzy under 849, pp.56-7. For a different view, see Schrors 1884, p.101 n. 55, and Oevissc 1975, vol. I. p.128. On the other hand the much less forthright criticisms of Charles' intrigues with the Slavs (853) and his weak lineon heresy (855) seem to me Prudentius· own. Fortheir context.• see below, p. 182.

•s ABs.a.841,p.37.

[46] Wattenbach-Levison 1957, p.349. Cp. Lowe 1%7, p.7 and n. 23.

[47] Lot and Halphen, pp.J26ff.. 145ff.; Ullmann 1972, pp.98f.

[48] Calmettc 1901, pp.34ff.

•9 *Libel/us proclamati<mis domni Caroli regis adversus Wet1ilonem* cc. 7-14. MGH, Cap II, pp.452f.; *Amuilsof Fulda* s. a. 858, ed. Kurze, MGH, SSRG, pp.49ff.

[50] *AB* s. a. 858, p.79.

following spring, Charles had recovered his position and Louis had withdrawn eastwards. How did Prudentius write up all this? Neglecting even to mention Wenilo or Odo, herecounted the movesof Louis and Charles without comment or explanation - so baldly, in fact, that a later West Frankish copyist of the *AB* was moved to insert a sentence at the beginning of the 858 annal summarising the year's events in a way sympathetic to Charles.[51] Yet if Prudentius wrote no criticism of Louis into his annals, Hincmar of Rheims, his suffragans and his colleague of the province of Rouen had rallied in practical, military support of Charles and dispatched a beautifully 'episcopalist' letter of protest to the invader.[52] Prudentius' failure to conform at this point to any ideological stereotype should make us look for another interpretation of his conduct: he seems to have been on the fringe, at least, of a group of nobles with whom Wenilo and Odo were involved and some of whose members had been in incipient revolt since 853[53] - which might be linked, in turn, with the criticisms of Charles in the *AB* under the years 853 and 855. Even if the composition of this group remains obscure, and its consistency of policy questionable, there can be little doubt that the way in which Prudentius wrote his annals was determined less by any abstract principles than by his personal political loyalties and connexions.

This brings us to the last problem of Prudentius' section of the *AB,* the curious passage at the end of the entry for 859: 'Pope Nicholas faithfully confirmed and catholicly decreed concerning the grace of God and Free Will, the truth of Double Predestination and about the blood of Christ, how it was shed for all believers?[54] Now without going into theological details, it's enough to note here that this alleged papal pronouncement belongs in a saga of doctrinal controversy over the teachings of Gottschalk.[55] Hincmar and many of the Frankish bishops had condemned these teachings, but Prudenrius and others had sympathised with them; and in the 859 annal a similar sympathy was attributed to the pope himself. Some have said that Prudentius invented this 'decree' of Pope Nicholas;[56] others have suggested he recorded a

s, *AB* s. a. 858, p.78 n. as., from MS 'O'. Cp. Werner 1959, p.165 n. 79.

[52] MGH, Cap. 2. pp.432ff. Cp. Hincmar's comment in Ep. 126, MGH, Epp. KA VI, i, .64. See Halphen 1947, pp.313ff.

[3] Werner 1959, pp. 163ff.; Oexle 1969, pp.191ff.

[5•] *AB* s. a. 859, p.82.

ss Vielhaber 195S; Devisse 1975, vol. 1, pp.118ff. See also the paper of David Gan2, in Gibson and Nelson edd., *Charles the Bald,* pp. 353-73.

[56] The now lost fragment of the *AB* transcribed by Bolland in the seventeenth century had a marginal noteagainst this passage of the 859 annal: 'Hie Prudentius epsde Nicolao scripsit quod ut fieret voluit; sed quia factum fuerit, verum non dixit'. For the likelihood that this note, and the MS itself, ,vere Hincmar's own, see Ganshof1949, and Levillain 1%5, pp.xviiif. This is Grat's MS 'C'.

current rumour.[57] But Prudentius makes the statement sound perfectly authentic. ls what he says in fact incredible? I think not. Thanks to recent work, it is fairly clear that Gottschalk's teachings remained in circulation as long as they did because he had found powerful friends and patrons throughout his career. Then, of course, his 'heresy' became a peg on which to hang other, political, interests. Thus Gottschalk's friends came to include some of Hincmar's opponents.[58]

In the light of all this, we can now look **at** a letter written by Hincmar in 866 - for him an especially difficult year. Charles had insisted on appointing to the vacant see of Bourges (a place vital to ruling Aquitaine) his tried and trusted clerk Wulfad. But there was a snag: Wulfad had originally been consecrated in holy orders by Hincmar's predecessor Ebbo \vho, though deposed from office, as we saw, in 835, had been briefly reinstated at Rheims by Lothar in 840 and during the few months before he was expelled again in 841 had consecrated a number of clerks, including Wulfad. The issue raised in 866 was that of the finality of Ebbo's deposition, which it was of course vital for Hincmar to maintain. Charles, to be fair, did not wish to challenge this, but was determined to put in his man at Bour es. Both he and Hinc,nar set about enlisting the support of the pope. And amidst a1J this, to Hincmar's alarm, the friends of Gottschalk were, predictably, again rearing their heads. 'It's said he has many supporters', wrote Hincmar[60] in September to Eigil, Archbishop of Sens, just then leaving on a mission to Rome. One of these supporters, Hincmar continued, had been Prudentius, 'as his writings show' - referring to his work on Predestination. 'He also', added Hincmar, 'in the *Annals of the Deeds of our Kings* which he put together (i.e. our *AB)* inserted the following in the events of the year 859 to confirm his own opinion ... ' and Hincmar then quoted the offending passage about Nicholas' 'decree'. 'We have never heard this from anyone else', Hincmar went on, 'nor read **it**anywhereelse. Therefore since those *Deeds* (again, the *AB)* in which these things are written have just now come in to the hands of a number of people, it is necessary that you (Eigil) have a word with the pope about the matter, lest scandal come from it into the Church.' After hastily adding that no mention should be made of his O\Vn name ('for his mind is said to be moved against me, and many people are writing to him against me'), Hincmar wanted to make clear to Eigil exactly which annalistic text he meant: evidently it was not all that familiar to

[57] McKeon 1974, p.105.

[58] Ganz 1979.

[59] See Charles's letter to Nicholas I, PL. 124, cols. 867-9. 870-5. Hincmar Ep. 185, MGH Epp. KA VI, i, pp.187ff. Cp. Devisse 1976. vol. 2. pp.600ff.; McKeon 1978, PPJ2ff..

Ep. 187, MGH Epp. KA VI, i, pp.194f.

the Archbishop of Sens. 'That set of *Annals* I am talking about, the king has: it is that very same book which he lent to me in your presence, and which 1 returned to him in your presence in the church where he commended you to us.' The reference must be to the year 865 when Eigil was consecrated to Sens. Then, at any rate, the king was in possession of Prudentius' section of the *AB.* But Hincmar's words need not imply that he had had it for long before that. On the contrary, Hincmar says that it is only recently *(ian1)* that Prudentius' annals have come into the hands of 'a number of people'. His words also suggest that this text was special, even unique:[61] Hincmar had had to take his copy from the king's manuscript, and the researches of Grat and others have shown that there is no evidence for the existence of any other manuscripts in the ninth century besides these two. Amazingly, this letter of Hincmar has been cited as indicating that not only Charles the Bald but, by extension, Charlemagne too kept a text of the royal annals close by him 'in the chancery' for handy reference, and allowed open access to it: 'there was no thought of keeping the royal annals as an official secret' (!).[62] But surely Hincmar's letter implies that Charles had never had a copy of Prudentius' annals during Prudentius' lifetime, but, when Hincmar wrote in 866, had only recently acquired the unique manuscript. We don't know \vhat happened to Prudentius' papers and library when he died, but \Ve do know that Charles appointed as his successor one of the palace notaries Fulcric.[63] I suggest that Prudentius' annals only then got into the hands of the king, and in due course, of others, perhaps because Charles \vanted to draw their attention to the 859 annals with its evidence of Nicholas' soft line on predestinationist heresy.

To summarise my view of Prudentius' annals: written, on Hincmar's evidence, as 'Deeds of our Kings', they were, from 844 on\vards, produced neither at nor for the court, and not especially preoccupied with only the West Frankish realm. Given Prudentius' connexions with a group which was in touch \Vith Louis the German at various points in the 850s, the fairly consistent interest shown in Louis' deeds in this part of the *AB,* and specifically the treatment of the events of 858, find an explanation. If, as Levillain apparently believed, Prudentius' annals were intended for Charles' eyes, then the question would have to be faced: how could he have written into them criticisms of Charles? The thing to remember is the simple fact of Prudentius' situation: geographically, politically, personally, he was removed from the court.

[61] But Hincmar doesseem to have had, or seen, a copy ofFulco's section of the *AB* already in 859 or 860. He termed this text: 'Annales domni Ludovici imperatoris', and referred to the passage in the 835 annal covering Ebbo's deposition, PL. 125, col. 391, Cp. Levillain I965, pp.xvif

[62] Wattenbach-Levison 1953, p.248.

[63] Tessier 3, p.73.

In other words, the association of annal-production with the Carolingian royal chapel was broken after 843. Charles the Bald seems *to* have made no attempt *to* re-establish *it,* and indeed allowed the office of arch-chaplain to lapse after 860. Lowe has ariued that this helps to explain the end of the court-annalistic tradition. But any relationship here seems to be the other way round: one reason an arch-chaplain was no longer needed was that by 860 the production of annals had long since ceased to be part of his responsibilities. I shall return presently to the wider question of how this came to be so.

III

It's time now to consider the last and best-known section of the *AB* - Hincmar's section, covering the years 861 to 882 when Hincmar died. Levillain was perhaps a little carried awal when he likened Hincmar's annals to the *Mbnoires* of Saint-Simon,[6] but it's true that, compared with Prudentius' section, they are often entertaining and occasionally, even, quite grippinig;, If we begin by asking why Hincmar took up the annalist's pen at all, the first thing to notice is that he reverts, in some respects, to the old style of the *ARF.* He records the royal itinerary in some detail, with special note taken of where the king spends Easter and Christmas. Assemblies and synods are fairly thoroughly recorded, and there is much detailed information about diplomatic exchanges. Hincn1ar, himself a Frank and kinsman of at least two counts, is also interested in the actions and appointments of leading aristocrats.[67] He attempts fuller coverage overall: his annals average at 5+ pages per annum as against 1[1]h for Prudentius' section and 2[1]/2+ for the *ARF* in the 820s.[68] We recall that Hincmar had the *ARF* and Fulco's annals before him in Prudentius' manuscript, and that he had begun his career as a palace clerk, a protege ofHilduin who was probably responsible for the annals' production in the 820s.[69] A certain nostalgia for those good old days, a somewhat aggrieved determination to reaffirm their sound practices in the teeth of modem decline, were later to be leitmotifs in Hincmar's *De Ordine Palatii,*[10] and may "vell have inspired him when in

,,., Lowe 1%7, p.3.

hS Lcvillain 1965, p.xiv.

"" The near-total neglect of the *AB* in Dcvissc 1975-6, issurprising. Buehring 1887, docs not consider the general question ofHincmar's motivation.

67 Lowe 1%7, p.10 n. 39, pointsout that Hincmar sometimes depicts them asacting as a group:*1/1e primort•s.*

"" To make this rough and ready comparison, I used Waitz'scditionof the *AB,* MGH, SSRG.

"" Malbos 1966.

"' MGH, Cap. II, pp.517fT. Cp. Lowe 1972.

861 he set about continuing the *AB* where Prudentius had left off. Also relevant, perhaps, may have been Hincmar's youthful acquaintance with historical writing in the form of the *Gesta Dagoberti:* this again was an interest to "vhich he returned later in life \vith the *Vita Reniigii.*[71] A further biographical point is surely important: in 861, Hincn1ar had recently completed two very large works, the first of them involving, as Devisse has shown,[72] a major programme of re-education - the *Third Treatise on Predestination,* and the *De Divortio.* With these off his desk, this indefatigable pen-pusher may well have been in search of a new theme.

But in one vital respect, Hincmar was indeed continuing Prudentius' work rather than resuming the *ARF* tradition: he was not writing annals at the court, annals which the king should or might see, but writing at Rheims, we n1ay guess for his own *farnilia* of clerks, for posterity too perhaps, but above all for himself. Hincmar's need to judge the conduct of others and to justify his own is one of the most striking traits in his personality, and its prominence in his annals differs only in degree, not in kind, from what we find in his works designed for publication. It largely accounts for the much greater fulness of his section of the *AB* compared with Prudentius', for \vhen Hincmar's style looks at his most 'official', it is in fact very subjective. When he quotes from 'official documents', which he does relatively often and at tedious length, they are being used as pieces justificatives for Hincmar's own position or actions in a given case. For instance, the proceedings before Charles' consecration as king of Lotharingia at Metz in 869 are given in full,[73] partly because Hincmar designed and stage-managed the ritual on this occasion (as on others: like present-day Heralds, he clearly found these matter fascinating and important) and partly because he wished to reproduce his own speech justifying his officiating in someone else's archdiocese (reason enough to pull, triumphantly, out of the mitre the ,nyth of Clovis' heaven-sent oil 'of which we (at Rheims) still have some'!). Again, when he gives the text of a letter sent by two Lotharingian archbishops to their colleagues, *we* find that he has doctored it.[74] Apparently his motive here, since the two Lotharingians were fiercely critical of the pope, was to dissociate himself from an extreme position with which they had tried to identify the entire Frankish episcopate. (Hincmar could, on occasion, himself criticise the pope very freely in the *AB,* but only when his personal position was threatened.)[75] It \vas not that Hincmar lacked a conception

[71] Wallacc-Hadrill 1953; Oevisse 1976, vol 2, pp.1092; 1004ff.
[72] Devisse 1975, vol. I, pp.244ff., 386ff.; 1976, vol. 3, pp.1351ff.
[13] *AB* s. a. 869, pp.158-64. Cp. MGH. Cap. 11, pp.337ff.
[74] *AB* s. a. 864, pp.107-10, where also the variants from the text asgiven in the *Annals of Fulda* are given in the apparatus. See also the comments ofLevillain, p.108, n. I.
[7]s *AB* s. a. 81\5, pp.118-9.

of textual authenticity; rather that, in the *AB* as in other works, he manipulated documentary evidence as a means to what he saw as higher, polemic, ends.[76] The memoires-analogy is certainly more useful to an understanding of Hincmar's purposes in the *AB* than the charge that he often 'forgot his duty as an historian'.[77]

Criticism of others is, I've said, a notable feature of Hincrnar's annals. He loosed his shafts over a wide range of people, from the men of Toulouse, 'with their usual perfidy', to Hagano, 'a crafty and very greedy Italian bishop', to Charles' uncle, Count Conrad, 'with his arrogant yet superficial knowledge of the world which brought little benefit to himself, still less to others',[78] to - final! - Prudentius whose unfinished annal for 861 he continued as follows: [9]

'Prudentius Bishop of Troyes, originally named Galindo, a Spaniard by birth, was at first a very learned man ... But later, excited by bitter feelings, he became a very keen defender of (Gottschalk's) heresy against certain bishops ... Then he died, still scribbling away at many things that are mutually contradictory and contrary to Faith. Thus, though he had been worn down by illness for a long time, he put an end at once both to living and to writing.'

As we've already seen, Hincmar had personal reasons for hostility to Prudentius and a more than theological stake in the Predestination controversy. But when we turn to Hincmar's criticisms of Charles the Bald, the situation may seem a very different one. For Lowe[80] has argued that these reflect 'not just personal rancour but a political will', a consistent policy - a kind of episcopalist policy - which involved setting up certain standards for royal behaviour. Lowe's account of Hincmar's views might be translated (without, I hope, too much misrepresentation) into the following list of concrete prohibitions:

1. the king should not negotiate with Vikings: he should fight them.
2. the king should stop giving churches and church lands to layn1en.
3. the king should stop claiming control of top ecclesiastical appointments.
4. the king should not get involved in Italy \vhen he should be at home fighting Vikings.
5. the king should never flout the rules of canon law as expounded by me, Hincmar.

[76] Devisse 1975, *vol.* I, p.%; 1976vol. 2, pp.657ff., 798f. Forabroaderperspecriveon earJl medieval attitudes, see Fuhrmann 1972, vol. I, pp.65ff.
Biichting 1887, p.22.
[78] *AB* s. a. 863, pp.97. 98; 862, p.95. Cp. the comment on the deaths of Robert and Ramnulf, s. a. 866, p.131, and the jibes at Rothad s. a. 862, pp.91f.
[79] *ABs.* a. 861, pp.84-5.
[80] 1%7. p.9.

We can test Lowe's argument first, by looking at all the instances of negotiations with Vikings, and so on, recorded in the *AB* to see whether Hincmar reacts *consistently* to royal breaches of his 'rules'; and second, by invoking the help of other sources, to see if Hincmar in the *AB* has not sometimes shelved a problem of his own by omitting certain awkard facts. Let's then, look briefly at the points on our list in **turn.**

1. *How to deal with Vikings.* True, under the years 865 to 866, Hincmar does criticise, more or less explicitly, lack of resistance to the Vikings, and, implicitly, the making of treaties with them.[81] On the other hand, he records details of Danegeld payments without comment,[82] and under 873, in what reads like an eye-witness account, he approves Charles' skill in negotiations with the Vikings at Angers when according to other contemporary information with a different bias, he could actually have crushed these Vikings by force.[83]

2. *Giving churches to Laymen.* Yes, Hincmar does lodge bitter complaints on this score under 866.[84] On the other hand, under 867 he records without adverse con1ment that Charles himself assumed the abbacy of Hincmar's old house, **St** Denis.[85]

3. *Ecclesiastical appointments and royal control.* Yes, there are sharp protests under 866 about royal interference in the case of Wulfad, and under 876 in that of Ansegis of Sens.[86] On the other hand, there are no complaints about other episcopal and abbatial appointments made by the king, and Hincmar is quite sympathetic to Charles in his presentation of the case of Hincmar of Laon under 868-871.[87]

4. *Involve,nent in Italy.* In fact there is no explicit criticism on this score in the *AB,* and the t\vo instances of irony Lowe[88] finds under 877 are not directed against the Italian involvement itself. Hincmar did complain in another work in 875,[89] but his view 1nay have become more favourable by 877.[90]

[81] *AB* s. a. 865, p.124; 866, p.125; Lowe 1967, p.7 n. 24.
[82] *ABs.* a. 861. p.86;877, p.213.
[83] *AB* s. a. 873, pp.194-5. Cp. Regino *Chronico,1* s. a. 873, ed. Kurzc. MGH. SSRG. pp.105ff. See Werner 1959b, pp. 99ff.
[84] Above. n. 78.
[8;] *AB* s. a. 867, p.135, Cp the grants of St Aubin's, Angers, to Salomon, St Hilaire, Poitiers, to Acfrid, St. Maurice. Agaune, to Boso, etc.: *AB* s. a. 863, p.96; 867, p.140; 869, p.167.
[86] *AB* s. a. 866, p.129; 876_, p.202.
[87] *AB* s. **a.** 868, pp.151-2; 869, **p.**152; 871, p.181. See McKeon 1978.
[88] 1967, p.8n. 32.
[89] *De fide Carola regi servo11do* <. 12, PL. 152. col. 967.
w **A** possible inference from the *AB* s. a., and from the role assigned to Hincmar at Quierzy inJune: MGH. Cap. II, <. I2.

Before dealing with the last point on our list, we can already register some doubts about Lowe's presentation of the *AB* evidence. Hincmar's criticisms of Charles co,ne in very specific contexts, and two short periods - 865-6, and 876 - stand out as years of complaint. The first of these was, as we've seen, the time of Wulfad's appointment to Bourges and of Hincmar's reawakened anxiety over the heresy of Gottschalk and his suspected patrons in high places. It was also a period of temporary enstrangement from the king. The 876 situation shows striking similarities: Charles had tried to railroad the appointment of Ansegis of Sens as Primate of Gaul and Ansegis had superseded Hincmar in the royal counsels. By contrast, during periods when Hincmar and the king \Vere close, or at any rate not in conflict, even debateable royal actions evoked no overt criticism in the *AB.* When Charles attacked Provence in 861, for instance, Hincmar expressed his disapproval in a letter to a Provencal magnate whose help he wanted to protect the property of the church of Rheims in that region, but as annalist he simply recorded Charles' moves, reserving his critical comments for the conduct of the king's troops.[91] When Charles made a similar swoop on Lotharingia in 869, Hincmar had his own reasons (based no doubt on his church's interests) for approving, and confided his view somewhat coyly in the *AB.*[92] In 873 again, the *AB* show Hincmar firmly aligned with Charles over his dealings with the Loire Vikings and also his treatment of his son Carloman (whose revolt had evidently occasioned a good deal of damage to the property of Hincmar's church).[93] I think we have to conclude that the distinction between 'personal rancour' and 'political will' is rather misleading in the terms Lowe has proposed, and that there is no consistent ideological position to be found in Hincmar's section of the *AB* any more than in Prudentius'. Different responses to similar pieces of royal behaviour r eflec t, not mere 'personal rancour', but changes in Hincmar's political situation.

Finally, we should glance at Hincmar's alleged consistency in the application of canon law. Christian marriage will serve as a good example, for Hincmar in the *AB* and elsewhere has much to say in the 860s about the famous divorce case of Lothar II. In this, and in other similar cases, Hincmar is usually claimed to have upheld, unequivocally, the law of the Church.[94] By applying the rules, Hincmar could pronounce Lothar's marriage indissoluble, childless though it might be. The fact was that if Lothar died without heirs who were indisputably legitimate, then his uncle Charles the Bald could

[91] Ep. 142, MGH Epp. KA VI, i, p.115; *ABs.* a. 861, p.87.
[92] *AB* s. a. 869. p. 157.
[93] *AB* s. a. 873, **p.** 190.
[9<] Weinzierl 1949; Devisse 1975, vol. I, pp.383ff., 459ff.

hope to inherit all or part of his kingdom - which of course is what happened in 869. Most historians have been rightly suspicious of Charles' motives in preaching adherence to the canon law on marriage, yet those same historians have believed in Hincmar's complete integrity.[95] Only quite recently has it been noticed that there was another strictly comtarable case of royal divorce on which Hincmar took a different line. In his annal for 878, Hincmar wrote that when the pope came to West Francia, Louis the Stammerer (son and heir of Charles) asked for his wife (whom Hincmar did not name) to be consecrated queen, 'but he could not get his way'.[97] The reader is left with the impression that the lady is the same one mentioned in the record of young Louis' marriage under the year 862.[98] Why, then, was the pope so uncooperative? It turns out that although the 862 wife was still living, the 878 wife was a different lady. Evidently at the insistence of Charles near the end of his reign, and for clear political motives, Louis had been made to repudiate his first wife and make another alliance, and the whole affair was arranged *1vitli Hincmar's connivance!* I should add that some very clever detective work was needed to expose this Hincmargate. Fortunately, on this subject Hincmar the letter-writer99 proved to have been less discreet than the author of the *AB.* The interesting historiographical point is that Hincmar was found out, so to speak, only when the possibility of his guilt on such a score could be conceived of. Perhaps it's not surprising that the process of revision has been long and painful. For the realities of the ninth-century politics are often obscured from us in the clerically-produced texts of the period, and not least in the *AB,* by the writer's use of a code in which political conflicts are expressed as theological or canonistic ones. To reconstruct the context and purposes of Hincmar's work without anachronism is a delicate business.

In the end, to summarise, Hincmar's annals have to be read, not as bad history, not merely as memoires, certainly not as the reflection of an episcopal programme, but as a series of subjective and more or less instantaneous perceptions of and reactions to contemporary political events in which Hincmar was himself more or less directly involved. There is no evidence that Hincmar ever revised his section of the *AB.* When he died, he left, it seems, a single manuscript, from which **all** extant manuscri s or fragments of the *AB* in other works (with a single exception) 'are derived. This time, no successor continued with

[95] Calmette, pp.80ff.; Devisse 1975, vol. 1, pp.439ff.
[96] Briihl 1964, pp.60ff.; Werner 1%7, pp.437ff.
[97] *AB* s.a. 878. p.227.
[98] *AB* s. a. 862, p. 91.
[99] Schrors Reg. nos. 404, 480,. from Flodoard in MGH SS XIII, pp.513, 510.
[99,] Seeabove.n. 16.

a further instalment of the 'Deeds of our Kings'.

But if such categories as 'history' or 'memoires' are clearly unapt, the *AB* also raise doubts about the usefulness of conventional distinctions betweeen 'public' and 'private', 'official' and 'unofficial' historiography. We are forced to consider what was the function of annals or chronicles of the realm in the early Middle Ages. If they were used by or potentially useful to kings, why did not only Charles the Bald but other ninth-century Carolingians too allo\v the Carolingian tradition of court annals to lapse? But a prior question must be: why were court annals ever wrinen under any Carolingian? As I suggested at the beginning of this paper, annal-keeping had always been the product of clerical, not royal enthusiasm, specifically of the interest of a small number of palace clerks assembled in the first place by Charlemagne to cherish the reborn Latin learning. It was the very growth of this royal protege which led in due course to the emptying of the nursery. Despite Heiric's fulsome eulogy of Charles the Bald's palace as a home of learning,[100] there is very little evidence for a court school in his reign [00]. In place of the tight-knit court circle of Charlemagne and even of Louis the Pious, there came in the next two generations a dispersal of scholarship into a number of regional bases, loosely but effectively linked, as the Predestination debates, for instance, showed, by ties of personal affection and alliance and shared political as well as scholarly concerns. Yet while poetry or theology or music thrived in monasteries and episcopal cities, this dispersal brought an end to court annal-keeping. What had been a spin-off of the first, constricted, phase of the Carolingian Renaissance was outmoded in the ,nore expansive, diverse and decentralised ecclesiastical culture of mid-ninth-century Francia.

The question of why Charles the Bald was not concerned to maintain the court-annals tradition in turn becomes less pressing if we jettison the false notion of Carolingian royal annals as in any sense propaganda. It was because the youthful Charles, fresh from Walahfrid's tutorship, was indeed concerned with the representation of his cause to posterity that in 840 he asked Nithard to write, not annals, but a history of royal family conflicts. Disillusioned perhaps with the outcome of that commission (if he ever even saw Nithard's increasingly dyspeptic Third and Fourth Books) Charles apparently did not repeat that attempt. As for propaganda, of course like any pre-modern ruler, Charles wasconcerned to influence and cajole contemporary aristocratic opinion. Great assemblies, consultations, oath-takings, public addresses, ritual displays were instruments all of which Charles exploited vigorously. But court

[00] *Vita Sa,uti Genna11i,* verse preface in MGH Poet Ill, p.756; prose preface in PL. 124, col. l 131ff. Cp. McKitterick 1980, and her paper in Gibson and Nelson edd, *Charles the Bald,* pp. 385-400.

,oo. I a,n grateful 10 Peter Godman for discussion of this point. See his comments in Gibson and Nelson edd., *Charles the Bald,* p. 302.

annals, in Latin, hardly came into this category. Their political irrelevance becomes clear, finally, if they are contrasted with the contemporary *Anglo-Saxon Chro11icle*. It seems that Alfred did what no Carolingian ever thought of doing with the *ARF* or the *AB:* arranged for the copying and circulation of a revised text of the *Chronicle*[101] which, since it was in the vernacular, men could hear, if not read.[102] The medium could affect the message. Modem ideas of propaganda are, of course, as Professor Whitelock reminds us,[103] anachronistic for ninth-century England; but certainly the potential audience of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was no mere clerical coterie. Contrary to a recent tendency to see Continental influence in Alfredian historiography,[104] I ,vould no,v stress the differences between English and Frankish annal-keeping in the ninth century, and suggest that the Alfredian *Chronicle* hailed from a distinctively insular tradition.[105] If Grimbald, whether **at** St. Bertin's or during his stay at Rhei1ns,[106] ever saw Hincmar's manuscript of the *AB,* there is not to my mind the slightest trace of this to be found in subsequent Chronicle-production across the Channel. In the case of the *AB,* indispensability to historians is in inverse proportion to contemporary impact; and in that respect, a better modern analogue, for all its limitations, than Saint-Simon's *Memoires* might be the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys.

[101] Cp. SiS11m 1953, pp. t40ff.
[102] Wormald t9n.
[163] Whitelock I977.
[104] Wallace-Hadrill t950;John 1966, p.39; Nelson 1%7; Parkes 1976, pp.165ff.
[105] Cp. Harrison 1976; Bately 1979.
[106] Grierson 1940b.

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9

PUBLIC *HISTORIES* AND PRIVATE HISTORY

IN THE WORK OF NITHARD

There is no historians' consensus about the ninth century. Opinions have been both highly judgmental and bewilderingly disparate. The most common diagnosis has been of disintegration and decline: the terminal illness of the Carolingian s1ate. But some more sanguine observers have claimed 10 find here transformation and a poli1ical creativity decisive for 1he future of western Europe. On any reckoning, the ninth century was an important period. Yet it remains as true as when Walter Schlesinger made the observation twenty years ago that a history of the ninth century in and for itself has still to be written.' When it is, an interpretation of the events between 840 and 843 will surely be given a central place. For it was during those years that Carolingian Europe underwen1 most obviously those changes which historians have held characteris1ic and seminal in the century as a whole. At the beginning of 840 the Carolingian Empire persisted as a political entity; in 843 it no longer did so. The que t for an understanding of what happened during these critical years must start from a thorough reexamination of the relevant sources, and a number of recent studies show that this task is already well under way.[1] But one tex1, 1hough not wholly neglected by modern scholarship, still stands in need of closer attention and reappraisal: the *Hiswries* of Nithard.[3]

My thanks arc due to Stuan Airlie. Paul Fouracre, David Gani, Rosamond McKiuerick, Thomas Noble, and Michael WaUace-Hadrill for invaluable criticisms and to my coUeague John Gillingham and the members of the "Charles the Bald.. Special Subject classes of 1977-84 in the University of London for many thought•pro..oking questions and comments on Nithard. This paper, originally read to the Cambridge Medieval Group, is dedicated 10 the memory of my teacher and friend Kathleen Hughes.

• Walter Schlesinger. "Die Auffosung des Karlsreichcs," in *Karl der Grosst, Ltbenswtrk* rmd *Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels and Helmut Beumann, 5 vols. (Dusseldorf, 1965-68), 1:795, n. 6. Schlesinger gives some examples of historians' varied judgments on the ninth century. See also Bernd Schneidmuller, *KaroUngische Tradilion und friilw fran,ij,ischt> Konigtum* (\Viesbaden. 1979), pp. 5-13.

• Two outstanding examples are Perer Classen, "Die Venrage von Verdun und von Coulaines als politische Grundlage des westfrankischen Reiches,.. *HiJtoruche Zeitschrift* 196 (1963). 1-35. and Wolfgang Wehlen, *Geschihtsschrtibung und Staat.sa.uffassung im Ztitalttr Ludwig, de, Frommen* (Liibcck and Hamburg, 1970).

• Ed. with French translation as *HiJtoirt* <UJ *fils ,u L&uiJ t, Pieux* by Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1926).

The special value of Nithard's evidence has long been recognized. He was not only a strictly contemporary witness of the events he described but closely involved in them, and for the years 840-42 in particular no other informant offers anything approaching the scope or detail of Nithard's work. Thus Ferdinand *Lot* and Louis Halphen, for instance, in the first part of their study of the early years of Charles the Bald's reign relied on Nithard more than on any other source and lamented his death as "an irreparable loss to History:·• Historians have of course been aware that such dependence on Nithard presents a problem insofar as this author was prejudiced in favor of the patron who commissioned his work, Charles the Bald. But the problem has generally been disposed of without difficulty. The nature of Nithard's bias has been thought obvious and straightforward: he presented a uniformly hostile picture of Charles's eldest brother, Lothar, his rival and chief enemy in 840-42, while Charles himself was allegedly the "hero" of Nithard's work. It has therefore seemed relatively easy to allow for Nithard's bias and 10 claim at the same time that this does not affect the basic reliability of his account of events.[5] This assessment has recently been restated with

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All references below are to this Mition. That of Ernst Muller, MCH SSrG (Hannover. 1907. repr. 1965) has been reproduced with German translation by Reinhold Rauer, Qu,lltn ,.,,, *Aarolmgischm Rnclugeschuhee,* I (Darmstadt, 1955). The English translation by Bernard S. Scholz, *Carolingian Chr<midn* (Ann Arbor, 1970), is marred by some serious errors (see below nn. 98, 102, 113). All translations from Nithard in this paper are my own. The sole early manuscript of the work, Paris B.N. lat. 9768, dates from the late tenth century (Lauer. p. xiv, "fin de !Xe siecle," is evidently a misprint as the manuscript also contains the *Annaie,* of flodoard up 10 the year 948., in the same hand as Nithard's *Historits).* In the manuscript the work is divided into four books, but its title and chapter divisions have been supplied by modern editors. The one detailed appreciation of Nithard's work remains Gerold Meyer von Knonau, *UtM' NiJhards vier Biiclw- Geschichttn: Der Bruderltrieg der Sohn, Ludwig, dts Fro,,,mm und srin GeschidusschYtiber* (Leipzig, 1866). More recent but briefer are 1he imponant studies of Wehlen, *Gtschichlsschreibung.* pp. 57-105, and Hans Patze, *"/ustiua* bei Nithard."" in *Festschrifl fur HermtJ11n Heimp,I :um 70. Gel>urlJl<lg am 19. St Y 1971,* 3 vols. (Cottingen, 1972), 3:147-65, both mainly concerned with examining Nithard's political ideas through his vocabulary. The artide of Klaus Sprigadc, "Zur Bcuneilung Nithards als Historiker," *Htidtlherger Jahrbuchrr* 16 (1972), 94-105. has unfortuna1ely been inaccessible. A useful short account of Nithard's work (in Flemish, with French summary) is Fran,;ois-Louis Canshof, "Een historicus uit de !Xe eeuw: Nithard," *Mededelingen van tk Konin>.lijlu V/aams, A.catUmic voor Wetensdiapp,n, leUeren tn Schone Kunsun van Btlgic,* Klasse der Letteren, jaarg. 33, no. 3 (Brussels, 1971). For the extensive bibliography on Nithard"s texts of the Strasbourg oaths (see below, pp. 210-11), see Heinz Lowe's revised edition of Wilhelm Wauenbach and \llilhelm Levison, *Deutschlands GeschichtJqu,lkn im Mittelalur,* 3 (Weimar, 1957), pp. 353-57, esp. n. 204; and Roger Wright, *late Lalin and Early Romance* m *Sf>Oin and Carolingian Franc,* (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 122-26.

• Ferdinand Lot and Louis Halphen, *Le regn, dt Charla u Chauvt,* I: *(840-851)* (Paris. 1909). p. 115, and pp. 13-61 passim. Nithard's work is also the basis of the narrative of Ernst Dilmmler, *Geschichle des ostfranlrischm Reil:hes,* 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1888), I:139-88.

• So, Meyer von Knonau, *Ue!Hr Nilhards vin Bucher,* pp. 81-82. See also Max Manitius, *Geuhil:hte der laleinischen Lileratur des Mitulauer,,* 3 vols. (Munich, 1911-31), 1:658-59; Joseph Calmette, *L'effondummt d'un empire et la nais$4'11Ct d'unt Europ,* (Paris, 1941), p. 264; L6we in *Deulschlawl.$ C.sthidwq,ulltn,* 3:353-55.

admirable candor by Franz Brunholzl: Nithard, he says, makes a refreshing change from the medievalist's usual fare of "learned monks and ingenuous armchair scholars" for Nithard was a man of action who wrote in a simple "unaffected" style.[6] The assumption, it seems, is that directness of style goes with uncomplicated content, and that Nithard, the bluff soldier, tells it straight.

That assumption, as military historians can assure us, is false.[7] I shall try to show that Nithard's work is more complicated than most previous commentators have acknowledged, that it is in fact a work of art shaped and composed to convey a series of interpretative judgments, and that Nithard for all that he was a man of action possessed a true historian's artifice in the selection and presentation of what he wanted to tell. I shall argue that Nithard's work encodes a private history and that the public *Histimes* reassessed in its light may have more to say than has usually been realized about the complex realities of Carolingian politics and the often contradictory values motivating ninth-century participants.

Most historians who have stopped to consider the purpose of Nithard's work have been content to note that he wrote on Charles's orders and thus implicitly to assume that a bias in Charles's favor characterizes the whole of the work. The usual corollary has been a further assumption that Nithard would have gone on writing had not death cut him short: in other words, the work as we have it is incomplete.[8] S01ne commentators, however, have noticed a change of tone in the last part of the *Histories.* Thus its most recent editor, Philippe Lauer, observed that Nithard when he was writing this part, in the winter of 842-43, seemed to have been "envahi par la misanthropie."[9] But Lauer suggested no explanation of the reason or timing of Nithard's affliction, nor did he link it 10 the hypothesis that Nithard deliberately gave up writing his work at this point.•[0] 8. S. Scholz, on the other hand, having

• *Gt$thrdile tier laumi.schm Liuratur tk, M,tuJalters* (Munich, 1975), 1:399-400. For a similar view *see* Ganshof, "Een historicus," pp. 18-20.

' See, for instance, lhe Msessmcnl of the memoirs of military men by Sir Basil S. Liddell Hart, *The Othn Side of tJu Hill,* rev. ed. (London, 1951), p. 10: they are "usually more concerned wilh their own imeresu and theservice of their own reputations than with the service of history. Nothing can be more misleading than the carefully-framed account of their own actions that statesmen and generals, of any country, provide when they compile their accounts in their own time and way. There is a better chance of reaching the truth by a searching process of questioning them. . . ." Interestingly, Ganshof, "Een historicus," p. 20, compares Nithard's soldierly virtues of soberness, clarity, and matter-of-factness with those of another soldier-historian, Ammianus Marcellinus. But Ronald Syme, *Ammianw and the Hi.skma Augu.ita* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 94-95, 142-53, shows thal though Ammianus's efforts to be truthful are on the whole successful, stiU ·'passion and prejudice claim their rights."

• See., in addition to the works cited in nn. 4 and 5 above, J. M. WaUace-Hadrill, "A Carolingian Renaissance Prince: The Emperor Charles the Bald," *Proutdings of tJu British tlca,kmy* 64 (1978), 155-84, at p. 159.

• Lauer, *Hi.stoirt,* p. xi. Compare Ganshof, "Ecn historicus," p. 17 ("vervuld van drocfheid'").

•• That Nithard's work is complete M we have it was argued by Millier, *NiJhardi hisumarum lihri JV,* p. vi.

noticed the gloomy tone of the last part of the *Histories*, explained this in terms of Nithard's understandable response to a worsening political situation - to the "rising anarchy" he saw about him in the winter of 842-43.[11] Hans Patze has distinguished carefully between the first part of Nithard's work, which was royally commissioned, and the latter part, which was not; but he has argued at the same time that the search for *iustitia* remained Nithard's theme and "the service of Truth" his aim throughout the *Histories*, which he completed in the spring of 843.[12]

What has been noticed, then, are changes of tone and of addressee in the course of Nithard's work. But the implications of these changes have not been thoroughly explored, nor has an adequate explanation been given for them. Were political conditions in late 842 or early 843 really much worse than in 840 or 841? Had public morals really declined? And was anarchy really "rising"? In terms of any objective assessment and indeed of the hopes Nithard himself expressed, the situation in the winter of 842-43 was surely better than it had been at any time since he began writing. Charles, allegedly the hero of Nithard's work, was strengthening his position in West Francia and in Aquitaine; now Lothar was at last negotiating in earnest for a settlement with his younger brothers; and most important of all, the leading members of the Frankish aristocracy themselves were eager for peace.[13] Again, if Nithard wrote the first part of his work for a king (and royal readership was a common enough inspiration for medieval authors), why did he continue writing not only without any royal instruction but clearly, in the end, without any intention of pleasing a royal reader? (Even modern authors seldom write solely for "the service of Truth"!) And why, finally, did Nithard end his work as and when he did? If he did not simply abandon it, in what sense could he have considered it complete?

It is worth tracing in some detail the ways in which Nithard's work changed over the period of twenty months or so during which he wrote, before we auempt any explanation in terms of altered motives. A useful

"Scholz, *Carolmg,an Chrorncl,s,* p. 30. Ganshof. "£en historicus," p. 17, suggested that Ni1hard felt "revulsion" a1 prevailing conditions in the *regnum Francorwn*.

"P-•1ze, *"fwtitu,,"* pp. 161, 163.

[13] Ni1hard, *Hisl<nrt* 4.6, p. 140. Hincmar, writing more than thiny years later, saw both aristocracy and kings impeUed to make peace because of the sufferings caused by war: **PL** 125:986. Nithard, *Hi.stoire* 4.4, p. 132, shows Charles's improved position in Aquilaine. Compare the *Annales Btrtmumi* (hereafter **AB),** ed. Felix Grat,Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clemence! (P- ris, 1964), s.a. 842, 843, pp. 42, 44 - brief and neu1ral mcmions of Charles's moves through Aquitaine but implying his freedom of maneuver. Sec also below, n. 115. Support for Charles in the Spanish March may be indicated by two grants to faithful men in that region: *Recueil des a<Us tk Char/ts If* I, *Chauve,* ed. Georges Tessier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943-55), I, nos. 15 (dated 24 December 842) and 17 (23 January 843). Charles spent Christmas 842 at the major palace of Quierzy where his marriage was celebrated: AB, p. 43. For the subocquem rok, of Quierzy in Charles's itinerary throughout his reign, see Carlrichard Bruh!, *Fodrum, Gistum, Smntium Regis* (Cologne, I968), pp. 40-41.

approach is to look in turn at the four books of which the *Histori* is composed and especially at the preface to each of them. The first is addressed explicitly to Charles the Bald, Nithard's lord (dQ111fflus):

> You ordered me, before we entered the city of Chiilons, to commit to memory by the office of my pen the deeds done in your time.[14]

Thus Nithard clearly dates the conception of his work to May 841 when Charles, evidently with Nithard in his following, entered Chalons-sur-Marne only a month or so before the battle of Fontenoy. The preface continues wit.h a request to Charles to pardon the work's shortcomings and an explanation of the need co cover in book I the deeds of "your pious father" in order to expose the truth about the events of 840-41. The preface to the second book follows as part of a narrative planned to the end of book 2 with its description of Fontenoy:

> Having explained as well as I could ... the origins of your dissensions, so that any reader wan1ing to know why, after your father's death, Lothar decided to persecute you and your brother can make out ... whether or not he acted just.ly, now I shall show with wha1 forcefulness and effort Lothar se1 about pursuing his ends.••

Again Charles is requested to forgive the work's omissions and to make allowances for the difficult conditions under which it was written. At the end of book 2 Nithard says that he was "writing these things," that is, his account of Fontenoy, on Tuesday 18 October when there was a solar eclipse.[16] Nithard, then, wrote books I and 2 as partsof a whole: together they constituted a fulfiUn1ent of Charles's request at Chalons and presented events in the perspective of Charles's God-given victory at Fontenoy. Yet that victory had been no foregone conclusion at the time when the work was commissioned. Though a military confrontation with Lothar then seemed inescapable, Charles's conduct was plainly going to require a good deal of justification. If he won, he would have defeated his eldest brother, who was also his godfather, and would therefore have flouted religious obligations as well as the norm of fraternal concord that was so insistently preached in Frankish aristocratic society.[17] If he lost, it might be all the more necessary that an

" Ni,hard, *Histoire,* preface to book I, p. 2.

•• Ibid., preface to book 2. p. 36. The references to Lothar's "forcefulness and effort" *(virtus, industna)* are surely ironic. That books I and 2 were planned as a whole has rightly been stressed by Patte, *"lustitia,"* p. 158.

"Nithard, *Histoirt* 2.10, p. 76.

" Ibid. 2.1, 2, pp. 38, 40, for Lothar's godpar.,ntship of Charles. See also Astronomer, *Vita Hludovici Pii* 60, ed. Georg Peru, MCH SS 2:644. Nithard, *Histoirt* 2.4, p. 48, records an appeal to Lothar for fraternal behavior. For this theme in the Strasbourg oaths, see below, p. 210. For fraternal love invoked in Carolingian agreements, see Reinhard Schneider, *Briid<'l'gtmtin, urnl Schwu,freundschaft: D,,. Auftosung,prouss<ks Karlingtrrtich,s im Spiegel tier Caritas-Tmnino/qgu in <kn Vertriigm der /iarlingischm Teilhanig, dts 9. Jahrhwuleru* (Lubeck and Hamburg, 1964). The

apologia for his causeshould already have been committed to parchment, and any defense of Charles's actions in terms of principle could also cover the actions of his supponers - including Nithard.

Now it is certainly possible to argue that Nithard, and his patron, never conceived of any audience but posterity for such an apologia. Nithard hin1self, after all, writes of contemporary Frankish nobles who preferred even death to "leaving an unworthy memory to their descendants."[18] Yet in the prefaces co books l and 2 Nithard does not claim to be addressing posterity but writes directly 10 Charles. Further, in the second preface he seems to envisage a wider audience than the king alone: he writes for "anyone" trying to judge Lothar's motives and assess his conduct against standards of justice which, whatever Augustinian accretions thc,y had acquired, were firmly rooted in Frankish political practice.[19] It would be unrealistic to suggest that Charles ever intended Nithard's work to be widely "published" or circulated: Charles lacked resources and time for any such project; but above all he had no need of it. The contemporary audience he wanted to reach, I think, was small and localized: it consisted of the leading men in his own camp, together with their vassal followings and perhaps contingents of free men.[20] These *primores*, who before Fontenoy may have numbered no more than a dozen or *so*, and those they led were typical actors in Carolingian politics.[21] They formed Charles's

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noblewoman Dhuoda in her handbook of moral instruction for her elder son William, *Manuel pour numfils*, ed. Pierre Riche (Paris, 1975), 1.7, p. 116, and 10.4., p. 352, reminds the youth of his obligations towards his little brother. This work has been perceptively discussed by Jurgen Hannig, *ConJmsus fidelium* (S1uttgan, 1982), pp. 201-5, and by Peter Dronke, *w,,..en Writm of tlu Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984), pp. 36-54.

•• Nithard, *HisllJirt* 2.10, p. 70.

•• Patze. *"lwtitia,"* pp. 151-54. For the broader context of Frankish royal succession and inheritance practice, see Peter Classen, "Karl der Grosse und die Thronfolge im Frankcnreich," *Fntsdiriftfilr Hermann Htimpe* 8:109-M. Classen's argument that on the fundamental issue of 1he nondivi.sion of Francia the project or 806 was the forerunner of 817 docs not seem IO have been overturned by Dieter Hagermann, "Reichseinheit und Reichsteilung," *Hi.su,risches Jahr/,uch* 95 (1975), 278-307. Classen's conduding remarks. pp. 132-84, suggest the toughness of the tradition of dividing the realm. The preface 10 the so-called *Onfinatio* of 817, MGH Capit 1, no. 136, pp. 270-71, with its mention of deliberations "according to the eust0m of our anceStors," shows the traditional role of the aristoeracy in the making of such divisions. Contemporary notions about eligibility for royal succes.sion are discussed by Silvia Konecny, *Die Fr"""" des lw.rolingischen Konigshawes* (Vienna, 1976), pp. 33-44.

20 On the composition of ninth-century armies, see my comments in "The Chun:h's Military Service in the Ninth Century: A Contemporary Comparative *View?" Studies in Church His/cry* 20 (1983), 15-30;seeabove,chapter6,pp.117-32.

21 Sec Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Untersuchungcn zur Friihzeit des franzosischen Fiirstenlums (9.-10. Jht.)," 1-3, *Du Well ab Cesdlichtt* 18 (1958), 256-89, and 4. ibid.. 19 (1959), 146-93; idem, "Bedeutende Adclsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen," *Karl der C..osse*, ed. Braunfels and Beumann, 1:83-142, English translation in *The MtditvaJ Nobility,* ed. Timothy Reuter (Amsterdam, 1979); and Karl Brunner, *Opp,,M<>n<Ut* Gn.ipp,n *im Ko.rolmgerrtith*, VcroF-fentlichungen des lnstituts fiir Osterreichische Geschichtsforschung, 25 (Vienna, 1979). Nithard implies that Charles's faithful men in 840-41 were a relatively small group. For *ils*

"constituency," his "public," without whose military and political support his cause whatever its justice in theory would have been lost in practice. Before Fontenoy the most conspicuous member of this group was probably Adalard.[22] In·the autumn of 841 Charles's uncle Hugh of St. Quentin was a notable adherent.[23]

Why should Charles have believed such men to be susceptible to an apologia written in Latin, to *His/,(JTUs* in the classical style?[24] He might have relied (like Henry V before Agincourt) on chats beside the campfires to maintain his men's morale. But Charles knew that his followers had been subjected like himself, if perhaps less intensively, to the teaching program of the Carolingian Renaissance.[2$] Some, at least, of the laymen among them probably knew enough Latin to be able to follow a straightforward narrative. **We** know of several of their aristocratic contemporaries who were certainly capable of doing so.[26] They could also have had access through Latin, as

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composition see below, Appendix 1., pp. 234-5. For the size of Charles's entourage later in the reign. see Nelson, "Legislarion and Consensus in the Reign of Charles the Bald," in *Ideal and ReaJjjy in Franl<uh and Angw-Sa.,on Soci4ty,* ed. Patrick Wonnald (Oxford, 1983), pp. 202-27 at 211-12;see above, chapter *S,* pp. 100-1.

" As implied by Charles's marriage to a woman identified borh by Nithard and by Prudentius in the **AB, p.** 43, as "Adalard's niece." For Adalard's career, see Ferdinand Lot, "Note sur le scncchal Alard," *u muyen ti.gt* 21 (1908), 185-201, reprinted in *na.,,,;i d4J h'avawc hiJwriqtus de Ftrdinand lot,* 3 vob. (Geneva, 1968-73), 2:591-607; and, for some revisions, Werner, "Unter• suchungen," 2, pp. 274-76, and 4, pp. 155-56. The careers of Adalard and his brother Gerard diverged in the autumn of 840 when Gerard "defecred" to Lothar: Nithard, *Hiswir,* 2.3, p. 44. Rene Louis,*Girart, ,,,,,.,,dt Vimne,* 3 vols. (Auxerre, 1945), **1:44** and n. 2, suggested that thetwo brothers looked afrer each other's imerests after 843 in the kingdoms of Charles and Lothar resp«tively. This is plausible, but in 840-42, and specifically ar the baule of Fontenoy, the hedging of bets had surely given place to real fraternal conAict.

" Hugh was a son of Charlemagne by his concubine Regina: Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Die Nachkommen Karls des Crossen bis um das Jahr 1000," in *Karl der Grosse,* ed. Braunfels and BeumaJln, 4:403-79 at 445. See also Philip Grierson, "Hugues de Saint-Bertin: Etait-il ar-chichapellain de Charles le Chauve?" *I., mqy,n age* 44 (1934), 241-51; and Lowe in *Deutsch/and. GeschichL,qutlltn,* 5:545.

[14] Manitius, *Gtschithtt,* p. 659, lists the classical authors Nirhard seems to have read, but claims rhat. apart from reminiscences, these had no effect on Nithard's style. Lauer, *Histoirt,* p. xiii, also takes this view. But David Ganz kindly points our [10] me that the inAuence of Sallust, and perhaps Vergil, was probably grearer than Manitius allowed. The question is important, but cannot be pursued here.

" For Charles's own education and its background, see Rosamond McKiuerick, "Charles the Bald (823-877) and His Library: The Parronage of Leaming," *English Historical Revuw* 95 (1980), 28-47, especially 29-31; and, in addition to rhe works there cited, Reto Radwolf Bciwla, *US origines t/. la formaJion de I.a liuJrv.ture courtoiJt tn occuknl,* 2 vols. (Paris. 1958-60), 1:195-213.

•• Lay book-ownership is suggestive: see Pierre Riche, "Les bibliotheques de trois aristocrates laiques," *le mcry,n ti.gt* 69 (1963), 87-104, and Rosamond McKitterick. "Some Carolingian Law-Books and Their Function," in *Studies on Mtdinx,I law m,d Gov'"""1trlt PrestnUd lo Walttr Ullmam, on His Stvtnlitth Birthday,* ed. Brian Tierney and Peter Linehan (London and New York, 1980), pp. 13-28. For aristocratic recipients of works of moral instruction, see Hans

Charles himself did, to some knowledge of Roman and Jewish history and of the history of their own Frankish people.z[1] Nithard, as we know from his work, had a well-developed idea of the state and of "public utility."[28] There is no reason (making due allowance for the scarcity of our source material) to suppose that Nithard, layman as he was, was unique in this respect. Nor should we confine ourselves to literary tradition transmitted through classical texts in seeking sources for such ideas. Would not an important part have been played, too, by political experience? I have in mind the habit of participating in collective discussion and decision making at assemblies, notably those general *placita* summoned each year by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious:. [29] The capitularies thac are residues of assembly proceedings have survived in ecclesiascical archives, but they reveal, surely, patterns of thought and practice that were not only clerical. The laymen in Charles's following in 840-41 would have attended assemblies in previous years, and therefore for them the language of public utility, the common interest, and so forth, current in capitularies long before Nithard used it, expressed not only an ideal but the reality of political effort in which they had been personally

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Hubert Anton. *Fiir:<tenspugtl wul Hm.<chereiJu).<in t.kr Kar<>lmgtruit* (Bonn, 1968), pp. 83-86, and Pierre Toubert, "La theorie du mariage chei les moralistes carolingiens," in *ll malrim<>nw net/a ,ow.ta a/tomed,eva/e,* Settirnane di Studio del C..entro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 24 (Spoleto, 1977). 1:233-85. Lay aristocrats who received correspondence in Latin may have had it translated *by* derics in their households but, equally, may have understood *sP<>lren* Latin. Hincmar of Rheims addressed letters 10 thi"een laymen (excluding kings), most of them counts and in the West Frankish kingdom: MGH Epp 8. ed. Ernst Perels, nos. 49, 68. 70, 103 (and 142), 105 (and 173), 136, 155, 174, 175, and Flodoard, *Hiltona Retntnsis ecclesiat* 3.23, 26, ed. Johann Heller and Georg Wai11, MGH SS 13:530, 543-44. The ability 10 understand spoken Latin was general among free men in the Rheims area in the 850s: Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, archevequt dt Reim$,* 3 vols. (Geneva. 1975-76), 1:335. This situation is likely to have characterized the West Frankish as distinct from the Middle or East Frankish kingdom: see Michael Richter, "Die Sprachenpolitik Karls des Grossen," in *Spra,hwilse,uchaft* 7 (1982). 412-37. Wright, *l.o.u Ullin,* chap. 3. presents an interesting argument for the identity of late Latin and Romance as languages. but with different pronunciations, without however considering the implications for aristocratic lay literacy (e.g.. p. 117: "Nithard ... was exceptional;.

"The world chronicle of Freculf of Lisieux, PL 106:919-1258, begins with the Creation and ends with the death of Gregory the Great, the time when "Roman governors were e•pelled from Italy and Gaul and the Franks and the Lombard, succeeded to those realms" (col. 1258). Writing in the 820s, Freculf dedicated the second of the work's two books to the empressJudith to help in educating Charles the Bald. The work and its readership deserve fu"her study. For lay aristocrats' history books, including the *Histonts* of Gregory of Tours, see Riche, "Les bibliotheques," pp. 99, 103; and for Dhuoda's reading of Old Testament history, see Hannig. *Consmsw fide/n,n,,* pp. 203-4.

[28] Wehlen. *Geschidusschrtibung,* pp. 33-56, 61-66, 96-105. Despite the thought-provoking comments of Johannes Fried, "Der karolingische Herrschaftsverband im 9. Jh.," *HistoristM Ztilschrift* 235 (1982), 1-43, especiaUy 11-14, and his justified insistence on the personal character of Carolingian political obligation, ideas of public authority, the state, and office did exist in the ninth century: see my contribution *to The Cambridge History of Meduva/. P<>liJi.al Thought* (forthcoming).

,. See above, chapter 5, pp. 91-116.

involved. It is no coincidence that when, a generation after Nithard, Hincmar of Rheims olTered the West Frankish rnagnates, as well as the king and the bishops, a blueprint for reform, he focused on assemblies along with the running of the king's household as the key to preserving the "well-being of the realm." Hincmar stressed that the "wise men" on whose counsels that well-being depended were drawn frorn the laity as well as the clergy.[30] Of course the two groups had interests that were in some ways distinct, as when, for instance, count opposed bishop in a particular locality. But I think it is misleading to suggest that they had radically divergent, still less incompatible, sets of political ideas when they were united in so much political practice.[31] A Frankish noble sent as a youth to the king's court where spiritual and secular "militias" rubbed shoulders, with a Latin education that had familiarized him with rnoral standards of behavior in public office (via Isidore and Alcuin) and with a profoundly Christian view of history (via the Bible, Gregory of Tours, or Freculf of Llsieux), and after years of attending assemblies where he heard, and later read, decisions on public business formulated in legislation (via capitularies): such a n1an had learned to be responsive to other messages than the "n1ost ancient songs" alone.[32] At such a man A..lcuin and Jonas of Orleans directed works of moral guidance and collections of private prayers. Such a man, so Hincmar believed, could be appealed to through the *De ordine palatii* - which is not to say that he could not also have enjoyed the heroic verse of the *Ludwigslied*.[33] If William, son of

[30] D*ǫYIU> palaJ,i,* ed. Thomas Gro,,_, and Rudolf Schiefler. MGH fomcs luris Germaniri Amiqui (Hannover, 1980), pp. 84-88. See also Heinz Lowe. "Hinkmar vo11 Reims und der Apocrisiar.'" in *Fnt«hrt{t fur Hrrman11 Hnmpel,* 3:I!17-225 at 200. 221-25.

" Dhuoda. *,'tfa•tutl* 3.8. IQ. I 1. pp. 166. 174. 192-96. urges her ron among 1he *cornmJiwne<* in 1he "royal and imperial hall" 10 imilate the "i;reat ones" 1here and 10 auach himself 10 worthy pries1s. 10 eat meals wi1h 1hem as ohen as possible and seek their iniercession. and no, 10 criticize "as many do" clergy who though great *in sa,c,do* fail 10 liv" up to their oflice. Towards 1he end of Charles's reit-,'Tl Heiric of Auxerre described the palace as a *.«ho/a* where scholarly no less than military disciplines were practiced daily: MGH Poet 3:429. Sec also Pierre Riche, "Chai-tes le Chauve c1 la culture de son temps," in *jtm1 Scot Engtne et fhullnre de la plulosophie,* Colloques intema1ionaux du CNRS, 56! (Paris, 1977), pp. 37-46. reprinted in Riche. *it1stru,1ion et Ifie rt/igieust dans M haut m.oyen age* (London, 1981), and Rosamond McKinerick. "The Palace School of Charles 1he Bald," in *Charles tht Bald: CQUrt muJ Kmgdom.* ed. Margare1 Gibson and Janee L Nelson, BAR lmernational Series, IOI (Oxford. 1981). pp. 385-400.

[32] Charlemagne's catholic 1as1es are well known: Einhard, *Vtta Ka.rol,* 29. ed. Oswald Holder• Egger. MGH SSrG (Hannover, 1911), p. 33.ihegan, *Vita Hlud0Vtt1 lmptrattm!,* 19. ed. Georg Perti. MGH SS 2:594. sars char Louis the Pious"despised 1he pagan songs he had learned in his youth." Given 1he date and polemic nature ofThegan·s work, 100 much should 001 be made of 1his apparent contrast be1ween Louis's coun and his father's, Charles the Bald may have shared his grandfa1her's 1astes: the anonymous poet of the *Carmen de txordio genii.I Francorum,* MGH Poet 2: 141-45, offered Charles the models of his ancestor St. Arnulf of Melt and Charlemagne as well as Louis the Pious, hence perhaps a la1inized and Chris1ianited version of the theme of 1he "ancient songs."

[33] The *ludwigsl d* was wrinen by a monk or cleric and preserved in a monastic library. yet irs author thought 1he vernacular appropriate 10 celebrate the victory of a Frankish king in 881.

Bernard of Septimania, could use the *Nfanua./* of social and spiritual instruction his mother, Dhuoda, wrote for him when he joined Charles's following in 841, could he not also "use" some political advice? Nithard's *Histories,* l suggest, was aimed at William and his like, as well as at the king himself.

If Charles's followers did indeed constitute Nithard's "public," then certain features of his work can be seen to have had a specific rationale. His "uncluttered" style would pose few problems for anyone who had wrestled with Gregory of Tours's Latin (or for that matter with Dhuoda's); it 1nay even have been designed for oral delivery. Nithard's neglect of biographical detail for important actors in his story has left puzzles for "posterity" (in the shape of modern historians) but 1nakes good enough sense if he was writing for contemporaries who knew those actors welt.[3]• Again, some of Nithard's on1issions become understandable if we picture him writing boo 2 **in** rhe weeks following Fontenoy for an audience consisting in part of rnen recently recruited into Charles's camp as a result of that baule. For instance, Nithard does not mention the important fact that late in 840 Pippin 11 of Aquitaine managed to install his candidate Rodulf as archbishop of Bourges.[35] But in the post-Fontenoy situation, when Charles was strengthening his hand in Aquitaine and perhaps already bidding for Rodulf's support, Nithard might have thought it wiser to keep silent on Pippin's earlier success.[36] He is similarly silent on Pippin's role at Fontenoy and indeed neglectS **the** Aquitanian dimension of a battle which in fact settled the long-term future of Aquitaine.[37] Another of Nithard's silences may be explicable in the context

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See J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fran/a.sh Church* (Oxford, 1983). pp. 387-88: ..h is possible tha1 the poem was reci1ed at coun." Compare the brilliant evocation of a single barbarian. Christian culture among the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy by Patrick Wormald. ··Bede. *Beowulf* and the Conversion of the Anglo•Saxon Aristocracy," in *Bed, and Angw-Sax1m Engk,nd,* ed. Rober, T. Farrell, **BAR.** British Seri"-', 46 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 32-95 especiaUy 49-58.

"See Appendix I, below, pp. 234-5;. for suggested identifications of Hugh, Gerard, and Theutbald. I would funher identify Guntbold *(Hi,tc1rt* 2.6, p. 54, and 3.2, p. 86) as archbishop of Roucn and Joseph (ibid. 1.7, p. 30, and 4.3. p. 124) as bishop of lvrea.

"See Leon Levillain, *Ruum dtJ atUS de Pepin I ti Pq,in II, rou aAquiJaine (8/4-848)* (Paris, 1926), p. clxxvii and n. 6.

,. Levillain's staternen1, ibid., that Rodulf stayed loyal to Pippin II "until 848 a, leas," needs qualifying if Tessier, *Ruueil,* no. 42 is accepted as genuine: *see* Tessiers comments at p. 116. 11 seems likely that Charles would have alre-Jdy been trying to win over Rodu1r·s suppor1 during the nego1iations leading up to the Treaty of Verdun in 843. when Charles was successful in having Pippin II excluded from a share in the Carolingian *regnum.*

., Nithard, *Hiswirt* 2.10, pp. 68. 74, says that Lothar tried successfully 10 defer the coming banle until Pippin should have arrived. See also AB, p. 38. The importance of Pippin's role during 1he battle is stated by Agnellus. *1.i/Hr pont,jwalu ecdesiae Ravennotis,* ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SSrerLangob 174. p. 390, an account which seems to rest on an eyewitness report either from Archbishop George of Ravenna himself (compare AB. p. 38) or from a member of his household. That Aquitanian contingents fought especially fiercely on both sides is implied by Andreas of Bergamo, *Hutoria,* ed. Georg Waiu., MCH SSrerLangob 7, p. 226. again apparently well informed (unusually for him) about affairs north of the Alps and perhaps dependent on a Ravenna source. See also the *MiratVla Sancti GemJ}I,* ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS

of the situation after Fontenoy: his omission of what was probably an immediate consequence of the battle's outcome - the flight of Lothar's supporter Archbishop Ebbo of Rheims "fearing the rule, and the wrath, of Charles."[38] This was a major success for Charles since Ebbo had also carried his suffragans and provincial clergy with him (however unwillingly) in supporting Lothar in 840.[39] By the autumn of 841 two such men (and there may well have been others) were in Charles's camp, both of them influential adherents to Charles's cause: Bishop lmmo of Noyon and Abbot Hugh of St. Quentin, Charles's uncle.•[0] With such men in his potential audience, Nithard could well have chosen to draw a veil over Ebbo's departure.

Similar considerations could apply to the positive aspects of book 2, that is, to events Nithard chose to deal with at particular length. Two instances are worth looking at. The first is the story of the arrival of envoys from Aquitaine at Charles's camp at Troyes in April 841. Its context in Nithard's narrative is important: shortly before this passage he has presented Charles's position as desperate and then, after noting the beginnings of an upturn in his fortunes, Nithard stresses Charles's isolation and the energy of Lothar's countermoves. He goes on:

> A truly wonderful and most notable thing happened 10 Charles that Easter Saturday. For neither he nor anyone in his following had anything at all apart from the clothes they stood up in and their weapons and horses. Charles wasjust getting out of his bath and was about to put on again the same clothes he had taken off beforehand when suddenly, there at the door were envoys from Aquitaine carrying a crown and all his royal gear! Who can fail to be amazed that so few men, quite obscure rnen, 100, were able to carry so many talents of gold and so huge a quantity of jewels over so great a distance without coming 10 any harm, while all kinds of violence were threatening on every side? Even more amazing is how they managed to arrive ac just the right place and exactly the day and hour required, when not even Charles himself knew where he and his men would be. It seemed that this could only have happened by God's grace and with his approval. And through this [Charles] inspired wonder in all who foughc along with him and encouraged the,n all to a confident hope that things would go well for them. And Charles and the whole cheerful band busied themselves with celebrating Easter."

Now according to Nithard himself a few pages earlier, Charles had sent instructions from western Francia about two weeks before to the Aquitanians

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15:1208: though this is a tenth-century work, its information on the ninth century was thought reliable by Leon villain.··Les Nibdungcn historiques et !curs alliances de famille," *Anna/ts du* /1,hdi 49 (1937). 337-407 at 406. According to Nithard, *H,su,ire* 2.9, pp. 64-66, Charles himself was swayed by those who advised him 10 join up with his mother and '"the Aquitanians·· before advancing against L<"har, but Nithard gives the impression that he himself opposed this advice.

» Le11er of the clergy of Rheims, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MCH Cone 2:812.

" Devisse. *Hmcmar,* I:86-87.

•• Nithard, *Hutctrt* 3.3, pp. 90-92.

" Ibid. 2.8, pp. 60-62.

to meet him at Anigny and, given the geography involved, it was something less than miraculous that Aquitanian envoys should have met up with him at Troyes.[42] Nithard makes no comment on the efficiency of Charles's com-n1unications.43 What he does say in the very next sentence is that envoys from Lothar now arrived at Troyes and were entertained at Charles's table. It was fortunate that Charles's baggage had arrived.

What was Nithard trying to convey to his audience in this stOt)•? He himself was one of the loyal band left with "nothing except the clothes they stood up in," yet filled with new hope by the Aquitanians' arrival. There is no reason to doubt Nithard's sincerity in presenting the event as, in effect, a miracle - the result of divine intervention. But Nithard's account does suggest that Charles exploited it (may even have stage-managed it) to boost his n1en's morale. This, Nithard says, was precisely its effect on Easter Saturday 841. And the dramatic little story was, I think, intended in its turn to have a similar effect on Nithard's audience in the autumn of that same year when, despite Fontenoy, Lothar continued to resist and Charles had to make further demands on his supporters' loyalty.

A second and parallel instance of Nithard's artifice is his account of Fontenoy. This, as Patze has rightly insisted, was the very heart of Nithard's apologia for Charles: the justice of his cause was manifest in this judgment of God.•• Nithard, in fact, spends far longer on the preliminaries to the battle than on the battle itself. His intention is clearly to show that all the approved resources of negotiation, of diplomatic pressure, of ,itualized 1naneuver had been exhausted, that Charles and his all)' Louis the German had done all they could to resolve the dispute at a political level, and that ir was Lothar himself who had forced a military solution upon the,n by rejecting every alternative. Patze has observed that the quest for justice is a leitmotiv in Nithard's very detailed narrative here. But a second then1e, to my mind as significant. is the role of Charles's and Louis's followers during what is in effect (if in unusual circumstances) a prolonged assembly. The two kings are counseled and supported at every step by their men, and in what is

" Ibid. 2.6, p. $4.

•• Nithard's scory has been taken 10 show the diflicuhr of travel in the ninth century by Marc Bloch, *Frodal Soci,1y* (London. 1961). pp. 61-62. and by Pierre Riche. *La vu qtt(Jtu/1t1tnt dans L",mprre carolmgun* (Paris, 1973), p. 28.

"P.due, *··1w111ia;·* pp. 156-59. Compare the view of Kurt Georg Cram, *ludt(1u.,n bell,: Zurn R,chJ.srharakter dts Kruge, im deutschen /vhttelalter* (Munster and Cologne. 1955). pp. 20-47, that the baule of Fontenoy itself, and the evc.-nts immediately preceding and following it. represented a customary legal procedure tor asceriaining the judgment of Cod. Patze. p. 156. n. 13, rightly criticizes Cram for taking too liule account of the specific hist0rical context of Fontenoy. But Patze·s own stress on 1he ··programmatic.. aspect of Charles"< actions, that is, his presentation of himself as a seeker after ".juscice," is quite compatible with Cram·s understanding of the preliminaries to the baule as procedur-dl devices which were, all the same, very far from playac1ing. The efforts to avoid bank and the bloodiness of the conflict when it ensued were equally real.

almost their last a1te1np1 to con1e to terms with Lothar, they and their 1nen decide "unanirnously with conunon consent" to select fro1n among their number "noble, wise, and well-intentioned ,nen including some bishops and some laymen" 10 present their just cause.• Now it is possible that Nithard rehearsed all this for Charles's benefit. But did the king need quire such lengthy reassurances about a justice that coincided so neatly with his own interests? What is harder 10 believe is that Ni1hard went into these details with posterity in 1nind: to later generations would 001 the to-and-fro of envoys, the exchange of claim and counterclaim, seem tedious, even irrelevant, by con1parison with the divinely awarded victory that in itself provided all the justification Charles needed? Again, it see1ns more likely that Nithard wrote book 2's final chapters for a conten1porary audience: the men in Charles's ca1np in the autumn of 841.

But why did Charles's n1en still need so n1uch reassurance after what should have been the decisive confinnation that they were both morally and politically on the right side? Frank Pietzcker has suggested a possible answer: Nithard had to gloss over an unpleasant truth, na,nely, that Fontenoy was not a battle fairly fought according to what the Franks accepted as rhe rules of war, but a treacherous surprise attack launched *by* Charles and Louis on Lothar's still-sleeping camp at dawn in flagrant violation of a truce arranged to last until 8 a.m.[46]'fhus when Nithard said that Charles and Louis, having "struck camp" at dawn, waited until 8 a.m. to join battle "as their men had sworn they would," he was actually telling a downright lie." Nitharc.fs motive, according to Pie12cker. was to preserve the reputation of his hero. Charles. h n1ight further be argued, pursuing Pieucker·s line of thought, that Nithard intended at the same ti,ne to conceal the guilt of all those concerned, that is, all of Charles's and Louis's followers, and that his work was offered to this audience as a salve 10 raw consdences. Such speculations ,vould have son,e point if one of the sources favorable to Lothar laid a charge of treachery against Charles and Louis. But none seems to do so.•• If Nithard's account not only of the battle but of the length)' negotiations preceding it is an elaborate fiction, it is hard to place "in the literary-propagandistic arena,"[49] assun1ing an audience of Nithard's own contemporaries.

"Ni,hard. *H,swir,* 2.9, p. 68.

•• "Die Schlach, bei Fon,enor," *Zroschnft d,:r Sai,1irn,-S1iflung fur Recht,gt.<chuht,.* Germanos-1ische Ab1eilung 81 (1964), 318--42. The argument is based on an analysis of Ni1hard, *Histo,re* 2.9-10.

" Nithard, *Hu/JJrrt* 2.10. p. 76.

•• Neither .'\gnellus nor Andreas impJi.,. it: see above. 11. 37. Nor does rhe *Amu,t,* of Xanten, ed. Bernhard von Simson, MGH SSrG (Hannover, 1909). p. 11. The *v,,-,,is de b,//a* (sic) *quefull acta Fontanew.* ed. Ernst Muller, MGH SSrG (Hannover. 1907). pp. 52-53. hints that some imponan1 person(s) on Lothar·s side defected at the las, minute 10 Charles and Louis. The poem's author, Angill>en. had fough, on Lothar·s side. If he was a layman. we have ano1her example of a lay writer in the early 840s to set alongside Ni1hard and Dhuoda.

., So, Pietzcker, "Schlach1," p. 332.

Glossing over or distortion is not the same thing as lying outright. Propaganda in a situation that is still wide open can be effective only when it is credible.so

The needs of Nithard's audience were at once simpler and more complex than Pietzcker's hypothesis would imply. There was no question of any "cover-up." When all due allowance is made for the difficulty of distinguishing between factual reporting and propaganda, Nithard's record may be judged truthful. But for Charles's followers, including Nithard, the real problems arose from genuine conflicts of values: • ustice," as so oflen, was equivocal. If a case in law and in Christian morality could be made for Charles, another equally substantial case could be made for Lothar. There were no absolutes governing the succession to the Frankish realm: here not even a judgment of God could be recognized as decisive, or even recognized at au.s• Norms of fraternal solidarity existed, but it was sometimes justifiable to breach them. Among the Frankish aristocracy fidelity owed to a lord was a fundamental obligation, yet even this might have to compete with other claims which could override it in a particular case. So much would depend on circumstances. And for this reason, I suggest, the wealth of circumstantial detail in Nithard's first two books, especially in the last two chapters of book 2, makes sense as a justification - constructed with all the care and sympathy of an insider - of the precise series of choices n1ade by the men who followed Charles. If I am right, then Nithard's work as originally conceived and executed up to the end of book 2 could legitimately be called "public *Histories"* in a triple sense: first, as dealing with public, political events; secondly, as intended not only to be read by posterity, but to be heard and read by a contemporary public, that is, by a section of society considered as consumers; thirdly, as directed at *the* public (of the West Frankish realm) in the specific sense used by some political scientists, that is, a clearly defined group of political actors operating in the given society as "a central agency for the regulation of public affairs."s²

The argun1ent that Nithard wrote for this contemporary audience may be strengthened if we go on to consider book 3. As Patze has pointed out, its

·o Propaganda can of course take the form of outright lying in adosed situation. that is. when a regime is in fim>enough control 10 blatantly misrepresent the immediate past: see Janet L Nelson... The Rites of the Conqueror;· *Prouedtngs of th, Batik Conj,rn,u on Anglo-Norman Studi,.t,* 4/1981 (Woodbridge. Eng., and Totowa, N.J., 1982). pp. 117-32 with notes 210-21 at pp. 218-19, below, pp. 397-8, n. 97, for two likely examples from later in the Middle Ages.

"lirabanus Maurus, *ub,r nd Otganum* 15, Pl I12:1411, condemned Charles's and Louis's depiction of Fontenoy as a judgmen1 of God. Compare the situation in 833 when Lothar's supporters claimed the Field of Lies as a judgment of God. but Louis the Pious's supporters (including Hrabanus) thought otherwise.

"Michael G. Smith, *CorporatwflS and Sou ty* (London, 1974), pp. 82. 84-86. and especially 93-94 and 98. For some of *the* difficulties in defining "public" historiogr•phy in the ninth ceniury, see above, chapter 8, pp. 191-2.

preface makes it clear that Nithard had originally planned 10 end his story with Fontenoy and that he went on writing only with some reluctance.[53] Perhaps it was Charles's pressure that made him continue, but Nithard does not state explicitly that this was so, nor does he address Charles directly in this third preface (in contrast to the previous two). Patze sidesteps the problem of motivation here: for him, since *iustitia,* Nithard's central theme, had been revealed at Fontenoy, the battle's aftermath is inevitably an anti-climax. Yet if Charles apparently no longer felt a pressing need for a continued apologia, then it is hard 10 see why Nithard should have thought his lord's conduct after Fontenoy needed further justification to posterity. According to Patze, Nithard's purpose in writing book 3 was "now only to serve the Truth in the usual way"(!).[54] But the continuity with book 2 is not complete. The third preface, unlike the first and second, offers no explicit condemnation of Lothar's conduct, and Nithard is in no hurry 10 criticize Lothar for failure to accept the "divinejudg1nen1" ,nanifested at Fontenoy.[55] As in books I and 2. both Charles's leadership and the crucial role of his following emerge strongly. But there are new stresses, too, on reconciliation among the Franks, on 1he need for con1inuing devotion to "the public interest," on Charles's winning of new adheren1S after Fontenoy, and on the close entente be1ween Charles and Louis 1he German and between their followers.[56] Again, precisely these en1phases are intelligible in terms of an appeal to a contemporary audience. Nithard continued 10 address his fellow supporters of Charles, but his immediate concerns had shifted somewhat since Fontenoy. Now he needed 10 win suppor1 tor a new effort at a negotiated seulement in which the clairns of all three brothers, including Lothar, could be accommodated. This in Nithard's view required the maintenance of the close alliance between Charles and Louis, for it could only **be** as a result of their combined pressure that Lothar would be brought to terms.[57] Hence in book 3 Nithard presented Louis, and the alliance i1Self, in such a favorable light as to enlist the continued commitment of Charles's men. Given that the co,nposition of his audience had altered 10 some extent, Nithard was careful to recognize the irnponance of those recently recruited to Charles's camp. Lothar's continued resistance was a problem 10 be faced together: the narrative of book 3 showed how the problem could be overcome by preserving a united front.

., Ni1hard. *Historrt.* preface 10 book 3, pp. 78-80: l'au,,... /w1,ua," p. 158.

""lwlltu,.," p. 161.

» Bui Lothars rejection by Cod is implicir in a "miraculous" rising in 1he wa1ers of the Seine "under a dear sky," which prevented him from crossing the river: Ni1hard, *Historr*, 3.3, p. 94. Soon afterwards, Lothar's planned "deception" of his brothers was thwaned by Charles's firm adherence 10 his aUiance with Louis, while Lo1ha1··s own ally. Pippin II. regre11ed his choice: ibid. 3.4, p. 100.

[58] Ibid. 3.1, pp. 80-82; 3.2, p. 84; 3.3, pp. 90-92.• 94; 3.5, pp. 100-112.

"Ibid. 3.3, pp. 94-96: 3.5, pp. 102-8: 3.7, pp. 112-14.

This overriding concern helps to account for the attention (on any reckoning extraordinary) that Nithard pays to the Strasbourg oaths of February 842.[58] He first presents in Latin the declarations which he tells us Charles and Louis made, in the *lingua Teudisca* and the *lingua Romana* respectively, to each other's followers. That is, Charles addressed Louis's men in Frankish (or Old High German) and Louis addressed Charles's men in Romance (or French). Whether or not Nithard hi,nself had a hand in drafting these texts,[59] his specification of the vernaculars emphasizes the importance of total intelligibility on this occasion, for the kings' audience consisted not just of magnates but of the whole *plebs,* that is, the lesser aristocracy as well. The kings asserted the traditional values of *fraternil.as* and *Christianitas* and their objectives of *pax, iustitia,* and the welfare of the *populus Christianus.* Then (and Nithard has not weakened this theme by previous overuse) they recalled the "divine judgment" of Fontenoy and condemned Lothar for willfully ignoring it. Then each king absolved his own men from their obligations of loyalty to him should he renege on his commitment to his brother. These undertakings were summarized in short oaths whose texts Nithard gives in the vernaculars. First Louis in Romance, then Charles in German swore to help the other "asany man ought in right to preserve his brother, so long as he in turn does the same for me," and never to enter into separate negotiations with Lothar against the other brother's interests.[60] Then the *populus* of each king swore, each in its own language - and again Nithard gives vernacular texts - to give no aid to its royal lord should he atten1pt 10 act against his brother. Each man evidently swore the oath individually. But by the use of the collective noun *popuius* Nithard highlights the collective nature of these commitments. It was the aristocracy who as a group underwrote the kings' agreement, and it was their power to withdraw their loyalty on which all relied as the sanction binding the kings to their oaths.[61] Nithard's pursuit of

•• Ibid. 3.5, pp. 102-8.

"As suggesoed by Wright. *Lai, Lahn,* p. 123.

•• Louis's oath, in Romance, is given by Ni1han:I. 3.5, p. 104, as follows: "Pro Deo amur et pro **christian pob1o *ec* nostro commun salvament, d'ist di in avant. in quant Deus s.avir et podir me** duna,.sisalvarai eo cisi meon fradre Ka,io et in aiudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per drei1 son fradra safvar dift. ino quid ii mi altresi fa1£t ct ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai. qui. meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.'" Ruth Schmid1-Wiegand. "'Eid und Gelobnis im miuelaherlichen Recht,""in *Recht und Sdmft ,m Mitte/alttr,* ed. Peter Classen (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 55-90 at 62-68. observes that wriuen, Latin models lay behind some of the phraseology of the kings oaths. but that their being spoken was what made them legally binding.

61 The oath of Charles's *populus* (termedfide/.ts in AB, p. 40) is given by Ni1hard. *Hu/lJITt* 3.5. pp. 100-8: "Si Lodhuuigs sagrament que son fradre Karlo jurat conser di et Karlus, meos **sendra, de suo part non l'ostanit, si io retumar non rint pois, ne io *ne* neu.Js cui ro retumar inc** pois, in nulla aiudha contra Lodhuuig nun Ii iu er." Schmidt-Wiegand, "'Eid und Celobnis," p. 68. finds the oaths of the faithful men more inffuenced than the kings· by spoken language. Wright, *Late Latin,* p. 125. findssome difficulty in accounting for the production of a vernacular text for the West Fr.inkish *popuJus* "'not many [of whomt could have been likely to be able to read at all. let alone from a bafffing orthography... .·Iam not sure that assuming rather more

peace and the common good was based on a thoroughly realistic grasp of the means to the end. His treatment of the Strasbourg oaths ensured that no reader or hearer of book 3 would miss his message.

The third preface offers one further pointer towards the conclusion that Nithard continued writing for an immediate "propagandistic" reason. He was anxious

> in case sotneone, tricked by some means or other, should dare to give an account of recent events otherwise than as they really happened.'"

Nithard's anxiety might be attributed to a disinterested concern for truth and the correct informing of posterity. More probably it had an immediate and pragmatic cause: fear that Charles's men might be subjected to an alternative view of events emanating from Lothar's camp. For Charles need not have **been** alone **in** appreciating the utility of an apologist who could address noble Franks in terms they understood. Lothar, in Nithard's view, was quite capable of "trickery"[63] and was an expert practitioner of those "solicitings" of rivals' supporters that were the stuff of Carolingian politics.[64] Nithard hirnself tells us that Lothar's "partisans," so tar from accepting Fontenoy as a divine judgment in Charles's and Louis's favor, spread a rumor that Charles had been killed in the battle and Louis put to ftight.[65] Here indeed was an alternative view of events! Nithard was surely realistic to fear that such "disinformation" might be given literary form. Under the circumstances, and despite the tension inherent in pursuing reconciliation through the recording of conftict, it was not surprising that Nithard in his own words "settled for adding a third book."[66]

The preface to the fourth and last book contains an echo of the first preface, but it is set in so different a context as to carry a very different meaning. Nithard tells of his personal anxieties, his mind n1oved by "many grievances," he hirnself driven by the "blasts of fortune."

> But meanwhile if I find any free 1i1ne, what objection can there be if, as it was commanded. I take pains to com1ni1 to memory bv the office of my pen the deeds

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widespread literacy will resolve \Yright's problem, given his basic hypo1hesis (sec above, n. 26), bm 1hr idea of ""Ni1hard, or whoever i1 was'" producing 1he second veniacular oath because "'ther feh they were sufficiently pleasw·· wi1h the first is rather engaging!

"1':ithard. *Hutoire,* preface to book 3. p. 80.

" Ibid. 2.4. p. 46: L01har looks for a 1rick («slu.s) b) which to deceive Charles. Compare 2.2. p. 42: 2.7. p. 58; 2.9. p. 6!1; 4.3. p. 128.

•• Ibid. 2.8, p. 62. Compare 2.2, p. 40. and similar tactics in 2.3, p. 44, and 2.4, p. 48. The inducements involved are explid1 in 2.1. p. 38, where L.01har promises "unicuique honores a patre conressos se concedere e1eosdem augere velle." For examples of such tactics afler 843, see the Second Colloqu) of Meersen (851). ed. Alfred Boreuus. MGH Capit 205.2. p. 72, and the *Libt/lus contra l\lenilonem,* ibid. 300.7. p. 452.

"Ni1hard. *Hutoirt* 3.2. p. 86.

•• Ibid., preface 10 book . p. 80: "1enium libellum ut adderem acquievi."

> of our princes and our magnates? I shall therefore apply myself 10 this fourth book., and if I am unable LO be of any use in other public affairs in future, at least by my own effort I can clean up the blot of error for posterity.••

The echo of the first preface here has an ironic ring. Nithard's cone is no longer positive and optimistic but resigned. His reference to fortune is perhaps more than a Sallustian flourish; it implies a sense of the vanity of human endeavor, even a loss of confidence in his ability to discern the workings of divine providence in the affairs of men.[68] Nithard no longer hoped, as he had once done, to influence his contemporaries: book 4 would be appreciated by posterity alone. Whereas in the first preface Nithard had told Charles that he would record "the deeds done in your time," deeds in which Charles by implication would appear a central figure, in the fourth preface the reference is to "deeds of our princes and our magnates" in general. The royal "command" mentioned in the fourth preface is simply the original one of May 841: the fourth book itself is not addressed co Charles and lacks the first three books' occasional admiring or sympathetic reference to Charles and to the justice of his cause.[69] The deeds of Charles and his men no longer provide any kind of theme and when Nithard does mention Charles's marriage to "Adalard's niece," he follows this up **with** a little diatribe on Adalard's political vices - hardly a fit passage for the man who had just become Adalard's nephew-in-law.7° Still less fit for Charles's consumption is the final passage of book 4 (and of the *Histories)* where Nithard bitterly evokes "the times of the great Charles of happy memory" co make a stark contrast with his own times:

> Then this people walked on one and the same straight highroad of the Lord and there was peace and concord everywhere. But now - what a difference! - everywhere dissensions and feuds. Then there was everywhere plenteousness and gladness: now everywhere penury and sadness.... Then the very elements were favorable; now everywhere they are hostile.....''

If the changed tone of book 4 as compared with the earlier books can hardly be attributed to Nithard's objective observation of worsening political conditions or declining moral standards on the part of the Frankish nobility, then it is time to look for an alternative explanation.

" Ibid.. preface to book 4, p. I16.

•• Compare the commenu of Heinz Lowe, "Geschicht5schreibung der ausgehenden Karolingerzeit," *Dewschts Arcmu* 23 (1967), 1-30 at 29-30. a propos Regino of Priim.

•• It is Louis the German.• rather than Charles, who attracts special praise from Nithard now - notably in **4.4.** p. 132. See below, n. 118.

[1]. Ibid. 4.6. p. 142. Compare Lupus of Ferri res, *CorrtsP,,rnlanu,* ed. Uon Levillain, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927-35), ep. 31. I:144: "ne metuatis potentes ... ; -followed by a citation of Psalm 144.3. This may be a criticism of Adalard but it is discreetly veiled.

"Nithard. *Hi.ru,irt* 4.7, p. 144.

Our attention can be redirected now from society in general to Nithard's own career - to the private history which runs through the public *Histories.* Unfortunately there is no direct evidence for it before 840.n But Nithard's receiving of *honores* from Louis the Pious implies a position of some influence at Louis's court.'[3] while parts of book 1, for instance, the accounts of Guntbald's role in 830, of the casualties in the Neustrian battle of 834, and of Charles's investiture in 838, suggest firsthand, if not necessarily continuous, familiarity with the court during Louis's reign.[74] A recipient of *honores* may be assumed to have attended some of the assemblies, and probably to have fought in some of the campaigns, of the 820s and 830s. For his description of the lands granted to Charles in the winter of 837-38 Nithard used a document which may well have been produced at the Aachen assembly where the grant was made.[7]s Furthermore Nithard, as he himself tells us, was a grandson of Charlemagne through his mother, Bertha,1[6] and thus belonged to the "royal family" in the wider sense understood by contemporaries. The position of such a man in the Carolingian period was problematical because of the political and social significance attached to royal blood.[77] Biological closeness to the ruler could carry dangers as well as

" According to the famil)' tree attached to Werner, "Nachkommen," Nithard was bon, "before 800." For justification of rh,< date, see Konecny, *Frauen,* p. 76.

[13] Nirhard, *Hulbirt* 2.2., p. 42.

"Ibid. 1.3. p. 12; 1.5. p. 20; 1.6, **p.** 27.

"Ibid. 1.6, **pp.** 24-26, with Lauer's commenrs at n. 3. Compare AB, pp. 22-23. Nitl,ard presumably got access to chis document in 841 as a result of Charles's commission.

" Nichard, *Historre* 4.5, p. 138.

[11] So, for instance, Dhuoda, *Man-uel* 3.8, pp. 166-70, devotes a chapter to the special respect due to tlte "inditos atque praeclaros seniori tuo regiae potestatis eximios parentes atque propin• quos," before going on co speak of *optimau.s* in general. Paschasius Radbertus lays striking emphasis on membership ofrhe royal kindred in his*V,ta Adalh.ardi* 7 and 50, PL 120:1511, 1534 (this Adalard was a first cousin of Charlemagne). Thegan, *Vita Htud.ov,u* 36, MCH SS 2:597, says that Bernard, count of Barcelona, belonged [10] the *Uirp, regu,* (his father, William of Gellone, was apparently related through his great-grandmother to Charlemagne's mother: see the family tree in Eduard Hlawitschka, "Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen," in *Karl d,r Grosst,* ed. Braunfels and Beumann, 1, following p. 72). Hincmar of Rheims, noting the death of Charles the Bald's brother-in-law William (AB, s.a. 886. p. 130), specifies noi his affinal buc his blood relationship [10] the king. (LeviUain, "Nibelung<:tl historiques, II," *Annaks du Midi* 50 J19381, 34-43, argues ingeniously that William was Charles's *solmnus* because his grandfather was the brocher of Charles's grandmother Hildegard, mother of Louis che Pious.) Despite some attempts in this period to narrow the circle of those eligible for royal succession, a relatively large range of claims remained possible, including some through women: see Werner, "Nachkommen," p. 410, n. 14, and Konecny, *Frauen,* pp. 33-44, 126-33. Nithard was not the only son of one of Charlemagne's daughters to achieve some prominence: for Louis see below, Appendix I, p. *235,* and for Richbod, below, p. 224. Both men are note-d as grandsons of Charlemagne *"'ftlia* in the AB; Louisin Hincmar's secti!)n., s.a. 867, p. 134, and **Richbod** in Prudentius's s.ection, s.a. 844, pp. 46-47. The broader context of such relationships is discussed by Donald Bullough, "Early 1edieval Social Groupings: The Terminology of Kinship," *Post and Pre5e t* 45 (1969), 3-18. See also Karl Schmid, "Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippc und

advantages. Nithard is the sole supplier of our information on some interesting cases in point. He tells us, for instance, of Charles the Bald's half sister Hildegard, who apparently tried to hold Laon for Lothar in the aftermath of Fontenoy and was swiftly dealt with by Charles:

> He pro,nised her in the nicest possible way all the kindness a brother owes a sister, provided that she would agree toshow favor to him, and he gave her permission to depart for whatever destination she wished.'"

If Hildegard's behavior to Charles had seemed unsisterly, she had done right by her full brother Lothar. Fraternal discord inevitably posed problems for sisters. As for Charles, brotherly he might wish to be, but in the political circumstances of summer 841, he had no alternative to the expulsion of his sister from a key stronghold. Again, it is Nithard who records what happened to Charlemagne's three youngest sons, Drogo, Hugh, and Theoderic, after their father's death: at first they were favored by their half brother Louis the Pious and made his table companions, but after the revolt of Louis's nephew Bernard, king of Italy, in 817, they were tonsured and put in monasteries for fear that they might "solicit the people," in other words. seek aristocratic support, "and follow Bernard's example."[79] Later Nithard reports the alignments of Drogo and Hugh in the great family conflict of 840-41.[80] Now, 100, he mentions Bernard's son Pippin and makes it clear that this great-grandson of Charlemagne had been given lands, presumably by Louis the Pious, somewhere between the rivers Meuse and Seine.[81] Probably identifiable as another close kinsman is **the** "Arnulf' whom Nithard

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Ceschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim miuelalterlichen Adel,"" *l,itschnjt fiir di Ge,chachtt cks Ohm-hems* 105 (1957), 1-62, which. however. de. s mainly wi1h East Frankish material. The **si1uation in ninth-cenrury Wes, Francia may have been somey.•ha1 different: *see* below n. 157.**

"Nithard, *ff,stoir,* 3.4. p. 98. Konecny. *Frauen,* p. 96. speculates on the possible identity of Hildegard"s husband. Bur see below. Appendix I, p. 290. for the suggestion that twodaughters assitned 10 Louis the Pious by Werner, "Nachkommen.- pp. 447, 450, should in fact be regarded as daughters of Pippin I of Aquiuiine. Hildegard was probably abbess of Notre Dame, **Laon, but since there is no evidence that she was married, there seems no reason to dub her a** "lay abbess." The fact that Nithard accords her no ecclesiastical rank is irrelevant here: compare the identifications suggested above, n. 34.

•• Nithard, *Histoirt* 1.2, pp. 6-8. Drogo. Hugh, and Theodcric were sons of Charlemagne's old age by concubines. Illegitimacy did not, of course, automatically debar a man from royal succession: sec Konecny, *Fra,,en,* pp. 41-44, and, for the broader context, Konrad Sund, *Thro,,stur: und Hen-scht7absttwng im Friilrmrtltla/Jtr* (Bonn, 1979). For Ben,ar<l's revolt see Thomas F. X. Noble, "The Revolt of King Bemard of Italy in 817: Causes and Consequences," *Studi mtdut!<tli* 15 (1974). 31$-26. and Konecny, *Frauen,* pp. 38, 88, 160-63. noting the bias of the sour,,. on 817andtheevidence of later ninth-century practice.

•• Nithar<l, *Hi.sloirt* 2.10, p. 74; 3.2, 3. p. 90.

•• Ibid. 2.3, p. 44. Werner. "Untersuchungen," 5.• *Du W,lt als CeschirJite* 20 (1960), 92-93, argues that Pippin had probably been given the countship of Beauvais, and assum,. that he was confirmed in it by Chari,. in 842 or 843, held it continuously thereafter, and transmitted it 10 his son sometime before 877. If *so.* the fact tha1 Pippin·• life from 841 is undocumented ma)' indicate that he never played an imporrant role at Charles's coun.

mentions in a context that implies he had been given a countship in this same region.[82] That both Pippin and Arnulf opted for Lothar's side in 840 or 841 evidently caused problems for Charles in an area where it was crucial for hin1 to hold supporters. Nithard, again our only informant, shows that these surplus royal kinsmen, like other great nobles, had to decide which of the rival Carolingian claimants to a share in Louis the Pious's inheritance they should support. Nithard ii;nplies, further, that the decisions of these men were additionally important because they influenced others. Charles, Louis the German, and Lothar all sometimes chose envoys from among their Carolingian kin.[83] But if the family conflict of 840-41, like previous similar conflicts in the reigns of Charlemagne and his son, gave such royal kinsmen political impo11ance and new prospects of serviceability, hence of advancement and reward, it presented them at the same time with some hard choices. For the very object of the conflict, Francia, was the region where their own honors lay.

l''he dilemma is nicely illustrated by the example of Pippin, son of Bernard of Italy. Nithard records that when in the autumn of 840 Lothar pushed westwards across the l\,[euse towards the Seine,

> Pippin nd,.he others chose 10 despise their oaths. ro hreak rheir fairh in 1he way that serls do. rather than 10 lose their lands for a short while.'"

Pippin·s lands rnust thus have lain squarely within the area assigned to Charles by his father in 839, an arrangement to which Lothar had agreed and the Frankish rnagnates had sworn.[8]s But Nithard does rnore than condernn the conduct of Pippin and the others who went over to Lothar: he contrasts it implicitly with an alternative n1odel he has just given us:

> [Charles) chose l\'.ithard and Adalgar as his envoys to Lorhar.... Because these en\'o s refused to turn to Lothar and abandon their good faith, Lothar deprived then, ol rhe honors which his father had gi,·en them.••

1·his "Nithard" is none orher than the author himsclf,[87] and from the contex1 of this passage it looks as if the honors he lost in the autumn of 840 la)' in 1he 1cuse valley where Lothar was then active. And if Nithard lost 1hese lands. then Lothar no doubt assigned then1 to someone else, perhaps to one of the "defectors" whom Nithard lists a few lines further on, a group of nobles fron1 "beyond the Charbonniere," that is, from the area between

" Nithanl, *Ht<torre* 2.6, pp. 54-56. See Werner, ··Nachkommen," p. 446.
''' N11hard. *Histo1r,* 2.2. 10, pp. 40. 74; 3.3. p. 90.
''' Ibid. 2.3, p. 44: "... more servorum fidem omittere. iuramema contempnere."
•• Ibid. 1.6, p. 26.
•• Ibid. 2.2. pp. 40-42.
"Though Nithard elsewhere relers to himselr in rhe first person (*Histoire* 2.10: 4.1, 5), this ide,uihcauon seems certain given the character of book 2 and the circumstances of the work's **commissmning b)' Charles.**

this ancient forest boundary (running approximately between modern Louvain and Charleroi) and the Meuse.[88] Though not aU Charles's supporters left him, Nithard stresses what a small band they were in the winter of 840-41, when Charles's fortunes were at their lowest ebb. Charles and his men were very close; he discussed his plans with them and when he asked their advice,

> it was easy to make up their minds what to do. Since they had nothing lefl besides their lives and bodies, [Charles's men] chose todie nobly rather than to betray and abandon their king.••

This nobleness forms a striking contrast with the "serflike" conduct of Pippin and the rest. Lothar himself, according to Nithard, recognized the mettle of Charles's men, knowing 1ha1 they would resist him "strenuously" however much he might try 10 bribe or threaten them.[90] After describing Louis the German's joining up with Charles, Ni1hard praises Louis's men in similar terms:

> They feared that if brother should fail 10 help brother (that is, should Louis fail 10 help Charles) then I.hey (Louis's men] would leave an unworthy memory to their descendants. They preferred penur)', even death, to losing their unconquered **nan1e.**[91]

Louis's men were actually engaged in a campaign directed against Louis's brother Lothar, yet their good reputation depended on their lord's acting in a brotherly way. The conflict of values was a real one: **a** son could justly claim a share in the paternal inheritance, yet this set him in competition with the brorher he should love. **lt** was not only in the case of kings that fraternal rights or acceptable ambitions clashed with fraternal obligations: all the stress in a Frankish noble's education mighr be on solidariry between brothers, yet brorhers' careers could diverge, even compete,[92] and fraternal

"Nithard was writing from a point west and south of 1he Charbonniere. For the loca1ion of this frontier in 1he Middle Ages, see H. Vander Linden. "La fore, Charbonniere," *Rtvue beige de philolog,e tt d'histmrt* 2 (1923), 203-14, and f'. L. Ganshof, "Carbonaria Silva," in *Ha,ul.wMtrrbu.th utr ,kuuchm Rethugtsthttht.t,* ed. Adalber1 Erler and Ekkehard Kaufmann, 3 (Berlin. 1966). cols. 589-90. For its significance in Merovingian and Carolingian times. see Eugen Ewig. "Descriptio Franciae:· in *Karl dM GroMt,* eel. Braunfels and 6eumann, I:157-58; Classen, "Ver1rage" (cited above. n. 2), p. 6 wi1h nn. I and 2: and l>elow, n. 107.

•• Nitha, I, *N"toire* 2.4. p. 46.

" Ibid.

" Ibid. 2.10. pp. 6fl...70.

"The sons and grand,;ons of Count \Veil. father of ,he empress Judi1h. offer several insiance<: *,ee* !he evidence preseme<I by Genl Tellenbach, "Exkurs uber die al!e<ten Wellen im West- un<I Ostfrankenreich," in *St,ul n u.nd Vorarbwen u,r Gtsth1rhu des l('•t!frii11Jwch,11 ur,d /ruhdr11tsrhen Ad.els,* eel. Tellenbach (Freiburg, 1957), pp. 335-40(though Tellenbach himself did n," draw 1he same inference as I have done). Adalard and Gerard offer anmher case: though **modern historians agree on the fraternal rda1ionship berween lhbe 1wo. no nimh---c:cmuq· tt>xt**

disputes over the division of family property may have been common in the ninth century.[93] For a noble individual such dissonance between norm and experience would often be painful. Therefore though nobles sometimes exploited the fraternal conflicts of kings, the concern described by Nithard in the passage just quoted should not be dismissed as mere cynical playacting. Furthermore.-as Nithard shows in the case of Bernard of Septimania awai1ing on 1he sidelines the outcome of Fontenoy, a noble's optimal self-interest could not be easily calculated.[9,] Several ninth-century casualty lists suggest that the often idealized duty of a faithful man to his lord could involve all loo real sacrifice.[9]•

For many of Nithard's Frankish contemporaries, including. I believe, many of those who read and heard his work, such dilemmas will have been recent and vivid realities. Thus both Nithar<l's very detailed presentation of the preliminaries to Fontenoy and the brevity of his account of the actual battle can be seen as accommodating the sensibilities of his audience. Nithard had to explain Fontenoy. He did not, as Pietzcker argued, have to explain it away. But he could not have thought of glamorizing it. Far more attention is also given to the elaborate rituals of legitimation and reconciliation that followed Fontenoy than 10 the battle itself.[96] Nithard's values did not differ from those of Carolingian churchmen; he did believe that bishops had special access to the will of God. He and his patrons were 1herefore perfectly genuine in invoking episcopal pronouncements. Like Villehardouin appealing to ecclesiastical approval for the Latins' attack on Constantinople in 1204,[97] Nithard and his fellow Franks needed to believe in the church's authori1y.

Thus far Nithard may be seen to have reAected the concerns of his fellow participants. But there is one poirn in his narrative where he calls auen1ion in an unusually explicit way to his own part in events. In his account of Fontenoy he names011ly two of the combatants, apart from the warring

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specihes it or links their careers. lbey appareml)· fought on opposite sides at rontenoy: above. 11. 22.

•• Describing one such a11emp1ed division, Odo of Clanfeuil says that a quanel broke out "'as often happens in such a business" *Cut 1n talt nJsol,1 ntgo/Jo)* and one brorher slew rhe other: *Ali•acula Saiuh Maun.* ed. Oswalcl Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15:470. Odo's account of the **refoundation ol Glante"ull suggests tenst0n and finally a compromise between dose kinsmen** over control of a fam,i\ monasterr: ibid., pp. 467-68. Se Otto G. Oexle, "Bischof Ebroin von l'oitiers und seine \'erwandten," *f'ruh1m11,lalin-l,cht StuJit*>> 3 (1969), l:1 210 ar 149-60.

94 **Ni1hard, *Huto,r,*** 3.2. **pp. 82- 4. For percepti"e fomments on twelhh*Century nobles in d comparable situa1ion. see Edmund Kin).::, ..Kmg Stephen and the An lo-Normau1a nate-s;·** *ll1sto1* · 59 (197•1). 180-9-1.

"Nitharcl. *H,.,tmre* 1.5. p. 20: AB, pp. 13. -16-47, 131. 209.

94 **The hault- 1:,,deah with iu lounecn lines ol Lauer's e<l1tion *(IIM/(Jlrt* 1.10. Pt•· 7 78) wherea\ three time!', a, man Im ;trc de\mcd 10 the aflenmuh {ihid. 3.1, pp. 8{)-82).**

97 **V1llehal(loum.*11,,,Ccnup,r\(tJ/ <:omltmlwople.* Han . M. R. B. Shaw (l·larmonclswonh. 1963),** <hap. I I. pp. !H-K .

kings. and these are Adalard and himself. After saying that Louis and Charles were victorious in their sectors of the battle, Nithard goes on:

> But the pan [of Lothar's forces) that fought at Solmet against Adalard and the others, to whom I gave no small assistance, struggled bravely ... but then they fled.••

Nithard implies chat this part of the battle was the hardest-fought one, and he claims chat his own role was significant here. What matters is not so much the trustworthiness of the claim (for we have no means of checking that) but the reason that Nithard makes it at all - and with a rare use of the first person singular. It looks as if when he was writing the final chapter of book 2 in October 841 he wished to bring his own services to the attention of Charles and also of his followers and at the same time to associate himself with Adalard, then nearing the height of his influence in Charles's camp. Adalard is na,ned three ti,nes in book 3 and his role in winning support for Charles in Francia is implicitly approved by Nithard.[99] It looks as if Nithard hoped to gain personally from his connection with Adalard,[100] expecting that the ,nan he felt he had helped so signally at Fontenoy would feel in return some sense of obligation and would use his influence with the king to promote Nithard's own interests. For Nithard surely believed that anyone fa,niliar with books 2 and 3 would regard this expectation as reasonable. By publicizing his connection with Adalard he hoped to enlist widespread sympathy for his own concerns.

Those concerns centered, I think, on the recovery of his lost lands in Francia. In the aununn of 841 Nithard may well have felt confident of getting them back. Even when Lothar, unbowed by Fontenoy, had reaffirmed his extensive territorial dernands. Charles had replied that

> i, seemed to hi1n uuerly unfitting that he [Charles) should yield up the realm between the Meuse and the Seine which his father had given him. especially because so man,· nobles *(ta11tn nobiltta.,)* from there had chosen 10 follow him and it would he quite wrong for them 10 be deceived in their loralty 10 him.[101]

Charles went on to ask thal further negoriations be deferred "since winter was corning on," but thar in the meantirne "each should have the honors which (Louis the Pious] had given him." Nithard would have been a conspicuous beneficiary by such tenns, but Lothar predictably spurned them. By the spring of 842, however, **it** seerned that Lothar was no longer in **a** posit.ion 10 call the tune. Charles and Louis the German could draft at Aachen a division of the *regnum Francon.un* which apparently excluded Lothar al-

,. Nithard, *HiJtoire* 2. I0, pp. 76-78. Schol1'$ translation, *Carolmgian Chr(Jntc/ts.* p. 1!>4, has Adalard fighting on Lmhars side.

" Nithard, *Hisu>irt* 3.2. 3, pp. 84_, 86, 90.

, .. For the po.,,ihility of a further kin tie be1ween the 1wo men, *s<,e* below. p. 232.

••• Nithard, *H1'loire* 3.3, pp. 94-96.

together, confining him to ltaly.[102] Such a division could never have been expec1ed to stick; as 1he sequel made clear, it was a means of exerting pressure on Lothar to come 10 the conference 1able. Bui their successes over the previous months had made Charles and Louis more than ever determined to hold on to the regions which they considered politically vital and which Lothar had tried correspondingly hard to withhold from them. In Louis's case, the region in question consisted of an enclave on the west bank of the Rhine around Jngelheim and including Mainz, Worms, and Speyer.[103] In Charles's case the vital area, according to Nithard, lay north and east of the Charbonniere between rhe rivers Scheidt and Meuse. After Lothar had been forced to Ree from Francia (Nithard si,nply calls it "the realm") in !1,farch 842, Charles and Louis could agree to a division which. while purpor1ing to partition the whole of Francia be1ween then1 in order togive them a strong bargaining position in future negotiations with Lothar, was really intended to secure for each his area of special interes1 in addition to the kingdom he already effectively held.

Nithard clearly thought this agree1nen1 imporiant and he spelled out the cri1eria used in drawing the detailed boundaries:

> not so much the fertility or equal territorial extent of each share. as the family connections. interests, and commitments of everrone involved.""

Nithard's depiction of the basis for the 842 division in what we might call explicitly sociological rather 1han geographical or cons1i1utional terms is perhaps our single most i1nportan1 piece of evidence for the central political role of the Carolingian aristocracy. This settlement, like its more fa1nous sequel ratified a1 Verdun in 843, was a product of Frankish consensus politics. So familiar was 1his contex1 of ninth-century practice that Nithard felt no need to labor the point: indeed his touch was so light that n1ost modern historians had failed to register i1 at all until the late Peter Classen sharpened our perceptions. In Nithard's account of the 842 agreement

••• Ibid. 4. I. pp. I 16-20. Nithard says: "Evenil<fue Lodhuvico omnis Frisia . . . - Scholz. *Carolmgum Chrome/es,* p. 166, renders: "Louis received all of Francia .. :· - a rather different prop<>sition!

,., Dummler, *Gtsch,cht,,* I :205-6, nores the strategic and ecclesiastical significance of this area. Louis the Pious stayed quite often in his palace, at lngelheim, Worms, and Mainz: see Bnihl, *Fodrum, G1Jtum,* p. 21. For fisc lands here, see Wolfgang Me . *Das kara/;ng,sdi, Rti(hsguJ* (Berlin, 1960), pp. I13, 118, 123. 130.

••• Nithard, *H1.1tofrt* 4.1. p. I20: "non tamum fertilit.as aut equa portio rel(ni quantum affinitas et congrueotia cujusque aptata es,:• My translation is based on the interpretation of Classen. "Vertrage," pp. 10-12, which seems to me preferable 10 earlier views. F. L Ganshof. "Zur En1s1ehungsgeschich1e und Bedeutung des Vertrages von Verdun," *Deui.stim Arthru* 12 (1956), 313-30 (English translation in Ganshof. *Th, Cnrobn 1t0ns rmd tlu Frmi./ush Morwrchy* [London, I97I]. pp. 289-302), is an illuminating study which identifies the nature of royal resources but bcc.. use rhe focus remains on the king,< rather than on the aristocracy misses the significance of *a/Jinitns* and *congn,entia.*

"everyone involved" included not just the two kings[105] but their boundary commissioners, twelve chosen by Charles and twelve by Louis from among their leading supporters, and these men in turn took account of the connections and interests of their peers, their friends and clients, and their noble comrades of the past months' campaigning. Nithard himself was one of these commissioners[106] and he leaves us in little doubt about his approval of their work. Charles, he goes on, left Aachen and "crossed the Meuse to put his kingdom in order." The *Annals* of St. Bertin confirms this, adding that Charles spent Easter at Herstal, one of the most ancient Carolingian holdings.[107] When within a few weeks Lothar took the hoped-for initiative in reopening negotiations with his brothers, there was, according to Nithard, a sense of relief on the part of Charles and Louis and "all their people."

What happened next evoked from Nithard an unmistakable cry of protest, even of pain. The three envoys sent by Charles and Louis found Lothar unwilling to accept the terms they brought. Lothar put his own position plainly:

> He would not have, he said, in the pan [that is, the share of the divided *regnum*] they offered him the wherewithal to make goort to his own supporters that which they had lost.

Nithard goes on - with another of his rare uses of the first person:

> For this reason - and I do not know by what trickery they were deceived - the envoys increased Lothar's share of the *regnum* so that it extended as far as the Charbonniere.[108]

The additional concession, so Nithard implies, made all the difference: Lothar accepted the revised terms. This was a crucial stage, therefore, in the negotiations that led to Verdun where in 843 a division of the *regnum Francorum* was settled for that generation. Charles can have had no illusions about the price to be paid. It was an offer he had once made before in a last urgent attempt to aven battle at Fontenoy.[109] When Lothar had rejected it.

[108] If that had been Nithard's meaning, would he not have written *ut rursus* instead of *eus,,dem,* picking up his *werum* (referring to Charles and Louis) earlier in the same sentence? Nithard, *Histoire* 4.3, p. 120: "... quorum unus exuu-

[107] AB, s.a. 842, p. 41. On the history of Carolingian (Pippinid) holdings in the Haspengau (Hesbaye), see Matthias Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum in frühkarolingischer Zeit* (Göttingen, 1980), pp. 347-54, 441-51. According to the *Annales Mettenses Priores* s.a. 688, ed. Bernhard von Simson, MGH SSrG (Hannover, 1905), p. 2. Pippin, the first mayor of the palace, in the early seventh century "populum inter Carbonariam silvam et Mosam fluvium ... gubernaba[t]." But Werner stresses, p. 347, that this text was written c. 800 and may well reflect a contemporary rather than earlier regional identity.

[106] Nithard, *Histoire* 4.3, pp. 124-26.

[109] Ibid. 2.10, p. 72. Significantly, Louis the German, too, had then offered a correspondingly large concession, foregoing the enclave west of the Rhine. Pietzcker, "Schlacht," p. 129, suggests

But his acceptance of it now, a year later when the alternative of a military victory no longer seemed available, proved its significance in terms of political gain. The lands between the Charbonniere and the Meuse did, it seems, provide Lothar with the "wherewithal" he needed to supplement his territories further east. For here around Herstal were estates that had been Pippinid before they becan1e Carolingian. Being ancient they may well have been intensively exploited, and being fairly near Aachen they had probably received careful attention from royal estate managers over at least the past two generations. As well as the fisc lands proper, such abbeys as Nivelles and Lobbes and the see of Cambrai were major royal assets in the vicinity.[110] This was the area, together with the region laden with similar assets between the Scheidt and the Seine, which was said by a well-informed East Frankish contemporary co constitute "the best part of the *regnu,n Francort,m.*"[111] Such assets provided the means whereby kings "made good their supporters' losses." Benefices, land grants "in propriety," *honqres* were the expected compensations and rewards of faithful service, and an adequate supply of them was an essential condition of a king's credibility.[112] Thus the loss of the region between the Charbonniere and the Meuse was a heavy price for Charles to be willing to pay in 842 even if it bought peace. Nithard evidently thought it unacceptably heavy.

But what for Nithard was the truth of thesituation may not have been the whole truth. Nithard implies that Charles himself had not authorized his negotiators to make such a concession but that the envoys were "deceived" into doing so on their own initiative. Yet Charles did not renege on the offer, and on Nithard's own showing, it was an offer Charles had made before, in June 841. Moreover Nithard says of Charles's negotiators while working on the details of the division of the *regnum* a few months later that "they dared not agree to anything without their lord's authority."[113] **All**

1hat 1he offers were not intended seriously and may even **be** inventions of Ni1hard's, But Pietzcker underestimates1he difficuhies of Charles's and Louis's position al tha1 point and gi,·es no reason for Nithard's alleged invention.

[11]. Compare 1he lis1 of royal assets in the 870 division of what had been Lothar ll's kingdom: MGH Capi1 2.251, pp. 193-95.

[111].<11111n/., of Fulda, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MCH SSrG (Hannover, 1891), s.a. 838, p. 28. This is [1101] 10 deny ,hat the major concentrations of Carolingian fisc lands lay further east and sou,heast. Bu, Carolingian lands west of the Meuse and old Merovingian fisc lands w,est and southwest of the Scheid! were dearlr ver)' important assets for ninth•century rulers and perhaps were preferred sources of endowment for royal kinsfolk.

[''] £xacily this point had been made a century before Nithard wrote, by Bede in his letter to Archbishop £gbe11 of York, *Ventrabuis Batdat /J(itra h,storica,* ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896), p. 415 (English translation by Doro1hy Whitelock, *English Historical Docum,nts,* I, 2nd ed. !London, 1979], no. 170, p. 805).

[''] Ni1hard, *H«toi,·,* 4.3, p. I38. (The translation of this chapter in Scholz, *Carolingian Citroni• d-,,* p. 171. is in pan incomprehensible.) On the role of the negotiators, see Gerd TeUenbach, "Die geistigen und poli1ischen Grundlagen der karolingischen Thronfolge," *friihmiuelalurliche Stud,en* 13 (1979), 184-302 at 205-6., 255.

things considered, it seems likely enough that Charles had authorized his envoys to offer the crucial concession in the summer of 842 should that seem necessary because of Lothar's intransigence. It might also have seemed in Charles's best interests. For Lothar had commanded a good deal of suppon between the Meuse and the Scheidt in 840.[114] Perhaps Charles had found during the weeks following Easter 842 that putting that region "in order" was more difficult than he had hoped, in other words, that too many of Lothar's supporters there could be neither dislodged nor won over by "solicitings" from Charles's side. If so, it might well have seemed to Charles and his advisers more prudent to yield an unpromising claim and to make a show of concession in this area in order to consolidate substantial power elsewhere. The defeat of Pippin II at Fontenoy had reopened brighter prospects for Charles in Aquitaine, where he did in fact concentrate a good deal of effort later in 842.[11$] It may therefore have been a shrewd calculation of potential advantage as well as the urgent need for peace which induced Charles to replace on the negotiating table the lands between the Meuse and the Scheidt.

Why then Nithard's talk of "deception"? Why the bitterness of his reaction to the terms brought back to Charles's camp by his chief envoy, Adalard? Neither the envoys nor the king, I think, had really been deceived: rather it was Nithard himself who felt cheated and saw Charles's abandonment of the Meuse line as a sad turning point in the negotiations and a consequence of "trickery." For it was in this disputed region between the Meuse and the Scheidt, surely, that Nithard's own lost honors lay: lands which (among others) Lothar maintained were indispensable to "rewarding his faithful followers." One of Lothar's men had no doubt already been rewarded with the lands confiscated from Nithard two years before; now Lothar had no intention of seeing his supporter "dis-honored."[116] In the spring of 842

'" Nithard, *HiJtoir,* 2.3, p. 44. A number of Carolingian estates in the Haspengau may have helped 10 supply ,he palace a, Aachen, which was 10 be by far the most frequent residence of Lothar I afcer 843 and later of Lothar 11: see Bruhl, *Fodrum, Gutum,* pp. 31-32. Lothar II granted renders from several estates in this region 10 the chapel at Aachen: MGH DO GermKarol, 3, ed. Theodor Schieffer, Lothar II, no. 43. p. 454.

11. Nithard. *Hutoirt* 4.4, p. 132. Compare AB. p. 42. Charles's presence at Agen and then Castillon-sur,Dordogne in late August 842 is attested by two charters: Tessier, *Rte.ml.* nos. 10, 11. The assertion or Lot and Halphen, *R,g,u de Char//1 k Chat.11Jt,* p. 84. n. 3. that Pippin II remained master of Aquitaine in 843 rests on the misdating of an alleged grant: see Le,•illain, *AcJtJ tk Pipm* I *tt de P,pr,1 Jl* 55. pp. 217-21.

',. The terms *t.xhonorau* and *i,ilion(lf"atu,,* signifying deprivation of *lumor,s* in the sense of offices and lands, are used by Pllschasius Radbertus: *V,ta Adalhardi* 36 and 45. PL 120:1528, 1533, and *Epitaphium Arsmu,* ed. Ernst Dummler, *Ahhandlu11g,n* (kr *kiirug/,clw1 preusiuclum A.luulemie w Btrlin,* Phil.-Hist. Klasse (1900), pp. 75, 76. Nithard uses the phrase */u,fWrihus prwar,:* *HiJtoir,* 2.2, p. 42, and 4.4, p. 132: rom thesecond of these cases it is clear 1ha1 Lolhar in the late summer or autumn of 842 dis-honored some men who had supported him until the spring of that year and only abandoned him "compelled by necessity" when he had left Francia

when Charles had been able to move from Aachen into the area west of the Meuse, Nithard's hopes of recovering his lands had probably been high. Did he perhaps even see his lands again at this time? In any event he seems in the early summer to have felt still confident of permanent restitution, for he welcomed Lothar's reopening of talks with Charles and Louis.[111] But then Lothar wrested the concession that took his western frontier up to the Charbonniere.

Where did this leave Nithard? He can have seen little advan1age in transferring his allegiance now to Lothar (if he even considered this course), for Lothar had his own faithful men to reward, to maintain or reinsta1e. Nithard's forfeited lands could hardly have been on offer in that quarter. He had pinned his hopes elsewhere. He had supported Charles consistently since 840 at considerable personal cost.[118] He had written two books of the *Histories* not from an armchair but under the difficult circumstances of camp and campaign because his chosen lord had requested it. He surely expected that fidelity would receive its due, and he went on writing after Fontenoy in the confidence that even if the king should prove slow to deliver the reward, then Adalard, who had incurred a special debt of his own to Nithard at Fontenoy, would jog the king's memory. In the first three books of his work Nithard thus presented for men au fait with recent events his own, as well as Charles's, case. According to the rules of Carolingian politics, both Charles and Adalard owed Nithard much; hence Nithard had every reason to expect that his own sacrifice would prove to have been only "for a short while:·[119] Instead, because of the "trickery" of 842, Nithard's services did not get their

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(Nithard again caUs it the *regnum)* for the Rhone valley. My hyPothetical Lothar supporter who had received Nithard's *honor,s* in 840 may have been one of those whom lothar thus deprived in 842. But if so, this clearly did nothing to help Nithard. Noble concern to acquire, or retain, honors granted by kings is evident in *HistfJire* 2.1. p. 38, 3.2, p. 84, and 3.3, p. 96. In 3.2 the term *lwnorts* has the general sense of lands rather than a specific connection with office: see the comments on this passage of Joachim Wollasch. "Einc adlige Familie des friihen Mittelalters," *Arthiv fiir Kulturge.rchtthlt* 39 (1957), 151-88 at 187-88. The term probably has this general sense elsewhere in Nithard (the *honor<$*of 2.2, p. 42, seem to be identical with *1hefacultalt$* of 2.3, p. 44) and in many other sources from the mid-ninth century on..•ards. The change in the word's meaning seems to have occurred during Nithard's lifetime: compare the still-restricted sense of *honor,s* in the *.4nrwl,s regm Francorum,* ed. Friedrich Kurze, MCH SSrC (Hannover, 1895), s.a. 828, p. 174, with the broad connotation implicit in AB, s.a. 839, p. 31: Louis the Pious endowed some of l,0thar's men "non solum proprietatibus verum etiam beneficiariis honoribus." The semantic history of the term would repay further study.

[111] Ni1hard, *Histoire* 4.3, p. 126.

[11]. The distinctly favorable attitude shown by Nithard towards Louis the German in hook 4 (especially 4.4, p. 132, where Louis is said to have crushed the Stellinga revolt *no/nit/tr)* could suggest that Nithard in late 842/early 843 contemplated seeking Louis as an alternative patron to Charles. But this is more probably a literary device, contrasting with the favorable treatment of Louis and Charles *togtthtr* in book 3, to point up what Nithard saw a., a divergence betwttn the brothers' conduct from mid-842 onwards. In any event Nithard remained in Charles's kingdom: see below. p. 225.

,,. Nithard, *Hisunrt* 2.3, p. 44.

due acknowledgment: his Carolingian maternal kin colluded in his "disinheritance" thereby making his sacrifice a permanent one. What was left to him was the lay abbacy of his father's monastery of St. Riquier and custo• dianship of the paternal tomb.[120] No longer, it seems, a favored or prominent member of Charles's entourage, Nithard withdrew to St. Riquier during the winter of 842-43. One of the last events mentioned in his work is the translation at St. Riquier of his father's body "incorrupt even though not embalmed": a clear sign of sanctity.[121] It was this side of his ancestry as well as his descent from Charlemagne that Nithard now wished to stress. For it was this that distinguished him from his kinsman Abbot Richbod, another of Charlemagne's grandsons.[122] Richbod had received the regular abbacy probably from Lothar in 840,[123] and Nithard's sharing of the lordship of St. Riquier constitutes one of the earliest instances of a double abbacy of this kind.[124] The arrangement in Nithard's case is unlikely to have been very harmonious. It may be significant that Nithard omits even to mention Richbod's presence at the translation of Angilbert's body though a contemporary source from St. Riquier has recorded that Richbod presided on that occasion.[125] In such circumstances Nithard can hardly have regarded a mere

11• According 10 his epitaph, composed by a St. Riquier monk probably in 853. Nithard "for a short time *(modico)* held the title of *re<tor,"* that is, of lay abbot: ed. Ludwig Traube, MCH Poet 3:310-11, with the editor's comments at p. 268. for the career of Angilbert, Nithard's father, see Lowe.. *Deutsch/ands G.schidusqutih11,* 2:236-40.

"' Nithard, *Histotrt* 4.5, p. 138. The date was 5 November.

"' \Verner, "Nachkommen," p. 448, argues rightly that there are no grounds for assuming that Ber1ha was Richbod's mother: "Die lnhaberschaft von S.-Riquier, das Aogilbert unterstand, [ist] keine genugende Crundlage fur die Annahme, Bertha habe auch noch von einem anderen Manne Kinder gehabt at. von Angilberll" I would add that Nithard's failure to mention Richbod would be surprising had the two men been half brothers. The likelihood is that their mothers were hatr sisicrs.

123 The date at which Ric!tbod became abbot is nowhere stated, though it was certainly before October 842: see below. and n. 125. \Verner, "Nad1kommen," gives 840 on the family tree but without explaining why in the accompanying notes. Assuming that Richbod's predecessor as abbot sided (like Nithard) with Charles the Bald, Lothar would have wanted to instaU his own man at St. Riquier in latesummer 840, when he was bidding for control of the area between the Charbonniere and the Seine. Compare his giving of St. Josse to Rhuoding: Lupus, *Correspondanct,* cp. 19, I:104, and of St. Wandrille to Joseph of lvrea: *Annate, Fontane s fm(>rts,* ed. Jean Laporte, Societe de l'histoire de Normandie, 15th ser. (Rouen and Paris. 1951), p. 75. Conversely, when Charles gained a measure of control in the Paris-Sens area in late 840, he was able 10 ousr the abbots of St. Denis and Ferricres, who had accepted Lothar, and instead place his own supporters in these key posts: the archchancellor Louis in the one, Lupus in the other.

"' 1 accept here a suggestion of Lauer, *llulln1't,* p. v. Sec below, Appendix 2.

12•The epitaph of Angilbert, MCH Poet 3:314-15. A renewal by Charles of privileges for the monks of St. Riquier (Tessier, *Rtcuei* no. 22, pp. 53-55) oddly fails to mention an abbot. Tessier points out the difficulty in dating this grant: it is preserved only in Hariulf's *Chron* . wriuen in the eleventh century, where it is dated 844, but that is certainly wrong and is probably the result of willful alteration by Hariulf. Tessier suggests instead 21 May 843, but 842 seems equally likely: either way, Charles has to be given an otherwise unattested stay at Compi gne.

share in what was after all his own patrimonial abbey (and not Richbod's) as a satisfactory compensation for the lands he had lost in 840. But there is no evidence of his receiving any other compensation. Charles's resources were limited and in 842-43 he had other, younger claimants to satisfy.[126] In them Nithard showed no interest, any more than he showed symparhy for Charles's activities in Aquitaine or appreciation for the political adroitness of Charles's marriage to Adalard's niece.

Nithard's world had narrowed. He wrote no longer for the public to *,vhom* books l, 2, and 3 had been addressed. Book 4's savage criticism of Adalard could never have been intended for a court audience in 842-43, nor could the implicit indictment of Charles in book 4's final comparison of the wretched present with the golden past of the "great Charles" ever have been thought fit for the eyes of Nithard's former patron and confidant. Nithard went on writing book 4 out of an understandable sense of grievance, venting his bitterness perhaps to a circle of faithful intimates at St. Riquier, men whose interest in their saint-patron Angilbert NitJ1ard might hope to exploit against his rival Rich bod.,n And with book 4 Nithard completed his *Histories,* allowing himself a writer's ironic satisfaction in ending witJ1 a flourish of literary symmetry belied by the cruel disjuncture within his work and his life.us He had done with writing. Little more than a year later on 14 June 844he was killed in Aquitaine in the battle of the Angoumois, fighting again for Charles in another round of Carolingian family conflict.[129] His

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For Charles's itinerary in the relevant periods. see Lo, and Halphen, *R;gn,tk Char/ts k Cho.iw,,* pp. 54, 62. I suggest the absence of reference to an abbot in this grant may have arisen from Charles's reservations about Richbod's position or perhaps from awkwardness on the monks' part over the anomalous situation of the double abbaq•. But presumably this was just the sort of compromise Charles and Lothar had to accept as part of the sculcmen1 at Verdun. See below, AppendiK 2.

'" For instance, Odo, future count of Chateaudun, Robert, future count of Angers, and Richwin, future holder of a countship in the Rheims area, perhaps Rheims itself: for their careers, see Werner, "Untersuchungen," 4, pp. 152-69. Charles distn'buted lands of the church of Rheims to these men and others. Hincmar, *Vita Samii Rtmtgii,* ed. Bruno Krusch, MCH SSrerMerov 3:324, says this happened "when Lothar, Louis, and Charles, after their father's death, divided the *regnum* between themselves." Werner, "Untersuchungen," 4, p. 157, infers that the distribution of Rheims lands must therefore be dated after Verdun (August 843), but Hincmar's reference could be to some time during the months of negotiations preceding Verdun. (Hincmar was writing the *Vita Rtmigu* nearly forty years after that.) Another claimant on Charles's favor at this time was Vivian, first aues1ed as Charles's chamberlain in Tessier, *Recuni,* no. 19, p. 46, dated 18 February 843. My impression is that Odo, Robert, Richwin, and Vivian aU belonged to Charles's generation, rather than to Nithard's.

u, The tone of these final chapters seems to me to support the view thar Nithard's monastic retirement was the result of something other than a genuinely religious *"'"'1WTSW,* such as Einhard may have experienced.

••• Patze,*"lustuia,"* p. 163, nicely obsen•ed that *Huwirt* 4.7 balances I.I in harking back to the days of Charlemagne.

ttt I defend th.is view below in Appendix 2.

work, left at St. R.iquier, remained alrnost totally obscure until its discovery in the sixteenth century.[130]

I have suggested that a "private history" runs through Nithard's work, revealing and in part explaining changes in his reactions to public events. It is in book 4 that the private history co,nes most obvious!)' to the surface of the narrative and here, too, with the change in Nithard's audience, that his work ceases to be public in the sense of no longer being addressed to a relatively wide group of political actors. Yet it would be false to infer a contrast between "the objective account" of books 1-3 and "the subjective vie,v" of book 4, as if the Nithard who served "truth" or "history" in the first three books descended to a baser aim in the fourth. An apologia designed for a contemporary public may be as subjective as a more private and explicitly personal writing up of experience: neither is fiction yet both blend fact with interpretation. From the historian's standpoint this means, on the one hand, that nothing in Nithard's work can be taken simply at face value or out of its specific context in ninth-century politics.[131] On the other hand, once our witness is allowed to speak in that context and asked the right questions, what matters is not only his factual reliability (insofar as that can be checked) but also his plausibility as a guide to contemporary values, motives, and expectations. Nithard's *Histori.es* should be listened to not just for what happened in 840-43 but for something of why it happened and what it meant to those involved. As the late Kathleen Hughes said of early Celtic historians: "From a sympathetic and sensitive questioning of what they were attempting, history emerges."[132]

In conclusion I want to focus briefly on two aspects of the Carolingian period where Nithard's work is particularly illuminating. First, if Nithard wrote for a contemporary public of the kind I have suggested, then the *Histories* points towards the possibility that a genre of political polemic existed in the ninth century. The near-total loss of such writings is hardly surprising, for the survival of a work like Nithard's is a matter of pure luck.

[130] For the manuscript in question, see above, n. 3. It was at St. Medard, Soissons, in lhe eleventh and twelfth ceniuries and at Paris in the fifteenth century. There is no clear evidence that other manuscripts existed. Muller in lhe preface to hi.s edition of Nithard, p. ix, notes *one* possible citation of the *Histori,s* by a medieval author: Hucbald of St. Amaod (writing in the early tenth century). But the passage is so brief and so specific (it concerns the three classes of Saxon society) !hat it is tempting to surmise a now lost source for bolh Nithard and Hucbald at this point. Lauer, *Histoar,,* p. xvii, neglecting Hucbald, claims as the sole citation of Nithard by any medieval aulhor a "mention" in an anonymous thinceuth-<:entury *Hul()ria regum Frm1&orum,* but I have been unable to trace this work beyond the reference in Andre Duchesne, *ffisl()ruu Framorum scriplCres coaetanti,* 2 (Paris, 16$9), p. $57. For the postmedieval history of Nithard's **work, see Lauer, *Histoirt,* pp. xv-xviii.**

[131] An example of what seems to me a decontextualized reading is given above, n. 43.

[132] "The Early Celtic Idea of History and lhe Modern Historian," Inaugural Lecture in the Readership in Celtic Studies founded by Nora Chadwick (Cambridge, Eng., 1977), p. 24.

Like a number of other ninth-century *pi ces d'occasi,ni* - Paschasius's *Epitaphium Arsenii,* Ermold's *Poem 011 Lcuis the Pious,* Hincmar's *De ordine pal,atii,* the *Ludwigslied,* several politically inspired visions of the next world, or (to go further afield) Asser's *Life of Alfred* - Nithard's *Histories* survived in a single early manuscripc.[133] Bui ii is not hard 10 see why such ephemera. partly unintelligible outside their immediate historical context and often by "unknown" au1hors, were not though1 by learned monks of later generations to have educational value and were therefore rarely copied or preserved. Though not all the works just listed were written for quite the kind of audience Nithard addressed, it can be argued that some were[134] and that others were aimed at groups which if more restricted than Nithard's public nevertheless had a stake in political affairs.[13]. Again, though mos1 of these authors had an eye 10 a royal reader, in practice the court - in the sense of the king's entourage - regularly expanded to include many or most of the king's leading men: Compiegne (or Chippenham) at assembly time probably contained virtually all those involved in "the regulation of public affairs" of the kingdom.[136]

To speak of a genre may sound less like exaggeration if we note other works relating to particular occasions or issues. Agobard's polemic of 833 is an obvious example.[13,] For the crisis year of 858 the *Annals* of Fulda preserves what sound like extracts from the manifesto of a group of West Frankish nobles inviting Louis the German to take over Charles's kingdom.[138] The famous Quierzy lener masterrninded by Hincmar is a demarche similar, ly intended for a far wider audience than Louis the German alone.[139] Other ninth-century crises could have evoked comparable literature, not.ably such bouts of Carolingian family conflict as the disputed successions to Lotharingia in 869-72 (1 include Carloman's revolt)[140] and to Ital>• after 875. Nor need we exclude laymen from the audience of polemic produced in

'" For Nithard's work, *see* above, nn. 3 and 130. For the work.s of Paschasius, Ermold. Hi,u;mar. and Asser referred to here. the relevant standard editions give details on unique early manuscrip1s. Examples of visions surviving in unique manuscripts are given by Devisse, *Hrncmnr,* 2:821. n. 688. and 823. n. 697. The interest of the *Ludw1g,l1,d* for historians (as distinct from linguists) has only recently been stressed by Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Cauzlin von Saini-Denis:· *Dtut,dm Arcluv* 35 (1979), 395-462 at 433-37, and 434, noting the unique manuscript of the poem.

'8' The *D, ordon, po.latu;* the *ludwigslud:* perhaps Asser·s *ltje oj Alfred.*

'" For instance. the Corbie monks or the Rheims clergy at whom the *Ep,taphrum* and the *Viuo 8,mo/.d1* respec1ively were addressed.

,36 Seemy comments above, chapter S, pp. 100-8.

131 l.ilm duo proj,bu et contrajuduh wcorem ludowlCI Pu. ed. Georg Waitz, MCH SS 15:274-79.

,., *Annal,* of Fulda. pp. 49-50. On an alternative view, this could be propaganda produced by Louis the German's entourage.

13. MGH Capit 297, 2:427-41. Hincmar himself said that "iUa capitula" were intended for Charles the Bald 100: MCH Epp 8:64.

¨° Se Peter R. McKeon, *Honnnar of laon and Carobng,an Pobt!CS* (Urbana. Ill.. 1978), pp. 120-31

what we tend to think of as exclusively ecclesiastical causes celebres: the indictment of Archbishop Wenilo of Sens,[141] the arguments for and against the promotion of Wulfad to the see of Bourges,1◄[2] tile debates over Lothar !I's divorce[143] were all essentially political issues that were discussed not only in terms of canon law.

If polemic was produced in the ninth century for all those - kings, higher clergy, and lay aristocrats - involved in affairs of state, it follows that we should be chary of any assumption that laymen as such had any distinctive outlook on politics, still less "secular" political ideas that could be seen as in any sense opposed to the much better evidenced clerical ideology of this period. On the one hand, the views and values of lay political actors had been and continued 10 be heavily influenced by the church; on the other, churchmen themselves were important actors in Carolingian politics and in practice, notably in the organization of resources to provide military service for themselves and for the kingdom, shared the priorities of ocher magnates and their followers.,.. Layman and cleric alike operated with and witllin the relationships and values of kin ties, patronage, and personal service. As Patrick Wormald has reminded us, the audiences of Bede and of *Beowulf* were often one and the same, and the "ancient songs" were appreciated by some inmates of monasteries as well as those of lordly mead-halls.•[0] Disputes arose between particular lay and ecclesiastical parties over the exploitation of lands, especially when a church claimed restitution: such a dispute is recorded, for instance, in the *Annals* of St. Bertin for 846, here reflecting a Rheims tradition and a Rheims grievance.[146] But it is wrong to generalize this into a great divide between "episcopate" and "lay aristocracy" in the

"' MCH Capit 300, 2:450-53.

"' See Ferdinand Loi, "Une annee du regne de Charles le Chauve, annee 866," *u m(J_)"tll age* 15 (1902), 393-438 at 407-21 (reprinted in *Re.ue,l ... lot,* 2:429-43); Devisse., *Hmcmar,* 2:600-628, and interesting information on Wulfad's earlier career ibid., 1:98-99.

"' Lay members of Lothar I l's entourage seem co have participated actively in these: see Hincmar, *De di1JOYtio Lotlumi ti Tetb,rgae,* PL 125:746, 754, 756.

"' Notably apparent in ecclesiastical nepotism and in the mobilizing of kinsmen in the military service of churches: see "The Cbwch's Military Service", alx>ve, p. 124.. Among recent works pioneering a sociology of the ninth-century West Frankish church are Oexle, ".Ebroin," and *Frmchungtn w monastischm und grotlichfffl Gtmefnschaftm im Wtstfranlwchtn Bn-ei.ch* (Munich, 1978); and Michel Sot, "Historiographic pisropale et modcle familiale en occident au !Xe siecle," *A""""ks* 33 (1978), 43 49.

"' See above, n. 33.

"' AB, p. 52. This passage looks to me like a Hincmarian interpolation in Prudentius·s text. It should be linked with the note prefacing the capitula of the Council of Epemay (MGH Capit 2:261), another Rheims production. I hope to discuss this text more fully elsewhere. Lot and Halphen, *Regn, de Charks le Chauvt,* pp. 162-66, saw in this episode a conflict between "lcs eveques"' and "les grands." For a similar view see Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian RenaiJsanct and the Idea of King,J,ip* (London, 1969), p. 112. and, carefully nuanced and with due account of the compk,x issues involved in restitutions, J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Tht FranAi.sh Church,* p. 271.

West Frankish kingdom. In terms of ninth-century practice, each successive political crisis showed that two such separate and rival elites did not exist.

But what is true of practical politics may also be true at an ideological level. Nithard was a Christian layman who believed in miracles and appreciated the ritual services of bishops. He held principles about political morality: it was wrong to put private before public interest. There is no reason to think Nithard unrepresentative in these respects. Yet, paradoxically, it is through a selective reliance on Nithard's testimony that historians have sought to justify some very harsh judgments on the greed and egoism of the ninth-centur)' aristocracy.[147] Those historians have taken insufficient account of the role of precisely such accusations in ninth-century polemic: it was as much standard practice then to accuse your political opponents, ecclesiastical or lay, of egoism[148] as it is nowadays to accuse them of defending class rather than national interests. I do not believe that Nithard was unique in caring for what he saw as the common good in 842-43 and he himself makes no claim to have been so in 841. Book 4's sour grapes should not be allowed to spoil our palates: there is much in the *Histories*, especially in book 3, to support the view that for many if not all Frankish nobles the experience of participation in the politics of Carolingian courts and assemblies had indeed fostered an awareness of "public utility" and that the language of the capitularies, like that of the Strasbourg oaths, reflected that reality in addition to clerical ideals. In terms of values and expectations, then, there is no sharp distinction to be drawn between Nithard's private history and his public *Histories*.

The second main area on which Nithard's work throws welcome light is the actual workings of Carolingian politics. Here many major points have already been picked up by historians, some indeed almost exclusively documented by the *Histories* (such is the extent of our dependence on Nithard). A good example is Nithard's indication of the political importance of the fisc in Francia. (An explanation for his lack of interest in fisc lands elsewhere has been suggested above.) We are shown why the *reg11um*, that is, the Frankish heartland between the Seine and the Rhine, was the real object of conflict between Carolingians, both in Nithard's own time and long after (when other rivals were also involved), and why the practice of dividing the fisc in Francia persisted despite some attractions of the unitary alternative. Nithard shows, too, how Frankish nobles were able to exploit the Carolingians' conflicts, how for each king the provision of honors to satisfy faithful men was an imperative made only more pressing by divisions of the *regnum Francorum*, and how these divisions were the product of complex transactions

'" See, for instance, the comments apropos Ni1hard, *Histo,re* 4.6-7, pp. 142-43, of James W. Thompson, *Tiu Dissotu1ion of the Carolingian Fise* (Berkeley, Calif., 1935), p. 44 with n. 63; or Dcvisse, *Hmcmar*, 1:287.

'" So, Paschasius on Bernard, Thegan on Ebbo, Lupus on Odulf, Hincmar on Rotha<I, e1c.

between nobles as well as between nobles and kings and between kings themselves.••[9] Carolingian "solicitings," on which no source is more informative than Nithard, reveal a dependence of kings on aristocratic support that was certainly one, and perhaps the most conspicuous, side of Carolingian consensus politics.

But Nithard also invites us to look at the other side of the coin, showing us nobles dependent on the collaboration and favor of the king.[150] If consensus could be a cloak for aristocractic pressure, it could also be an instrument of royal control; and if honors could be granted, they could also be withheld. I have suggested that Nithard's own career illustrates some forms of this aristocratic dependence. Other cases are explicitly described in the *Histories.* Nithard shows how dangerous it was for Bernard of Septimania to be the object of Charles the Bald's ill will, and he makes it clear that Bernard's son Williatn could gain possession of some lands in Burgundy only with the permission of the king.[01] These cases may be untypical insofar as Bernard had rebelled against Charles's father and later supported Charles's rival Pippin JI. Yet what is remarkable is that Nithard presents Bernard as an isolated and almost rootless figure in the latter part of his career when he lacked strong or consistent royal support,[1st] for this picture is curiously at odds with that given by most modern historians ,vho stress, instead, Bernard's membership of the Burgundy-based family of the "historic Nibelungen"[153] - the allegedly archetypical Frankish noble clan. Any assessment of the dependence of the West Frankish aristocracy on the king will he conditioned by our view of how that aristocracy was organized and functioned, in other words, by the extent of our willingness 10 generalize, or even retain, the "Nibelungen model."u• Does Nithard offer any guidance here?

'" On the above points much light has been thrown by Canshof, "Zur Entstchungsges,;hichte": Classen, "Vertr:ige": Schlesinger, "Auf!osung•·: Telleobach. "Die geistigen und politischen Crundlagen."

"" On *Komgsnd.ht* (closeness to the king) in general, see Schmid. "Zur Problematik" (cited above. n. 3), and "Ober die Struktur des Adels im fruhcn Miuelalter," *Jahrbuch fiir friimi.stht Landtsf(}T$thung* 19 (1959), 1-23. translated in *The Meditual Nobility,* ed. Reuter, pp. 37-59, espedaUy 3S-40.

'" Ni1hard. *Huunrt* 2.5. pp. 50-52; 3.2. p. 84. (On the latter passage, see above, n. 116.)

'" Compare the reflections of Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie," pp. 170-77.

,., levillain, "Nibelungen historiques," I, pp. 361-63, and 2, pp. 11-12.

'" See the interesting historiographical survey by Jane Martindale, "The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal," *PaJt and Present* 75 (1977), >-45, especially 18-20; and Constance B. Bouchard, "The Origins of the French Nobility: A Reassessment," *A.mtrican Historical Rev w* 86 (1981), 501-32. The politics of Charles the Bald's reign were long ago depicted in terms of rivalries between aristocratic clans; *stt* Joseph Calmette, *La dip/omalu um,lin.gunne* (Paris, 1901), pp. 42-47. More recent commentators have tended to follow this account, especially with reference to lhe events of 858: for instance, Devisse, *HinctMr,* 1:305; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Franlcish Kingdoms ,,,1/UT tiu Carolingian,, 751-987* (London, 1983), p. 184. See also Brunner, *Oppositw,utlt Grupp,n.* pp. 120-36.

Regine Hennebicque in a recent paper has argued that "a fundamental element" of the structure of the aristocracy in the ninth century was "a familial group comprising several large families"; as an example of the latter category of large cognatic family she has cited "the Nithards-Richharts-Engilberts." Funher, she has proposed a model in which such "infrastructural" families at the level of the region were bonded into the edifice of the Carolingian Empire by a "superstructure"of"great personages" operating ar supraregional level. instanced in the case of "the Nithards" b)' Eberhard of Friuli, son-in-law of Louis the Pious.[155] Hennebicque documents her "Nithards" exclusively from charters and memorial books, but it may be worth asking if our Nithard gives any evidence for familial structures on Hennebicque·s model. At first glance the *His1crwi* seems quite uninformative: none of "the Nithards-Richharts-Engilberts" identified by Hennebicque in the Rhineland, Alsace, and Alamannia is mentioned by Nithard while Eberhard, who according to Hennebicque was the "chef de file" of Nithard's familial group, is mentioned only once, without comn1en1, as one of *Lothar's* envoys in 842.[156] Should we infer that Nithard had chosen in 840 to act outside a "normal structure" or that other factors conditioned his choice? When we find Nithard in book 4 placing himself very positively in what looks like a "small family,"'[57] should we begin to doubt whether "large familial groups" were "fundamental" political structures at all?

Such skepticism might be premature. We cannot be quite sure that Nithard does not also refer to a "large family" in book 4 and, more impor-

'" Regine Hennebicque. "Siruetures familiales et politiques au !Xe sil:de: Un groupe farnilial de l'aristocratie franque," *Re,nu historiqut* 265 (1981), 289-333. especially 29S-99. 309-10. This fine paper represents a long overdue auempl to examine the workings of kin groupings through ninth-century politics. Changes over time are sensiti•·cly observed. But i1 is probably also necessary to differentiate between the regions covered in the blanket term "Carolingian society." See below, n. 157. To the Nithards mentioned by Hennebicque may be added a *miks* of Lothar II: AB. p. 120: and a monk of Prum in 1he 840s: Lupus, *Correspondance*, ep. 68. 2:2.

'" Nithard, *1/isloire* 4.3, p. 124.

'" Ibid. 4.5, p. 138: "Angilbert was a man sprung from a family *(fami/,a)* well known at that time, while Madhclgaud, Richard, and he were of one progeny *(progenies)* and w.-re held deservedly in great regard by the great Charles." (Note the way in which *K mgs,laitt* complements genealogical distinction.) In my transla1jon "while" renders"autem," a conjunction habitually used by Nithard to indicate a degree of separation, if not quite of contrast. between ""0 statements (for examples. see 1.3, p. 8; 2.6, p. 54; 3.5, p. 108; 4.2, p. 122). Thus a distinetion is implied between the meanings of *famiua* and *progenies*, the latter indicating a more restricted group. For *progenies* in ocher contemporary contexts, **see** Oexle, "Ebroin," pp. 159-61. 196 with n. 296. But Oexle findsdifficulty in defining the dimensions of this group, and even in deciding whct r or not it was agnatic: ibid., p. 161, n. 110. The useof the term *Vmuandttnkrt:is* enables Oexle 10 bypass the problem, though on p. 193 he seems to distinguish between the *Vtrwandttnkrei.s* of the Rorgonide. and Ebroin·s *fJYogenu,*. Aware of the artificiality of such "dan" names (p. 149: "the so-called 'Rorgonides' "), Oexle does not discuss the implications of the fact that the only contemporary designation which may possibly refer 10 such a "clan" in the West Fr.inkish kingdom, the *cognatio Go,btrti*, occurs in an East Frankish text: the *Annals* of Fulda, s.a. 854, p. 44.

tantly, we have to recall that his situation when he wrote this last book had changed in ways that could explain a new emphasis on his father's kin. At various poincs in his work Nithard mentions his connection with a series of powerful persons: first, the two Carolingians, Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald; at the end, his dead (but still powerful) saint-father, Angilbert; and in the crucial period 841 to mid-842, Adalard. The third of these connections, which I have argued played an important part in the shaping of Nithard's work, probably had a kinship component, but Nithard himself never hints at this: what he seems co want his audience to grasp is his service to Adalard, implying that what matters (or matters most) to him here is a patron-client relationship. One of the attractions of Hennebic.que's model is that it accommodates such relationships within familial structures, on the assumption that great personages dispensed patronage to clients who were also their kinsmen. It would be going far beyond some rather tenuous evidence co claim that all patron-client ties were also kin ties, but it seems a plausible enough suggestion that kinship provided a basic pattern for this and other types of social and political bonding. As it happens we can trace in a little more detail the connections of Adalard with a man named Nithad, who 1nay have been a kinsman of our Nithard but who is not identified in any document as a kinsman of Adalard. Clearly a 1nuch less important person than Adalard, Nithad can be shown to have had links with him over a period of about ten years (until his own death). During this time the two men's political allegiances seem to have moved in parallel from the West Frankish to the Middle Kingdom.us It is impossible to tell whether kinship

••• Nithad firs1appears in 842 as a witness 10 a land judgment in favor of Priim: *Urlrnndmbudi zur Ge,chichte ,w il4iUelrheiniJclmt Temunv11,* ed. Heinrich Beyer (Koblenz. 1860), no. 103, p. 107. The land was pan of a bequest by Count Richard, formerly an important court official of Louis the Pious. (An identification with the Richard of Ni1hard, *HiJt()tr*< 4.5. p. 138, is unlikely for these two Richards seem 10 have belonged 10 different generations. But they may have been kinsmen.) One of 1he executors was Adalard's brother Gerard (above, n. 22): MCH Diplomata Lothar I, no. 68, pp. 181-82. Ni1had received a benefice from Charles 1he Bald in the Laonnois which was reg ranted him in propriety on 18 April 845: Tessier, *Recutil,* no. 69, I: I97-98. Tessier here expressed punlement 10 find Charles calling Nithad *fidelis nostn* when he was "the coun1of Trier," that is.holder of a countship in Lothar's kingdom; but the evidence connecting Nithad with Trier dates only from 853, while he is called "count" only in a document of 960: Beyer.*Urlrnrnknbuch,* nos. 83. p. 88. and 207, p. 287. Therefore there seems no reason 10 doubt that Nithad was Charles's *fauli.s* in 845. On 7 March 845 Charles was at St. Quentin where Adalard was lay abbot: Tessier, *Recueil.* no. 68, pp. 195-96. Both Nithad and Adalard can be shown to have had conocc1ions sub>equenlly with Prum: Lupus, *CO'TTesp,md,,me,* ep. 58, 1:224.: MCH Diplomata Lothar I, nos. 127, 128, and Lothar II, no. 5. finally Nithad's widow made a grant to St. Maximin. Trier, on I April 853 "presen1e Alardo cornice," of lands near Verdun which she had been given by her husband. Nithad was perhaps an *amicw* or clien1 of Adalard. who went with him to West Francia while retaining, like ltim, ties with Prum and lands in what became Lolhar's kingdom in 843. When in 849 Adalard became Lochar·s *fideli.s* and chereafler, presumably. normally resident on lands in the Middle Kingdom. Nithad seems to have followed suit. Werner. "Untersuchungen,"4. pp. 155-56, n. 39, argues convincingly that Adalard's move should be seen not as a "defection" from Charles but as part of the rapprochement b<,tween

or the political friendship of patron and client bound these careers; both may well have done so, and the modes of personal interaction in either case were closely similar. It seems likely that the link between Adalard and Nithard was comparable to this. Perhaps Adalard rather than Eberhard should be regarded as Nithard's ..chef de file."

But if so, what is significant is the absence of any other indication in Nithard's case, by contrast with Nithad's, of membership in anything like a ··fa1nilial group" focused on Adalard. When he felt that Adalard had failed hirn as a patron, Nithard's mind turned to **his** dose paternal **kin.** Rather than exploit putative connections with "the Nithards" in the Rhineland or Alamannia, Nithard withdrew to his father's monastery, which Richbod's presence had probably made something less than a co1nfortable home-base. When both the king and the patron he had served seemed indifferent to his plight, Nithard, it seems, was left with few resources and rio alternative means of realizing his own best interests. As in the case of Bernard of Septimania, we are left with the impression of a rather lonely figure and perhaps with a n1ore general awareness that the social support available to a noble in the Carolingian world could be more conditional, more limited, than serried ranks of charter witnesses and memorial book entries might have led us to suppose. A n1an n1ight not be constrained in his political align1nents either by a vast fa1nilial group or by the framework of a "s1nall farnily"; he 1night be free to clairn "his law and justice," to seek a patron and honors where he would. But if he miscalculated or overplayed his hand, kin ties might offer little protection from "the blasts of fortune." We have seen that fraternal solidarit)' was often more honored in the breach than in the observance, and if the "small fa1nily" could be riven with conflict, there is little to suggest that loyalties within ..clans" transcended competing private interests any 1nore effectively. From the standpoint of Carolingian kings noble familial structures niight be as useful in their weaknesses as in their strengths, for the)' would offer only limited resistance to royal "rule and wrath" directed against an unfaithful man. But fron1 the standpoint of a noble individual, as Nithard's case shows, those weaknesses could be an additional source of vulnerability. Systems of kinship and lordship alike generated expectations whose fullilln1ent could never be guaranteed: hence behind the public *Hiitories* a private history that is, if not quite a tragedy, at least a cautionary tale.

Charles and Lothar in February 849. If the move appealed 10 Adalard because of his landholdings in the Middle Kingdom, similar consi<lera1ions probably applied to Nithad.

APPEN:,1x I

The *parucipes secretorum* (Nithard, *Hist<>ir,* 2.5. p. 52) of Charles the Bald in 840-4I

The following may be regarded as likel)' members of this group:

(I) Adalgar: Nithard, *Histoire* 2.2, p. 40, and 3.4, p. 96. Possibly 10 be identified with the count mentioned in AB, s.a. 838, p. 25, and probabl)' (as Stuan Airlie kindly suggests to n1e) with Charles's envoy sent to negotiate with rebels in 856: **I\1CH** Capit 262, 2:279. Perhaps the same man as the *missus* in the Therouanne area in 854: MGH Capit 260. 2:275.

(2) Hugh: Nithard, *Hi<tmre* 2.3, p. 44. An identification with Abbot Hugh of St. Quentin (above, n. 23) is unconvincing, as has been shown by Grierson, "Hugues de Saint-Benin" (cited above, n. 23). pp. 246-48. But this man could be the Hugh mentioned b)' Lupus, *CQrrespondance,* ep. 17. I: 100. From the context here, Hugh sounds like an Aquitanian magnace. Perhaps he is the same man as the addressee of Lupus, *CQrresponda,ic,,* ep. 131, 2:212-14. The identification of the latter as count of Sens, though frequently met with in the secondary literature, is hypothetic.of.

(3) Adalard: Nithard, *Hi,toire* 2.3, p. 44. See above, n. 22.

(4) Gerard: Nithard, *HL1toir,* 2.3, p. 44. Probably identifiable as another Aquitanian magnate n1entioned b)' Lupus. *Corre.,pondan,,,* ep. I 7, I:98 .. and perhaps ep. 26, I:122. Levillain dates the latter to 842 buc it could jusc a, well belong 10 February 84I. According 10 Ademar of Chabannes, *Chron,q,.'-',* ed. Jules Chavanon (Paris, 1897), p. 132. a son of "Counc Gerard of 1he Auvergne., was tnade councof Poitou in 839. 'fhe Astronomer, *V,111 Hludov,c,* 61, l',,IGH SS 2:645. sa)'S Coun1 Gerard was the *ge,1,:r* of Pippin I of Aquicaine. In the light of Ade1nar·s state1nen1. implying that Gerard's 1narriage should be dated 10 1he earl)' 820s at che latest, che term *!(tu/!1'* has been translated as "brother-in-law" by Werner,"Nachkomn,en," pp. 450-51. Bue Ademar·s unreliabilit)' for this period has been demonstrated by John B. Gillingha,n, "Ademar of Chabannes and the Hiscory of Aquicaine in the Reign of Charles che Bald," in *Clwr/e., the Bnld,* ed. Gibson and Nelson, pp. 3-14. Discounting Adeniar's statement about Gerard's son, rhe most nacural interprecation of che As1ronomer's *ge,,,,,-* would be "son-in-law," this (and 001 brorher-in-law) being its usual n1eaning in classical and Carolingian Latin. A daughter of Pippin I could have heen of n,.orriage-able age br 835/36, and her marriage to a prominen1 Aquitanian a politic move on Pippin's part. In the revised version (C texc) of his chronicle Ademar says that Gerard was killed (along with the other *!(tt//1T* of Pippin, Count Rather) ar Fonrenoy: Loe and Halphen, *Rj!('11e de Charles le C!u,uve,* p. 35, n. 4. If this statemenc is also discounted, then the Count Gerard of Lupus, ep. 26. could still be identified as the Aquicanian count even if this letter is dated 10 842. l'he Gerard mentioned in Nithard, *Hi<toire* 2.3, p. *44,* immediately after Adalard, is identified by Lauer. n. 3. as Adalard's brother, Count Gerard of Paris. Bur Nithard mentions the latter hy name and title a few lines further on, by implication distinguishing him from 1his other Gerard.

(5) Egilo: *Nithard,Hi,toire* 2.3, p. 44. Perhaps the count mentioned in AB, s.a. 838, p. 25.

(6) Warin: Nithard. *H•,toir,* 2.5, p. 50. Burgundian count who joined Charles in January 841. See further ibid. 2.6, p. 56: 4.4, p. 132. and for his earlier career, I.5, p. 22.

(7) Theutbald: Nithard, *Hl•/.Qire* 2.5. p. 50. Joined Charles (with Warin) from Burgundy. Assurned by previous commentators to have been a count. l suggest

identifying as bishop of Langres (see Louis Duchesne, *Fa<tffl epi<eopaux de /'ancienne Gaule,* 3 vols. [Pa,is, 1907-15), 1:189).

(8) Louis: Lupus. *Corre.,po,ulance,* epp. 14-16 and 25, 1:90-96, 120-22. A son of Charlernagne·s daughter Rotrud. Charles the Bald's archchancellor. I see no reason to think he had been chosen for Charles in 839 by Louis the Pious, as suggested by Grierson, "Hugues de Saint-Bertin," p. 25 I. On Louis's career, see Tessier, *Recun/,* 3:38-42. Nithard, curiously, does not mention him, but Lupus shows him to have been influential in Charles's entourage in 840-41.

(9) Ebroin: Lupus, *Currespo,ida,ice,* ep. 23, I:114. Bishop of Poitiers. Charles's archchaplain. Also unmentioned by Nithard. But for his political irnponance, see Oexle, "Ebroin," pp. 161-68.

(10) Wenilo: Lupus. *Correspondance.* ep. 26. I:122-28. Archbishop of Sens, apparently Charles's own appointee as early as 837: *Libe/J, , contr<tWen,Jonem,* MGH Capit 300.l, 2:451.

(11) Rainald: Lupus. *Correspond(lnce.* ep. 17, I:98. Probably identifiable with the duke of Nantes n1entioned in AB, s.a. 843, p. 44. Perhaps among the men from Aquitaine who came with the empress Judirh 10 join Charles shortly before Fonrenoy: Nit.hard, *Histoir,* 2.9, p. 66.

(12) Lupus: his presence with Charles on 10 May 841 is implicit in Tessier.R,rueil, I, no. 3. Hence he was probably still with Charles at Fontenoy (25 June). But his leuers.*Correspo,idance,* epp. I4-25. I:90-122, show thar he had nor been with Charles continuously over the preceding nine months. The composition of Charles's entourage naturallr fluctuated.

(13) Nithard himself.

To these may perhaps be added Modoin, bishop of Aurun (Lupus, *(;orre.,pondttnce,* ep. 17, 1:98). but he may have died before the end of 840; and Jonas, bishop of Orleans, but his death date is also uncertain (see Levillain's note to Lupus. *Correspo,ula,ice.* ep. 20. I: 10 7).

The following are only documented as receiving patronage fron1 Charles afier Fontenoy, but may have been in his camp before the ba11le: lngelben, abbot of Fosses (Tessier, *Recueil,* I, no. 4, dated I September 841); Nibelung (ihid., no. 16, dated 13 January 843); Vivian (ibid., no. 19. dated 18 February 843, where Vivian appears as *impetrat<rr* and, for the first time. as chamberlain); Rabano (Nithard. *Histoire* 3.3, p. 90).

APPENDIX 2

The date of Nithard's death

The forrn of the date given in Nithard's epitaph (see above, n. 120), "the eighteenth Kalends of June," could be underscood as meaning 15 May, but does not exist in strict Latinity. The learr1ed author is unlikely to have made a slip. Therefore, eicher a common scribal error was made in the unique manuscript giving "lunii" by mistake for "lulii" or the auchor used the curious daring form for reasons of poetic n1eter. The emendacion entailed by the forn1er assumption was made by Ludwig Traube, MGH Poet 3:311, and by both Muller and Lauer in their editions of Nithard (Muller, pp. vi-vii; Lauer. p. vi and n. 1). 11 produces a "true" date of 14 June - the date of the baule of the Angoumois: Lot and Halphen, *Rel;Tle de Charle.1 le Chauve,* p. 113, n. I.

F. I.. Ganshof. "Note critique sur la biographie de Nithard," *M,lt,.,g,.< Paul Thoma,* (Bruges. 1930). pp. 335--44. argued against emending the text of the epitaph and preferred to read "15 Mar." He rejected the association of Nithard's death with the haule of the Angoumois tor two main reasons. First. Nithard's nan,e does not appear on the casualty list in the *A11nt1l1* of St. Bertin. Second, Nithard could not have held the office of *rP.rt11r,* that is. abbot. of St. Riquier, as the epitaph states he did, until alter the baule. since according to the> *Atlnal,* of St. Bertin, Richhod the previous abbot was still in office when killed in that battle. Ganshof's argun1en1 was accepted hy Lowe, *Dn,l1chi11ntl1 G,,chichJsqurlle,1,* 3:356. **But** both objections can in fact be answered.

Firs,. Ganshof presupposed that "a personage of Nithard's importance" would have been mentioned in the *.-i1111t1l<* of St. Bertin. But in 844 Nithard n1ay no longer ha,·e been "i1nportan1" in the sense of being influential at Charles's court. The fact that his death (whenever it occurred) was recorded only at St. Riquier could be *seen* as a consequence of his retirement there from late 842 onwards. Further. the *Annals* of St. Benin should not be regarded any longer in 844 as a quasiofficial source; i11s1eact it reflect., the personal concerns of ilS authors. Prudentius. now bishop of Troyes (sel' Nelson. ·'The Annals of St. Bertin"). The *Annals* mentions by name only lour of those killed in the Angoumois. one of these a son of Charlemagne (Hugh). ancuher a grandson (Richbod). But Prudentius may have mentioned them and not Nithard because of so,ne personal connection; compare his mention of a third casualty, Count Rabanus: Werner, "Untersuchungen." 4. pp. 160and 165with n. 79. Prudentius may also have found the deaths in battle of the churchmen Hugh and Richbod especially shocking. Since the battle resulted from a surp1ise attack, they may have been noncombatants (as implied in Hugh's case by his epitaph. MCH Poet 2:139).

Ganshof's second argument turned on Richbod's tenure of the abbacy of St. Riquier until 14 June 844. Charles the Bald's archchancellor Louis was abbot on 27 September 844 (Tessier. *R,cueil,* I, no. 58) and on 29 March 845 (Canshof, "Note critique:· p. 343, n. I). Charles's maternal uncle Rudolf became abbot later in 845 or early in 846 and remained so until his death in 866 (MGH Poet 106, 3:337-38, with Traube's comments at p. 269). So if Nithard died on a 15 May before 853 (when his epitaph was written), where could his abbacy 61 in? Ganshof suggested that it should be fitted into a three- or four-week period in April-May 845 and that Nithard was killed in battle against the Vikings in Ponthieu on 15 May 845. In support of this suggestion, Ganshof, "Nole critique," p. 343 with n. 4, cited the *Chronicle* of Hariulf, ed. Lot, p. 102. where Nitharct was said to have held office only "paucissimis diebus." But Hariulf, writing in the eleventh century. probably based his words on the epitaph's "nomen reaoris qui modico tenuit" and should not therefore be treated as reflecting any kind of independent "monastic tradition," as surmised by Ganshof.

An alternative solution had been proposed by Lauer, *Histoire,* p. v: he suggested that Nithard could have functioned. as lay abbot alongside Richbod as regular abbot, between 842 and 844. Canshof rejected this solution as anachronistic, claiming that such a double abbacy was vinually unknown before the tenth century and was quite distinct fron, the traditional Carolingian phenomenon of the lay abbacy. But it is now known that lay abhacies were in effect an innovation of the 830s and 840s: Franz Felten, "Laienabte in der Karolingerzeit," in *Mimchtum, Epislwpat u11d Adel zur Criin-du,1gszeit des Klosttrs Reiclunau,* ed. Arno Borst (Sigmaringen, 1974), pp. 397-431. The

institutional arrangements made to cope with thern are rarely attested in the ninth century, not least because of ecclesiastical writers' reticence on such uncanonical practices. But there are two likely cases in the 840s: at St. Colombe, Sens (Tessier, *Recueil,* I, no. 102, and see Emile Lesne, *L'origine des menses dans le temporel des iglises et di'> mona.1t>rP< de France* "" *!Xe .u)cle* [Lille, 1910], p. 75), and at Cormery, daughterhouse of St. lartin, Tours(Tessier, *Recue,i,* 1, nos. 20, 60-63, and especially 131). The further case of St. Germain, Auxerre, cited but considered doubtful by Ganshof, "Note critique," p. 341 with n. 3, seems more likely in the light of the evidence discussed by Joachim Wollasch, "Das Patrimonium Beati Germani in Auxerre," in *St11die11 und Vorarbe/Jen,* ed. Tellenbach, p. 209 with nn. 114 and 115. Lauer's guess in the case of St. Riquier is therefore more aura<. ive than Ganshof allowed. And it becomes still more so in the light of the possibilit)' (above, p. 224 and n. 123) that Richbod was Lothar·s appointee as abbot. The coexistence ofa (lay) abbot appointed by Charles with a (regular) abbot appointed by Lothar seems a likely enough situation in this region at this time. The claims of both incumbents would have been s1rengthened by their being Charlen1agne's grandsons: neither would be easy to oust. But given Nithard's special position as Angilbert's son, it would be naive to suppose that the coexistence was happy. That Richbod and Nithard died in the same battle has a cerrain poignancy.

10

NATIONAL SYNODS, KINGSHIP AS OFFICE, AND ROYAL ANOINTING: AN EARLY MEDIEVAL SYNDROME

PROFESSOR Gabriel Le Bras, a great pioneer in the field of historical sociology, has spoken of the early medieval Church in a bizarre but effective metaphor as 'a dismembered body striving to reunite itself'.1 The essential task of the hierarchy within each national Church[2] was one of co-ordination-by means ofla,v, doctrine, and the standardization of worship. In the fragmented world of the barbarian kingdoms, the distinctive feature of each episcopate was its ideology of cohesion, the more ardently propounded when social crisis was particularly acute, as in the seventh-century Visigothic kingdom, or the war-torn West Francia of the 830s and 840s. This ideology was, moreover, often intimately associated with movements of monastic reform. Its influence penetrated down into the rural base of society through episcopal visitations, preaching, and provincial councils. To trace all the ele1nents in these complex processes of interaction and change would encompass that much-needed sociology of the early n1edieval Church which Max Weber did not live to write and no scholar has yet produced.[3] In this paper, as its title

1 'Sociologie de l'Eglise clans *le* H3ut Moyen Age', in *SeUim1111a Spoleto,* 7, u (1960), 598.

• On the early medieval *La11deskirchen,* see H. von Schubert, *Gn1ndziige der Kird1e11gesd1ichte,* 10th edn. rev. E. Dinkier, Ti.ibingen 1937, 130 ff.; **H.** F. Feine, *Kircl,/iche Rechtsgeschichte,* 4th edn., Weimar 1964, 147 ff.; and W. Schlesinger, *Beitrage zur deutschen Verfassu11gsgeschichte des Mitte/alters,* Gottingen 1963, 259, pointing out their character as *Gentilkirchen.* For the term 'national church', see the sensible remarks ofT. Schieffer and F. L. Ganshof in *Settimana Spoleto,* 7, ı (196o), 312 f.

3 Cf.the Introduction by T. Parsons to Weber's *Tlie Sociology of Religion,* London 1965, xiv; and suggestions scattered throughout Weber's work: e.g. *Max Weber on Law* i11 *Eco11omy and Society,* ed. and trans. E. Shils and M. Rheinstein,

implies, my very limited objective is to isolate and examine certain recurrent phenomena and to point to some hitherto unnoticed connections.

Some historians have depicted the bishops of the early Middle Ages as secular magnates wearing different hats, and thus have seen their activities as one among other forms of *Adelsherrschaft*.[1] It is true that bishops weredrawn very largely fro1n noblefamilies. But equally significant is the fact that they were royal nominees, and in the periods I shall be considering, kings preferred to seek their bishops in the monasteries.[2] If such promotions can hardly be termed channels of social mobility, theynevertheless created one important precondition for a separation of episcopal from secular interests.

Within each kingdom, the bishops shared in government, usually at the local level, but they also had specialized functions as exponents of ritual and setters of norms in a Christian society. The main li1nitation on the effectiveness of their performance of these integrative roles was imposed by the incomplete substitution of Christian for pagan beliefs and values:[3] it was this *ignorantia*, the

Cambridge, Mass., 1954, .250 ff., and *From Max l,,Veber: Essays* ill *Sociology,* ed. and trans. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, London 1947, 245 ff., 295 ff. See now also the masterly survey of Le Bras, 'Sociologic de 1'.Eglise'; E.Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of tl1e Clrristia11 C/111,clres,* trans. 0. Wyon, London 1931, r, 214 ff., and W. Stark, *T/,e Sociology efReligio11: A Study'![Christendom,*London 1966, arc stimulating, but deal only sketchily \vith the early medieval period.

1 This approach, first developed by A. Schulte, *Der Adel 111ul die deutsche Kirche*, Stuttgart 1910 (mainly v.,ith reference to the later Middle Ages), has, ho,vcvcr, corrected a tendency to divorce ecclesiastical history from itssocial environment. See also H. Mittcis, 'Formen der Adelshcrrschaft im Mittelalter', in *Festscl,rift F. Schulz,* Weimar 1951, 226 ff. *esp.* 237; K. Dosi, *Friiliforme11 der Gesellsclt(!/i,* Munich 1964, 93, 459; K. F. Werner, 'Bedeutendc Adelsfanlilien.. .', in *Knr/ dcr Grosse*, ed. H. Beumann, Diisscldorf 1965, ,, 91 f.

• Or arnong the clergy of the royal chapel: see H. Wieruzo,vsk.i, 'Die Zusammcnsetzung des gallischen und frank.ischen Episkopats bis zu1n Vertrag von Verdun (843) ', in *Bonner]ahrbiic/ier*, 127 (1922), 1-83. Wenier, 'Bedeutende Adelsfamilien ', 94, notes the break between Merovingian and Carolingian practice. For further evidence from Spain, Germany, and England, see the works of Thompson, Johnson, and Darlington cited belo\v.

J Copious evidence is adduced by E. A. Thompson, *Tlte Got/is* in *Spain,Oxford* 1969, 308 ff.;J. A. Cabaniss, *Agobard o_f Lyons,* Syracuse 1953, 20 ff.; K. Hauck, •Gcbliitshciligkeit', in *Liber Florid11s. Festschrift P. Lelr111mm,* St Ottilicn r950, 187 ff.; with special reference to kingship, F. Heiler, 'Fortleben und Wand-

cultural barrier to social cohesion, which bishops explicitly set out to combat by means of the *lux conciliorum.*[1] In the national synods of the early Middle Ages, the bishops went into action. These assemblies, in which, despite the presence in some cases of lay participants, the higher clergy formed the overwhelming majority, wereconvoked by kings to deliberate and act on problems of nation-wide importance. By their very existence, they provided a definite organization for the whole episcopal group: the hierarchyin this respect presents a striking contrast tothe lay magnates, who could never be said to have formed anything so precise as an elite.[2] Repeated meetings over time, collective action, and the

Jungen des antiken Gottkonigtums im Christentum', in *The Sacral Kingsl,ip,* Leiden 1959, *543* ff.; and W. A. Chaney, 'Paganism to Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Early Medieval Society,* ed. S. Thrupp, New York 19<>7, 67 ff. See now alsoJ. Le Goff, 'Culturecleric ale et traditions folkloriques dansla civilisation meroving.ienne', in *Armales ESC,* 22 (19<>7), 780 ff. On integration and pattern-maintenance in social systems, see T. Parsons, *Societies,* Englewood Cliffs 1966, rI and 24 ff. It seems to me that the early medieval Church performed both these functions, and that the Parsonian paradigm involves a certain over-schematization which actually diminishes its analytic usefulness for the historian.

1 Cone. Toi. XI (a provincial synod), prologue, in *PL* 84, 451: 'annosa series temporum subtracta luce conciliorum non tam vitia auxerat quam matrem omnium erronun ignorantiam otiosis mentibus ingerebat'. Cf. Toi. IV, *ibid.* 366: 'de qualitate conciliorum •. See also the Anglo-Saxon *Polity* of,. 1000, ed. and trans. B. Thorpe, *Ancie11t Laws,*1, 428, c. x. *'Incipit de sy11odo:* It is incumbent on bishops in the synod first of all to consider about unanimity and true concord among themselves, and how they may before all tbings exalt Christianity and most effectually suppress heathenism.' For synods as 'charismatic assemblies', *see* N..Baynes, *Byzanti11e Studies and Other Essays,* London 1955, 111; cf. H. Barion, *Das friinkisch-deutsche Synodalrecht des Fr11hmittelalters,* Bonn 193I, 110 ff.:' nurOrgane der Kirchenleitung... nicht Versammlungen der Christen, ... sie (i.e. Synods) hierarchischen Charnktcr trugcn und keine Zugestandnisse an demok.ratische Wiinsche ihrer Untergebenen gemacht hatten '. On synods in general, see P. Hinschius, *Das Kirche11recht der Katholiken 11tld Protestanten in Deutsch/and,* Berlin 1869 etc., m, *539* ff.

2 On the distinction between an elite and a ,vider (unorganized) ruling class, see R. Sereno, TIii! *Rulers,* Leiden 196:z, *99* ff., and the penetrating study of T. B. Bottomore, *Elites a11d Society,* London 1966, esp. 4l f. The fluidity of the n1ling stratum and the various possibilities for achieving social status in early medieval kingdoms have been discussed by R. Boutruche, *Seigne11rie et Feodalite,* Paris *1959,* 147 ff.; Bosl, *Friihformen der Gesellscheft,* r *56* ff.; F. Graus, *Volk, Herrscher u11d Heiliger* im *Reich der Meroivinger,* Prague 1965, 200 ff. A clearly defined aristocracy with its own characteristic ethos and system of status--stratification

articulation of common concerns fostered a conscious solidarity on the part of the bishops, and a sense of responsibility for the leadership of their whole society within the wider Church of Christendom. We have to thank Professor Ullmann for showing the full significance of this episcopal deployment of the 'hierocratic theme'.[1]

It has rightly been said that no-one in the Middle Ages wanted a weak king;[2] but it might be fair to add that the lay magnates wanted non-interfering kings, who could give a strong lead in time of crisis but would leave local control in noble hands. The bishops, by contrast, needed a strong and continuously active central power to establish Christian norms and habits of worship, and to protect the rural economic basis of the clergy's livelihood. In view of these divergent interests, it seerns to me superficial to see the struggles of the bishops aga'inst the feudal laity as 'like against like'.[3] Bishops, especially if they had been monks, had interests *qua* bishops which cut them loose from their anchorage in the aristocracy.[4] In two of the four kingdo1ns which I shall be

came into existence only with the decline of the Carolingian Empire, and matured in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: see G. Tellenbach, 'Zur Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Adels (9-12Jhdt.)', in *XII Co11gres It1tert1atio11al des Sciences Historiques,* 1965, Rapports 1,318 tr., and G. Duby, 'The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society', in *Past a11d Preset1t,* 39 (1968), 3 ff. The distinction between ranking and stratification is stressed by M. Pried, *The Evolution of Political Society,* NewYork 1967, and by R. Wenskus, *Sta1nmesbild11ng 1111d Verfassut1g,* Koln-Graz 1961, 314and n. 273: the social anthropologist and the historian, from quite different starting-points, reach sinlilar conclusions. The methodological problem of dealing with periods for ,vhich no statistics are available has been ably discussed by M. K. Hopkins, 'Elite Mobility in the Roman Empire', in *Past and Present,* 32 (1965}, 12 tr. His structural approach seems very useful also for medieval material.

1 See esp. his *The Growth of Papal Govert1ment in the Middle Ages,* 2nd cdn., London 1962, 125 ff.

2 J. M Wallace-Hadrill, *The .Barbaria11 West, 400-1000,* London 1964, 144. Cf. Schlesinger, *Beitrage zur de11tschen Verfass11ngsgeschichte,* 242, and *idem,* 'Die Auflosung des Karlsreiches', in *Karl der Crosse,* 1, 833 ff.

3 So E. N.Johnson, *TheSecular Activitiesoft/1eGer111anEpiscopate,*Chicago1932,23.

• See Barion, *Das.friinkisch-deutsche Synodalrec/11,*332. I would rate very highly the importance of the episcopal ordination rite in aggregating individual to role. The idea of personal regeneration is central to this as to other status-changing rituals; hence the ease of liturgical transpositions from one initiation rite to another. See P. Oppenheim, 'Monchsweihe und Taufritus', in *Miscellanea Liturgica in honorem L.* C. *Moh/berg,* Rome 1948, I, esp. *265* lf., and the suggestive remarks of G. H. Williams, *The Norman Anonymous,* Harvard 1951,

considering, the development through national synods of an episcopal group-identity led to the replacement of mixed lay and ecclesiastical councils by two separate assemblies;• while in the other two kingdoms, clergy alone deliberated and promoted legislation on doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters (which of course covered a very wide range).[2] If it was the king who, in the first instance, mobilized the episcopate as an instrument of royal government, national synods could nevertheless, like thesorcerer's broom, take on a life and character of their own. The bishops might seek to wield a moredirect and extensive control by shifting the balance underlying their alliance with the monarchy: when kings were weak, bishops rallied to their support-but with their own idea of how kings should function. National synods provided the organization and operational means, synodal statements the ideology, which underpinned episcopal attempts to capture the commanding heights of the political structure.

I shall survey briefly the national synods of four areas: Visigothic Spain in the time of Isidore andJulian, West Francia in the time of Jonas and Hincmar, the East Francia of Salomo III and Hatto, and the England of Dunstan and iEthelwold. The crucial role played by leaders both in decision-making and propaganda was hardly a surprising feature of such sustained collective action. This leadership was often formalized as a metropolitan dignity,3 but it was rooted in the consent and support of the episcopate as a

77 ff. and I 58 f. Relevant and valuable in this context are M. Fortes,'Ritual and Office', in *Essays in the Ritual of Social Relations,* ed. M. Gluckman, Manchester 196.2, 53 ff., and the fundamental work of A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage,* ed. and trans. M. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee, Chicago 196o, esp. 93 ff.

1 See Barion, *Das friinkisch-deutsche Synodalrecht, z63* f. and 267 ff.; Hinschius, *Das Kirchenrecht,* m, 554.

2 Cf. the ninth-century forger, Benedictus Levita, iii, 444: 'Ne laici intersint quando canonica iura ventilantur.' See on the Spanish councils, Thompson, 17,c *Goths in Spain,* .278 ff., and on Anglo-Saxon clerical legislation, R. Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period', in *EHR,* 51 (1936), 385 ff.

3 Thompson, *The Goths in Spain,* 275; E. Lesne, *La Hierarchie Episcopale,* Paris 1905, *95* ff. Metropolitan rivalries could later come to centre on the right to perfonn royal consecrations; cf. P. E. Schramm, *Der Kiimg von Frankreich,* 2nd edn., Weimar 196o, 113 ff., and U. Stutz, 'Die rheinischen Erzbischofe und die deutsche Konigswahl', in *Festchrift* H. *Brunner,* Weimar 1910, 57 ff.

whole: witness the lists of episcopal subscriptions to synodal decrees, or thecollective episcopal conduct of royal consecrations. Professor Darlington has said of the late Old English episcopate: 'It is unlikely that all the members... were equally zealous in the pursuit of reform, but the more active prelates could influence their colleagues in synods.'[1]

Royal control over the seventh-century synods of Toledo was extensive, but notexclusive: the Church has been called 'the main stabilizing element in Visigothic society',[2] and in view of recurrent dynastic crises, the bishops were themselves vitally concerned toestablish constitutional norms determining the nature andscope of royal power and the ways in which it might legitimately be acquired. These preoccupations are to be found in the writings of Isidore, and in the deliberations of the synod of 633 over which he presided.3 The impact of monasticism on the episcopate at this time was strong, and the bishops were much concerned with the maintenance of standards of clerical discipline.4 They were fully aware of the importance of synods, and criticized King Recceswinth for his failure to summon one during the last seventeen years of his reign[5]-a fact which speaks as tellingly for the extent of royal control as the criticism itself does for the existence of a distinctivdy hierarchical standpoint. The bishops, even when they could claim a major voice in elections, had reservations about elective kingship.[6] They wanted a stable monarchy which should be the Church's bulwark: hence their support of Wamba, 'offering himself', so the synodists of 675 believed, 'as a new

1 Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical Reform•, 414.

• J. N. Hillgarth, A Critical Edition of the *Prognosticum futuri saeculi* of St Julian of Toledo, Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge 1956 (unpublished), XXVII. See also C. Sanchez Albornoz, 'El Aula Regia•, in *Cuadernos de Historia de Espana, 5* (1946), esp. 85 ff.

3 See M. Reydcllet, 'La Conception du Souverain chez Isidore de Seville', in *lsidoriana*, eel M. Diaz y Diaz, Leon 1961, 457 ff.

• See E. Perez Pujol, *Historia de las lnstituciones Sociales de la EspanaGoda*, Valencia 1896, 106 ff., 143 ff.

s Cone. Toi. XI, in *PL*_84, 451: the bishops complain of the ills of society 'quia ecclcsiastici conventus non aderat disciplina ... et quia non erat adunandorum pontificum ulla praeceptio'.

6 See J. Orlandis Rovira, 'La iglesia Visigoda y los problemas de la sucesion al trono en el siglo VD', in *Settimana Spoleto*, 7, I (196o), 333-5I.

restorer of the Church's discipline in these our times'.[1] The many decrees of Visigothic councils aimed at protecting the Church's economic welfare show the bishops in direct and frequent conflict with the ambitions of secular magnates.[2]

As in seventh-century Spain, the West Frankish synods of the reign of Louis the Pious and the early years of Charles the Bald formed a coherent series: repeated meetings of the same bishops gave rise in time to what Hincmar would call *episcopalis unanimitas*.[3] At Paris in 829, the synodists gave lengthy consideration to the respective functions in Christian government of the king, as *minister*, and the bishops, as 'those who make known the will of God' (divinae voluntatis indices).[4] They were inspired by the ideals of Charlemagne's 'renovation' of society, and by the monastic reform to which Louis had lent his patronage:[5] his penance at Attigny in 822 was a demonstration of faith in personal renewal.[6] The synodists of the 840s attacked lay magnates who violated canon law in appropriating the Church's property. In face of the consistent development of episcopal policy, both royal reservations and lay reaction became more marked, and with the rebuff at Epemay in 847 when the king rejected much

[1] *PL* 84, 465: 'ecclesiasticae disciplinae his nostris saeculis novus reparator occurrens'. It was thanks to Wamba that 'lux couciliorum renovata resplenduit', *ibid.* 451.

[2] Cf. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain*, 308: 'On no single subject did the bishops spend more time than on the safeguarding of their churches' property.'

[3] *De Divortio*, Qgaest. 6, in *PL* 125, 757, apropos the reinstatement by the bishops of Louis the Pious in 834.

[4] MGH, *Conc.*, II, 605 ff. See also J. Reviron, *Les idles politico-religieuses d'un evlque du IXe siec/e: Jonas d'Orleans et son 'De illstitutione regia'*, Paris 1930, esp. 94 ff. and 113 ff. (Jonas' treatise was a restatement of the Paris decrees), and E. Delaruelle, 'En relisant le *De Institutione regia*...', in *Melanges Halphen*, Paris 1951, 185 ff., esp. 187: 'C'est l'entree en scene de l'episcopat... organise en corps constitue... se pronon ant sur les grands interets de l'Etat et de la chretiente.' The conciliar activities of this period are discussed by Ullmann, *Growth*, 125 ff.

[5] See H. Fichtenau, *Das karo/ingische Imperium*, Zurich 1949, 209 ff.; and the perceptive remarks of J. Winandy, 'L'Oeuvre de S. Benoit d'Aniane', in *Melanges Benedictins*, St Wandrille 1947, 235 ff. J. Semmler, 'Die monastische Gesetzgebung Ludwigs des Frommen', in *Deutsches Archiv*, 16 (1960), esp. 384 ff., links the *Unitas* of monastic observance with the whole idea of a 'renovatio regni Francorum'.

[6] Cf. Isidore, *De Offic.* II, xvii, 6, in *PL* 83, 803: 'Lacrymae enim poenitentium apud deum pro baptismate reputantur.'

of the synodists' programme,[1] the bishops were forced to recognize the inadequacy of synodal action without royal co-operation.

InEast Francia halfa century later, thesynodal development was telescoped. Its beginnings can be seen in the 88os, when the synodists at Mainz promulgated almost verbatim the decrees issued at Paris in *829.*[2] Again, a major preoccupation centred on the royal fW1ction within the Church: at Tribur in *895,* the assembled bishops hailed King Arnulf as 'our pious and gentle comforter and energetic assistant',[3] while a chronicler summed up their work as directed 'against many laymen who were trying to weaken episcopal authority'.[4] During the minority of Arnulf's successor, bishops led by Hatto of Mainz were the real rulers of the kingdom.[5] At the Synod of Hohenaltheim in 916, episcopal interests emerged more clearly than ever opposed to those of the lay aristocracy.[6] In legislating 'for the strength of our kings' (de robore nostrorum regum), tl1ese bishops viewed the monarchy as a defence against both encroachments on ecclesiastical property and a more general fragmentation of authority.

Because of the difficulty of distinguishing between royal council and ecclesiastical synod in tenth-century England, it seems justifiable to regard the meetings of that council as analogous to

1 See F. Lot and L. Halphen, *Le Regne de Charles le Chauve,* Paris 1909, 74 ff.; P.Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident,* Paris I931, i, 130 ff.; Barion, *Dasfriinkish-deutsche Synodalrecht,* 297 f.; now also C. De Clercq, 'La legislation religieuse franque depuis l'avenement de Louis le Pieux jusqu'aux Fausses Decretales', in *Rev11e d11 Droit Canonique, 5* (1955), 280 ff. and 390 ff., and continued *ibid. 6* (1966), 340 f.

• Mansi, 18, 61 ff.; cf. *MGH Cone.* n, *649* ff.

3 *MGH Capil.* u, 213: 'pius et mitis consolator tamque strenuus adiutor'.

4 Regino, *Chron.,* ed. Kurze, *MGH, SS. rer. Germ.,* 1, 6o6: 'contra plerosque seculares qui auctoritatem episcopalem imminuere tentabant'.

5 See A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutsch/ands,* 3rd edn. Leipzig 1904, m, 7 ff.; R. Heitzmann, *Geschichte der siichsischen Kaiserzeit,* Munich 1943, 4.2 ff.; Schlesinger, *Beitrage,* 137 f. and 139 ff., and *idem,* • Auflosung', 841 f.

6 The importance of this synod was ably shown by M. Hellmann, •Die Synode von Hohenaltheirn (916)', in *Die Entstehung des deutschen Reiches,* ed. **H.** Kampf, Darmstadt 1956, .289 ff. Significantly, the synodists of 916 drew heavily on Visigothic conciliar legislation transmitted by Pseudo-Isidore: see Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship,* London **1969,** 130.

the earlier Continental synods, which were, after all, in some cases also *concilia t11ixta*.[1] From the time of Athelstan (924-39),[2] at the core of the king's council was a group of bishops, whom the documents, especially those of Edgar's reign, show to have been constantly together around the king, active in legislation and administration, and most notably of all, in the promotion of monastic reform3-which since it involved the expropriation of lay1nen and the communalization of monks' property, brought them into sharp conflict with what lEthelwold castigated as *secularium prioratus*.[4] These bishops assigned a precise and crucial role to the king in the fulfilinent of their aims, rightly seeing in royal *dominium* the one effective safeguard against the magnates' local lordship.

I would now like to draw attention to the fact that the rite of royal anointing made its appearance in each of these four national churches at the same period as the upsurge of synodal activity, and even more precisely, at a fairly advanced stage in the synodal sequence in each case. This is not the place to discuss the evidence in detail, but I have elsewhere tried to.establish good grounds for pinpointing the date at which the rite was introduced **in** Spain to

[1] See Darlington, *Ecclesiastical Reform*, 414 ff.,and D. Whitelock, *Et1glish Historical Doc11ments*, vol.1, London 1955, *68* f., as against C. J. Godfrey, *The Church iti Anglo-Sa. on England*, Cambridge 1962, 390.

- Synod of Gradey, 928, Mansi, **18,** 351. Cf. the evidence of conciliar activity (canons and charters) printed in D. Wilkins, *Co11cilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, London 1737, 212 ff.

[3] Surviving monastic charters are especially revealing: see e.g. those printed in W. Birch, *Cart11/ari11m Saxonicum*, m, nos. 1047, 1007, 1073, 1283. See also the legislation of Edgar in A. J. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, Cambridge *1925*, 20 ff., esp. the Code of 962-3 (IV Edgar), probably written by Dunstan: cf. Whitelock, *Doc11men1s*, 41.

- *Reg. Concordia*, ed. T. Symons, 7. See now the valuable study ofE. John, 'The Icing and the monks in the tenth century reformation•, in *Bul/etin of the John Rylands Library*, 42 (1959), 61-87. An interesting sidelight on the social issues involved may be found in a Canon of Edgar, ed. Thorpe, *Attcient Laws*,1, 396, c. 13: 'that no high-born priest despise the lower born; because if it be rightly considered, then are all men of one birth'. W. Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, RS,* London 1 874, cvii, saw Dunstan's influence here. Cf. also the same idea of natural equality enshrined in the conciliar decrees of Paris (829): *MCH, Co11c.*, n, *654.*

672, in West Francia to 848, in East Francia to 911, and inEngland to 973,[1]

In each case, anointing almost inunediately came to be regarded, not only by clerics but also by the candidates themselves, as indispensable to king-making. The Visigothic bishops declared in 681that KingErwig 'regnandi **per**sacrosanctam unctionem suscepit potestatem'. Charles theBald asserted in 859 that the archbishop of Sens, together with his episcopal colleagues, 'me ... in regni regirnine... perunxit'. For the East Frankish clergy, Henry I who had refused to be anointed in 918 was 'a sword without a handle'; in the rubrics of the 'Early German' *Ordo* (produced in East Francia in the first half of the tenth century) the *princeps designatus* only after hisanointing is termed *rex*.The Anglo-Saxon JElfric, writing at the close of the tenth century, used the unequivocal word *smyrao* (instead of the vague *gehalgod)* in reference to royal consecration, and stated that 'the king, after he is consecrated, then has dominion over his people'.[2] After Wamba (672), Charles the Bald (848), Otto I (936), and Edgar (973), no unanointed Christian king ruled in any of the four kingdoms.

Royal anointing has usually been interpreted as purely and simply a Christian substitute for the magical sanctions of pagan kingship:3 its purpose has been seen as the conferment of a sacred character on the king, and thus the protection of monarchy from the attacks of Wlruly subjects: 'Thou shalt not touch the Lord's

1 For details, see my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Rituals of Royal Inauguration in Early Medieval Europe, Cambridge 1967, esp. *52* ff., 150 ff., 370 ff., and 393 ff.

• Cone. Toi. XII, c. 1, in *PL* 84, 471; Charles' *Libel/us ...contra Wenilonem* (probably written at Hincruar's instigation), in *MGH Capit.* D, 451; the early tenth-century *Vita Udalrici,* in *MGH, SS,* 1v, 389; the 'Friihdeutsch' *Ordo,* ed. C. Erdmann, *Forschutigen zur politisclien ldeenwelt des Fruhmittelalters,* Berlin 1951, 83 ff.; lfric quoted in Whitelock, *Documents,* 8 *5* I.

3 E.g. F. Kem, *Gottesgt1adentum u,ul Widerstandsrecht im frilheren Mitte/alter,* znd edn. rev. R. Buchner, Munster 1954, *66* ff.; Schramm, *Herrschaftszeiclten und Staatssymbolik,* vol.1, Stuttgart 1954, 127; L. Rougier, 'Le Caractere Sacre de la royaute en France', in *The Sacral Kingship, 609* ff.; the revealing discussion in *Settimana Spoleto,* 7, 1 (1960), 385 tr. Henry I, refusing the proffered anointing, and satisfied with a more familiar mundane title, saw the debit side of the bargain; cf. Widukind, *Rer. Gest. Saxoti.,* t, *z6,* ed. Lohmann-Hirsch, 39: 'Satis nuchi est ut ... *rex dicar ct designer.*•

Anointed'. This interpretation, though partially accurate, by no means exhausts the meaning of the rite, and indeed overlooks the original essential purpose in the minds of those who designed and performed it.Consideration must begiven to theposition not only of the consecrated, but also of the consecrators. Kings, even when made rather than born, had hitherto received power through either designation or election; the handing over of insignia by predecessor or electors was the characteristic ritual form of succession. {We saw in the recent Investiture of the Prince of Wales a good example of such an entirely secular transference of power, with clerical blessings tacked on to the royal *fait accompli.)* **But** anointing meant that the candidate became dependent on the ecclesiastical hierarchy: dependent **in** what sense?

The idea was certainly not to make a bishop of the king, or to suggest a fusion of kingship with priesthood. It has too often been forgotten that episcopal ordination anointings were unknown at the period when royal anointing was introduced. There is no evidence of ordination anointing in Visigothic Spain and the rite was certainly not practised in Rome before the tenth century. Thehandsof priests n1ay have been anointed in some parts of Gaul before 751, but the practice seems to have been discontinued, and then revived in West Francia when episcopal head-anointing was introduced in the ninth century.I To thisday ordination anointing remains foreign to the Eastern Church.

The 'Anointed Ones' of the Old Testament were models for *all* Christians.[2] Although ideas of kingship as such might be strongly influenced by the prototypes of David and Solomon,3 the

[1] See G. Ellard, *Ordit1atio11 Anointittgs* it1 *the Western Cliurch before 1000A.D.*, Cambridge, Mass., 1933; M. Andrieu, 'Le sacre episcopal d'apres Hincmar de Reims', in *Revi,e d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 48 (1953), 22-73, esp. 40 ff. Liturgical parallels naturally came to exiit between royal and episcopal consecration-rites, but influence worked in both directions, and there is evidence that Hincmar manip;ilated liturgy very subtly in crder to maintain and even to underline the fundamental distinction between the two rites. If the later rite of papal coronation represented an *imitatioimperii* (see Ullmann, *Growth*, 311 ff.), the anointing of the Frankish bishop might be seen as an analogous *imitatio regtti.*

[2] So Augustine in *PL* 34, 1355; Isidore in *PL* 83, 823; Bede in *PL* 91, 561, *606. See* also P. Dabin, *Le Sacerdoce royal des fide/es*, Brussels 1950.

) See E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, Berkeley 1946, esp. *56* ff.

association with a physical anointing was clearly not relevant to Merovingian or Byzantine use of these *exenipla:* kings the1nselves, especially the Visigoths, were more attracted by Byzantine models.[1] **An** explanation of early medieval anointings as a revival of Scriptural practice isneither self-evident nor wholly satisfactory.

It was in the oil rituals of the Church that the memory of that practice was kept most intensely and constantly alive. The *liturgical* affinity of royal anointing was with the rite of Christian initiation,[2] and specifically with the post-baptismal chrismation of the initiate's head performed by the bishop. At least from the fourth century onwards, this post-baptismal unction ,vas characterized as a royal investiture[3] of which the anointings of Scripture represented the mystic type. It is not hard to see how the liturgical transference could suggest itself: the purpose of royal anointing too was to 'make a new man' of the unworthy candidate,[4] and to qualify him for the burdensome tasks inseparable from thedignity conferred. Here were re-echoed those ideals of personal and social regeneration which animated monastic and synodal reformers. The link with the Old Testament was thus indirect, and was transmitted through the baptismal liturgy with its reference to 'the oil wherewith thou hast anointed priests, kings, and prophets'.[5]

Royal anointing, then, was no mere surrogate for long hair, for the aim of theanointers was not simply to exalt the king, but at the

1 See E. Ewig, 'Zurn christlichen Konigsgedankcn im Frlihmittelalcer', in *Das Ko11igt11111. Vortrage 11nd Forsch1111gen,* m, Konstanz *1956, 36* f.

• Cf. the stimulating, but often unreliable, study of J. de Pange, *Le Roi Ires chretie11,* Paris 1949, esp. 79 ff. and 98 ff., who ,vrongly postulates a confusion of rites. See also B. Welte, *Die Postbaptismale Sallnmg,* Freiburg 1939, andJ. D. C. Fisher, *Christia11 Initiation,* London 1965, for discussion of doctrine and liturgy.

3 See T. Michels, 'Die Akklamation in der Tauffiturgie', *in]al,rbucl,fur Liturgie-111issensc!Jajt,* 8 (1928), 76 ff., for the early development of this idea, especially in the Eastern liturgies. Cf. the Merovingian *Missale Gothicwn,* ed. L. C. Mohlberg, Rome 1961, 67, where the newly anointed are referred to as 'baptizati et in Christo coronati'; Pope Leo I, *PL* 54, 149·: omnes enim in Christo regeneratos crucis signum efficit reges'.

• Cf. I *Reg.* x, 6.

s *Liber Sacramentor11m Rommiae Ecclesiae Ordit1is Anni Circ11/i. (Sacramentarium Gelasia1111m),* ed. Mohlberg, Rome 1958, 73; *The Gregorian Sacrame11tary,* ed. H. A. Wilson, *Henry Bradshaw Society,* 49, London 1915, 50. Cf. already the third-century *Apostolic Tradition,* ed. B. Botte, Munster 1963, 18 f.

same time to condition and, when necessary, to control his action. At the Vill Council of Toledo in 653, the bishops declared: 'Regem... iura faciunt non persona (It is the laws, not the individual, which make theking).'[1] Thesynodists at Paris in 829 posed the question: 'Q!:!id sit proprie ministerium regis? (What really is the king's job?)'[2] The achievement of the Synod ofHohenaltheim has been epitomized as 'a re-interpretation of kingship in thesenseofa theocratic office'.[3] King Edgar himself, addressing an Anglo-Saxon synod in 967, expressed his readiness to take up 'the sword of Constantine', and to obey episcopal commands.[4] The notion of kingship as office, whether implied or made explicit, was the remarkable common feature of the synodists' statements in all four areas. An office presupposes clearly defmed functions, for the officer, as Weber has pointed out, 'is subject to an impersonal order to which his actions are oriented'.[5] As guardians of that higher order in early medieval Christendom, the bishops saw the royal office as an executive post, themselves as the directors of the corporation.

The bishops were also the ritual specialists in a Christian society, and therefore were uniquely qualified to manipulate ritual to express and to implement their own ideas. It is hardly surprising that the rite of royal anointing, both in a creative and a demonstrative sense, made precisely those points which were of prime importance in the view of the hierarchy: first, the auxiliary role of the chosen king, incorporated into his office and actually made capable ofassuming it, through the dynamic rite of anointing, and secondly, the episcopal 1nonopoly of king-making -the *sacerdos* being the unique channel of supernatural power

' *PL* 84, 431. The significance of this statement is stressed by De Pange, *Le roi,* 120 ff., and by H. Beumann, 'Zur Ennvicklung transpersonaler St11atsvorstcllungen', in *Das Kiinigtum*, ed. Ewig, 215 ff.

• *MGH, Cone.*, D, 651-2. 3 Hellmann, 'Die Synode', 303.

• *PL* 138,515. Cf. IV Edg. 1, 8, ed. Robertson, *Laws*, 32 f.: 'theobedience which we show (the bishops) as representatives of God'.

s *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, Oxford 1947, 330. See also Fortes, 'Ritual and Office', 57 ff.; and the penetrating analysis of comparative institutions, and of terminology, by J. Goody, *Suaession to High Office*, Cambridge 1966, 1-56, and 170-2, stressing the special characteristics of *royal* office as a •scarce resource'.

conceived of as *gratia divina*. Here is the central passage of the anointing prayer which appeared in almost all the medieval *ordines* for royal consecration:

> Almighty eternal God,... we ask thee to attend to the prayers of our humility and to establish this thy servant in the high rulership of the kingdom, and anoint him with the oil of the grace of thy Holy Spirit wherewith thou hast anointed those priests, kings, prophets, and martyrs who through faith conquered kingdoms, worked justice, and obtained thy promises.

This text, *Omnipotens sempiterne deus*, composed by Hincmar for the consecration of Louis the Stammerer in 877, was used by the author of the 'Seven Forms' *Ordo* (early tenth century), when it passed into the *Ordo* of 'Mainz' in the *Ponti.ficale Romano-Ger1na11iet1111* (c. 96o) and from there into the mainstream of the medieval *ordines* tradition.[1]

Moreover, Hincmar would show that anointing, unlike penance, provided a basis for episcopal jurisdiction over the king: Charles the Bald, having been consecrated by the bishops, could be deposed *only* by their decision, and was subject to their 'fatherly correction'. This subordination paralleled that of the bishop to his consecrators, for, as Hincmar succinctly told his erring nephew the bishop ofLaon: 'You can be judged by those who had the power to ordain you.' Likewise, in demanding a *professio* or solemn undertaking from the king Hincmar extended to the royal office the penalty which canon law prescribed for a broken *professio* in the case of a bishop: *privatio honoris* or deposition.[2]

[1] The *Ordo* of8n in*MGH, Capit.*,11, 461-2; the 'Seven Forms', ed. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, 87 ff.; the 'Mainz' Pontifical, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, Rome I963, 246 ff.

Episcopal mediation was most heavily stressed in the 'Seven Forms' texts for the delivery of crown and sword, *ed. cit.*, 88: the kingdom *is* committed to the royal 'regimen, per officium nostrae benedictionis', the sword is handed over•per manus episcoporum licet indignas vice tamen et auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum consecratas'.

[2] Cf. the *Libel/us* of *859*, in *Capit.*, n, 45r: 'a qua consecratione (i.e. Charles's anointing in 848)... proici a nullo debueram, saltem sine audientia et iudicio episcoporum, quorum ministerio in regem sum consecratus... quon1m paternis

At the last synod over which Hincmar presided, in 881, the Gelasian doctrine of responsibility was given a new and pregnant meaning when the consecration of kings was seen as the concrete application of episcopal *auctoritas:*

> so much greater is the responsibility of the priesthood in that they must render accow1t in God's judgement even for the very kingsofmen,and by so much greater are the rank and prestige of bishops than of kings 'quia reges in culmen regium sacrantur a pontificibus, pontifices aute1n a regibus consecrari non possunt (because kings are consecrated to their kingship by bishops, but bishops cannot be consecrated by kings}'.[1]

The candidate received from his consecrators not only symbols-crown or spear or sceptre-though these too were soon transferred from secular ritual to ecclesiastical rite, but royal power itself together with the qualities required for its exercise. The king was now the bishops' creature, and in a quite literal sense their right-hand man. This implication of anointing distinguishes it clearly from other ritual forms of king-making which were taken over by the Church. In Byzantium from the fifth century onwards, the imperial accession ritual became increasingly an ecclesiastical affair, but the coronation, whether performed by the senior Basileus or by the Patriarch of Constantinople, was never regarded as dynamic or constitutive.[2]

It is worth noting, in this context, that the bishops of the Western Churches were not initially interested in crowning their kings. There is no evidence for an ecclesiastical rite of coronation in Visigothic Spain, although Byzantine influence may well have brought crown-wearing into royal ceremonial, and perhaps even into a secular accession ritual. Coronation was introduced into the

correptiorubuset castigatoriis iudiciis... sum subditus'; Hincmar to his nephew, in *PL* 126, 378: 'ab his potes iudicari a quibus potuisti ordinari'; *idem, PL* r25, 1040 f. and Mansi, 16, 6ox.

1 *PL* 125, 1071, in the *atta* of the Synod of St Macre-de-Fismes.

• See O. Treitinger, *Die Ostriimische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung Im lwfischen Zeremonie/1*,Jena 1938, 7 If., 27 If., and F. Dolger's effective refutation of the contrary opinion of P. Charanis, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 43 (1950), 146-7.

Frankish royal consecration bythe papacy, again probably through a modelling on Byzantine practice. In 848, the deliveries of both crown and sceptre seem to have remained within the framework of a secular ritual of enthronement. Even much later, the actual coronation was of secondary importance in the full rite of inauguration: in the 'Edgar' *Ordo* as performed in 973, three antiphons were prescribed for reasons of emphasis at the entrance of the *electus*, at the anointing, and at the girding-on of the sword.•

Of course, ideas of sacral kingship did not die: and in the context of *that* tradition, especially when its pagan origins had been concealed by a Christian theocratic gloss, royal anointing from the later tenth century onwards, when ordination anointings had become widely practised, could be cited as evidence of the king's priestly powers: the 'rex ex nobilitate' engendered 'le roi thaumaturge'.[2] But the ideas of the Norman AnonymousJ were *not* those of the men who first devised and performed the **rite** of royal anointing. I suggest that there was in the early medieval period a connection between sustained synodal activity and the introduction of this rite. The link was made by the bishops'

[1] Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 48, sr, 52, in *MGH, AA,* XI, *286* f.; P. Classen, 'Karl der Grosse, *das* Papsttum und Byzanz', in *Karl der Grosse*,1, *557* f.; *Ann. Bertin.*, ed. F. Grat, *SS* and cf. *ibid.* 71; the 'Edgar' *Ordo*, ed., L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, Westminster 1901, IS ff.

[2] See M. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, Strasbourg 1924; H. Beumann, 'Die sakrale Legitimierung des Herrschers in1 Denken der ottonischcn Zeit', in *Zeitschrift fiir Rechtsgeschichte, Germ. Abt., 66* (1948), 1-45; H. Wolfram, *Splendor Imperil,* Graz-Koln 1963, 126 ff. and 137, calling the replacement of the king's *splendor fortunae* by a *splendor.fidei* 'ein echt mitteralterlich Kompromiss'.

[3] See Williams, *The Norman Anonymous*, esp. 167 ff. The Anonymous regarded the king'sanointing as superior to that of the bishop: *MGH,L de L,* Ill, tract. IV, 669: •Nam unctio et sanctificatio sacerdotun1 ad exemplum Aaron instituta est... et ... ad exemplum apostolorum ... reg*is* vero unctio instituta est ad exemplum illius quern Deus pater unxit ante saecula.' On these ideas, which drew heavily on expressions contained in the royal *ordines,* see the perceptive remarks of Kantorowicz, *The IGng's Two Bodies*, Princeton 1957, 4.2 *ff.* But both he, and the equally perceptive R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, London 1953, 97 ff., somewhat misleadingly suggest that the Anonymous was really representativeof early medieval attitudes. Stark, *So.iology of Religion,* 58 f., mischievously juxtaposes the Anonymous and the Vicar of Bray, the Conner's argument being 'a near-perfect reflection of the sentiments which, when the time came, produced the Anglican establishment'.

preoccupation with the function of secular power *intra ealesiam,*[1] and the problem of controlling its exercise. These series of synods a·t once manifested and promoted the group-consciousness and ideological maturity of the episcopates, while at the same time, they revealed the dependence of the hierarchy on royal support. The result was a crystallization of the clergy's needs and expectations of kingship. The transmission of rulership by secular and autonomous means now appeared clearly for what it was: an anomaly in the Christian society. Theology and practical need coalesced to suggest a ritual expression for a new social reality.

By way of contrast, one might glance for a moment at Ireland and Byzantium in thisperiod. In both cases, the Church acconuno-dated itself to the wider society in ways quite different from those which evolved in the barbarian kingdoms. No theories emerged of kingship as office, or of the hierarchy as supervisor of the ruler's usefulness. Not the bishop but the charismatic figure of monk or abbot appeared to castigate royal or imperial sin: such interventions were individual, intermittent, and never institutionalized or formalized in law. The absence here of synodal movements comparable to those outlined above may be linked with the fact that the practice of royal or imperial anointing was never introduced by the indigenous episcopates.[2] This is not to postulate a

[1] Cf. Isidore, *Se11t.* m, 51, 4, in *PL* 83,723: 'Principes saeculi *nonnumquam* intra ecclesiam potestatis adeptae culmina tenent, *ut* per eandem potestatem discip-1.inam ecdesiasticam *muniant.*•

[2] On Irish conditions, see P. Fournier, 'Le *Liber ex lege Moysi* et Jes tendances bibliques du droit canonique irlandais', in *Revue Celtiq11e,* 30 (1909), esp. 228: 'Les conciles n'y tiennent qu'une place secondaire, comme Jes eveques dont le role est singulierement efface.• Also valuable are J. Ryan's observations in *Seuimana Spoleto,* 7, u (1900), 554 tr. and 584 f., and K. Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society,* London r966. On synods in the Eastern Church, see H. G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich,* Munich 1959, 38 tf., esp. *55* tr.: only ten local synods are recorded for the whole Eo1pire in four centuries (from 6oo to 1000), and nearly all were exclusively concerned with the doctrinal problems of mooothelitism or iconoclasm, rather than with administrative or legislative matters, which were in any case looked after by the imperial government. On io1perial control, see A. Michel, 'DieKaisermacht in der Ostkirche', in *Ostkirchliche Studien,* 3 (1954), 1 tr.; for monastic criticisms, see the lively essay of H. Gregoire in N. H. Baynes and H.B. Moss,eds., *Byzanti11m,* Oxford 1948, *86* tf. On royal inaugurations in Ireland, which

simple causal relationship between institution and rite: rather that these are best seen as interrelated features of specific social and political conditions.

There is time only for a brief mention of cl1e anointings of Pippin in 751 and 754. I have tried to show elsewhere that these were the results of papal initiative,[1] and therefore not cases of the syndrome I have been examining here, though obviously relevant to it. It was no coincidence that me Frankish bishops allowed the practice of royal anointing to fall into abeyance after 751, and did not resume it on their own initiative until the mid-ninth century. Seen in this perspective, the so-called 'delayed anointings' of Charles the Bald and, in the tenth century, of the Anglo-Saxon Edgar, lose their aura of mystery.[2]

I have said that two key ideas lay behind the anointing rite: the executive function of Christian kingship and the mediatory role of the bishops in conferring and legitimizing secular power. These ideas were nowhere more clearly apparent than at a synod; and it is significant that prayers 'pro rege in tempore sinodi' were incorporated into the earliest *ordines* for royal consecration. Two of Alcuin's collects for this purpose were used by Hincmar in the anointing prayer of the *ordo* which he composed for the consecration of Charles the Bald as king of Lotharingia in 869.[3] The reference of one of these texts to the royal *ministeriutn* was no doubt its chief reco1nmendation; while the whole meaning of the rite was epitomized in its opening prayer, that God's servant 'in

remained entirely secular even in the later Middle Ages, see M. Dillon and N. Chadwick, *The Celtic Realms,* London [967, 93 ff. G. Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaisersalbung und Scbilderbebw1g im Spatbyzantinischcn Kronungszeremoniell', in *Historia,* 4 (1955), 246 ff., resumes the evidence, and shows that an imperial anointing was not practised in Byzantium before the thirteenth century, when the rite was imported from the West.

• For details, see my wipublished dissertation, ch. m.

[2] Cf. *Settimana Spoleto,* 7, I (1960), 397 f. and 403 f.

[3] *MGH,Capit.,* II, 457: 'Et quite voluit'. Cf. Alcuin's *Benedictio* in the Gregorian Sacramentary, *ed.cit.,*351. The same collect wasemployed quite independently by the East Frankish author of the 'Early German' *Ordo,* ed. Erdmann, *op. cit.,* 86. In this form (which differed slightly from Hincmar's text) the prayer passed into 'Mainz', and thus into the later *ordines.* Cf. also the echo in Hincmar's opening benediction, 'Deusqui populis', of two Alcuinian Mass prayers *prorege in tempore sytwdi:* Gregorian, *ed. cit.,* 188 and 189.

regni regimine maneat semper idoneus'. Between the two great liturgists Alcuin and Hincmar lies the distance from the monarch acting in synod to the suitable king consecrated by the synodists.*

* I should like to take 'this opportunity of acknowledging the help and encouragement ofProfessorW. Ullmann and ofmy husband, H. G. H. Nelson, both of whom have discussed with me some ideas contained in this paper.

SYMBOLS IN CONTEXT: RULERS' INAUGURATION RITUALS IN B¥ZANTIUM AND THE WEST IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES[1]

HOBSBAWM[2] recently reminded young historians prone to methodologising that they would be well advised always to ..... begin with a problem. He meant to imply-and very properly-that experimentation wit!) methods becomes vapid and useless unless it is seen clearly for what it is: a means to an end. I propose to experiment with a method, so I want first to emphasise that I do have a problem. It is this: why, within a common framework of Christian theology, belief and practice, did the rituals for the inauguration of rulers, in early Byzantium on the one hand, and in the early medieval western kingdoms on the other, diverge as they did? What has this divergence to tell us about the differences not just bet,veen types of political power but between the two societies? These questions relate, of course, to a mere subsection of the whole vast subject of 'liturgies eastern and western' which Brightman long ago promised to survey.[3] Unfortunately, even his work was left only half-co1nplete: the further task of systematic comparative analysis seems hardly to have been begun. But that would surely be a life-time's work. In this paper, I confine myself to a snull though significant area of the field, a single typeof ritual; and I cover a limited time-span, the period down to about 1000 AD.

First, to define the size and shape of the problem, I sketch two ritual models, eastern and western, and examine what were the historical contexts in which the critical phases of their respective developments

[1] I am grateful for their help to any friends and colleagues Averil and Alan Cameron, who k.iudly let me see work in advance of publication, Johnny Parry, who advised n1e on the anthropological literature, and John Gillingham, who discussed with me some of the ideas in this paper.

- In a contribution 10 the discussion at the conference of the Past and Present Society at University College, London, 2 July 1975.
- f. E. Brightman, *Liturgie, (Eastern a11d Wtsttm}* (Oxford 1896), a revised version of the work of C. E. fbrurnond (1878}. Only volu,ne I ever appeared.

took place. Second, and *this* is where the experiment comes in, I offer a provisional answer to the question: why?-both in the sense of how come? and also of what for?'

First then: the rituals the1nselves. I begin with the east. How was a Byzantine emperor made? A distinction has *to* be made at the outset between two sorts of emperol': *the* co-emperor l'aised as colleague by an existing senior entperor,[5] and what n1ay be termed the 'new' emperor-a category which will include not only a usurper, would-be founder of **a** new dynasty, but also **an** e1nperor who did **in** fact succeed a *member* of his own family but whose succession was not formally transacted during his predecessor's lifetime. An obvious distinction between the two categol'ies is thus that a 'new' emperor's inauguration was generally preceded by an imperial funeral, a co-en1peror's never.

The inauguration of the co-emperor (and incidentally there are considerably more of these in our period than of the other kind of accession)[6] consisted basically of a coronation of the junior by the senior colleague,[7] followed by acclamations fron1 those witnessing the ritual. The coronation of a co-emperor was final in the sense that no

- Compare E. R. Leach. 'Ritualization in man in relation to conceptual and social development.', in *P[hi/osopliical) T(ransactions of the} R(oyal) S[ocitty of) L[ondon* Series B. Biological Sciences), no 772, vol 251(London 1966) pp 403 *seq.* Distinguishing the 'philo-genetic question "how come?" from the functional question "what for?",' Leach conunents (p 404): 'The enormous complexity of the ritual sequences which anthropologists have to study makes any guesses of the "How come" type moreor less absurd.' To a historian, the anthropologist's self-limitation appears a result, less of the complexity of his material, than of its usual lack of diachronic depth. Philogenetic questions are the historian's stock-in-trade: for him, the complexity of ritual sequences must invite rather than preclude historical investigation.
- For the characteristics of pre-mortem succession, see J. Goody, *[Succession to High OffiuJ* (Cambridge 1966) pp 8 *seq.*
- Between 450 and 1000, there were, on my calculations, thirty-six inaugurations of co-emperors, as against twenty-seven of 'new' emperors.

' The dynastic element of pre-mortem succession was observed by the sixth-century chronicler Malalas, *Chronograp/1ia,* ed L. Dindorf (Bonn 1831) p 439: 'w 'I'IKvc, a(ml;v tK na166&Evl<TT£'°v.' For the roleof the senior emperor, sec the *B[ook* ef) *C(ettmonies*J of Constantine Porphyrogcnitus, ed J. Reiske (Bonn 1829) I, 94, p 431. On this indispensable source, see J. B. Bury, 'The Book of Ceremonies', in *EHR,* 22 (1907) pp 209 *seq,* 418 *seq.* The role of crowner was sometitnes delegated to the patriarch: (W.) Sickel, l'Das byzantinische Kronungsrecht bis zum 10 Jht.'J, in *BZ,* 7 (1898) pp 511 *stq,*at *5.20,* and 0. Treitinger in *BZ, 39* (1939) p 200, stressing that in any event the senior emperor always remained 'der auctor der Kronw1g.' See also P. Classen, 'Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz', in *Karl der Grosse,* 1, ed H. Beumann (Diisseldorf 19<>5) pp *580. 595.* [Ai.) Christopbilopoulou, ['EKAoy{i, avo:yOj)EVq,S •al O'l'!lj,1s "To0 v3aVT1vov al'.rrOKpcrroj>OS) (Athens 1956) pp So *seq,* is needlessly over-sc:hen1atic in insisting that the senior emperor always personally performed the coronation of a colleague. The events of 641 show public opinion preferring this, but

further ritual was required to legitimise hitn as sole or senior emperor when the existing senior colleague died.[8] The inauguration of a co-emperor until the early ninth century would regularly take place in the Hippodron1e[9] or in the palace, rather than, as in the **ninth** and tenth centuries, in Hagia Sophia.[10]

The inauguration of a 'new' emperor was more co1nplicated. Christophilopoulou has suggested that the procedures should be seen in terms of two originally distinct blocs,[11] and her approach is useful so long as the integration of these blocs is stressed, rather than any contradiction between them.[12] First came the *anagore11sis*, the for1nal proclamation of the new emperor, with ritual acclan1ations signifying the divinely-inspired election. **All** this often occurred in a military camp, and in the early period was accompanied by the shield-raising and torques-crowning appropriate to the elevation of a war-chie£ Then the emperor was crowned by the patriarch and acclaimed again with laudatory hails signifying recognition of the legititnacy of the

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equally show the possibility of delegation to the patriarch: Nicephorw. *Historia,* ed C. de Boor{Leipzig 1880) p 30. For **a** good instance of delegation, with the senior emperor the subject of the action, see Theophanes, *Chro11ograp/1ia,*ed C. de Boor{Leipzig 1883) p 426 (for the year 748): ..E""f" KwvaTav-tivos o 6vaotj3ris jlac,11' TOV la\fTOV vlov /\fov-ta •ls jlaa,Ma 61' 'AvaaTaalov 'TOV....."1'1'0Tp16pxov.' For some further evidence, see now the important and wid nnging article of (C.) Walter, ('Rai.sing on a shield in Byzantine iconography'),in *REB* 33{1975) pp 133 *seq,*especially pp 134-5. Professor D. M. Nicol very kindly drew my attention to this article.

- This seems true of the seventh century and later. Gregory of Tours, *Hi$toria Francor11m,* V, 30, on the accession of Tiberius II{578) seems to imply that an acclamation in the Hippodrome was 'customary' then, as it certainly was in the case of a 'new' emperor. Averil Can1eron, in a forthcoming article, shows that Gregory depended on good .Byzantine sources. If he can be trusted here, despite his mistaken reference ro Tiberius as Caesar instead of Augustus {this By,,antine distinction may no Ionget have been appreciated in the west), the two forms of inauguration were not yet as clearly dilferentiated as they soon became. Since a senior emperor was often forced to appoint a colleague under external pressure, the difference between rhe political implications of the two forms should not be exaggerated.
- For these and other public occasions in this setting, R. Guilland, 'Etudes sut !'Hippodrome (de By,,ance]', in *BS,* 28 (1¢7) pp 262 *seq.*

[1] Full references to the data on which this and subsequent generaliutions are based can be found in Christophilopoulou-a very rich collection of material.

[11] Christophilopoulou pp *58 seq.*

[11] Cbristophilopoulou's enggeration of the discreteness of the two phases is most misleading in regard ro the early period. Still rnore misleading is her interpretation of the fust phase as secular and constitutive, the second as religious and ancillary. For some criticisms. see below, 267. The identiiication of two ritual blocs is useful for analytic purpose . but remains an artificial construct: the variability of practice, especially in the early period, needs to be remembered even when, as in the present papet, a high degree of generality is aimed at.

newly-invested ruler. From the early seventh century, the coronation was performed inside a church.

It is probably due to something more than a coincidental loss of evidence that there is so little indication of rituals associated with Roman imperial inauguration during the period from Augustus to the fourth century. At least part of the explanation lies in the persistently republican ideology of the principate, expressed in the continuing importance of the paradoxical ideal of imperial *civilitas*, the emperor being expected to act asa holder of republican office, a 'citizen amongst his fellows.•ii The waning of the western empire fostered the revival of a very different tradition in the east, that ofhcllenistic monarchy.[14] The continuous history of the Byzantine imperial inauguration ritual begins in the mid-fifth century,[15] and from the outset that ritual was set in a religious, and specifically Christian, framework. What might look at first glance like a purely n1ilitary affair with the shield-raising, torques-crowning and raising of the standards by the acclaiming troops was punctuated by acts of religious observance which must be treated as part of the ritual process.[14] The evolution of the Byzantine ritual down to the early seventh century was characterised by an increasingly overt religious symbolis1n which affected every part of the inauguration and shaped its basicstructure for the whole early medieval period, as the ninth- and tenth-century sections of the *Bcok of Ceren,onies* show.[17] The importance of a single source, Corippus, in

"So, Alan Cameron, 'Bread and circuses: the Roman emperor and his people', an itUugural lecture in the chair of Latin language and liter.itutc, delivered at King's College, London, 2r May 1973, p 10. Compare also A. Alfoldi, 'Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells a,u rou1ischen Kaiserhofe', in *Mitteilungen des de11tsc n archiiologischen l11siit11ts, Rom*, Abt 49 (Munich 1934), and 'lns.ignien und Tracht der romischeu Kaiser', *ibid* ***SO***(1935), both now reprinted as *Die monarc.hisch Repriise,llatfon i,n romisd,en Kaiserrticl1e* (Dannstadt 1970) especially pp 25 *seq, 45* and 127 *seq.*

[14] N. H. Baynes, 'Eusebius and the Christian Empire', in *A11nuaire de l'lns1i1111 de Pltilologi., ti d'His1oire orientales,* 2 (Brussels 1934) pp 13 *seq,* reprinted in Baynes, *(Byzan.1ine Studies and Other Essays]* (London 1955) pp 168 *seq;* [F,) Dvornik, *(Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy],* 2 vols, (Washingron, D.C. 1966) 2, pp ?o6 *seq.* On the replacentent of *civili14s* by an autocratic ideal by the close of the fifth century, see cap 8 of Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1977).

[15] It is no coincidence that the first of the series of protocols in *BC,* that covering Leo *l's* inauguration, dates from this period. See Brightman, '(Byzantine imperial) coronations', in *)TS,* 2 (1901) pp 359 *seq;* G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein, 'Die Kronungsurkunden des Zeremonienbuches', in *B 1* (1932) pp 185 *seq,*and the important review of this by F. Dolger in *BZ,* 36 (1936) pp 145 *seq. BC* here draws on materials collected in the mid-sixth cenrury by Peter the Patrician. See below, n 18.

It Thisisevident already with Leo I: *BC[,*91, p 413. See also p 425(Anastasius) and p 430 (Justin I.)

[17] *BC* I 38, pp 191 *seq.* For the dating of the two sections of this chapter, see Dolger in

illuminating the forniative developments of the later sixth century has now been brilliantly demonstrated by Averil Cameron,[18] who has noted too a second critical element: the role of the demes or fac.tions of Constantinople[19] who intervened, sometimes decisively, in the making of several emperors in the sixth and seventh centuries and came to perform various ritual functions on state occasions, most particularly that of acclaiming both 'new' emperors and co-emperors immediately after their coronations.[20] What needs to be stressed is the contemporaneity of the two main trends. The 'liturgification'[21] of the imperial inauguration, its climax the diade,n-crowning by the patriarch in

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BZ, 36 (1936) pp 149 *seq.* The originally military rituals of sbield-raising and torques--crowning went out of use from the seventh century: Christophilopoulou pp 6o *seq.* Lc,s convincing is her explanation in terms of a 'demilitarization·of ritual correspouding to the seventh-century hellcnisation of Byzantine society: so also, following her almost verbatim, A. N. Stratos. *Byzantium in tl,e Seve111h Ce111ury* (Amsterdam 1968) I, pp 7, 49. Dut a ritual could be 'demilitarized', yet survive with other symbolic associations, as had already happened in the case of sbicld-raising in the sixth century and again. with its revival. in the late Byzantine period:see H.P.L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship* (Oslo 1953) pp 87 *seq;* [E. H.) Kantorowicz, ('Oriens Augusti: Lever du Roi'], in *DOP,*17 (1963) pp 152 *seq;* Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderbebung [im spiitbyzantinischen Kronungszeremoniell)', in *Historitt* 4 (Wiesba<lPn 1955) esp pp 254 *seq.* I prefer to attribute its disappearance less to oonscious abandonment than to long disuse: there were no 'new' emperors between 610 and *695.* For the iconographic tradition, its earliest form dating 'possibly' from the sixth century, see Walter, 'Raising on a sbield', p 167 and *passim.* As for the torques-crowning, the growing importance of the diadem and the practical need to avoid an awkward 'double coronation' sufficiently account for its omission fro1n the inauguration ritual: see [W.) Ensslin, 'Zur Torqueskronung (und Schilderhebung bci der Kaiserwahl)', in *K/io, 3S* (Leipzig 1942) p 292.

[18] In A. Cameron's edition of Corippus, (In *laudem lustini Augusti tninoris]* (London 1976), especially in section 7 of her introduction and tbe notes to II, lines 8 *stq* and 159 *seq.* For tbe increasing interest, in precisely this period, both in ritual and in the imperial ideology behind it, evidence can be found in the work of Peter the Patriciau. see [A.] Pertusi, ['I principi fondamentali della concezione de(potere a Bisancio. Perun commento al di;Jogo "Sulla scienza politica" attributo a Pietro Patrizio (secolo Vl)'] in *Bulletino del lstitutc Storilo Italiano per ii Medio Evo,* So (Rome 1968) pp I *seq.*

"Corippus, notes to II, lines 308 *seq.* IAlan Cameron, *Circus Factions,* offers a major, reassessment of the role of the demes in politics and ritual. See also, A. Maricq, 'La duree du regime des partis populaires a Constantinople', in *811Ueti11 de l'Academie Royale de Belgique,* Cl. *des* Lettres, *35* (Brussels 1949) pp 64 *seq,*and [H.-G.J Beck, 'Konstantinopel. [Zur Sozialgescbichte eincr frUhmittelalterlichen Hauptst.adt'), in *BZ,* 63 (1965) pp 35 *seq.*

•• *BC* I 38 especially section b: 'AK"roAoyla T&;v 6{iµwv hrl o-nljl!µ'!" cxo,Mo,<;.'

[11] For *this* process, see Tceitinger, [Die *ostromische Kaiser- tmd Reichsidee ntteh* ihrer *Gestaltmg im h chen Zeremonidl]* (2 ed Darmstadt 1956) pp 27-8. Treitinger presents rich illustrative material, but bis analysis of the critical sixth-century development includes an identification of *Liturgisitrung* with *Verkird,lichung* which, in my view, is mis--conceived because it presupposes a radical discontinuity between the categories 'secular'

Hagia Sophia, proceeded along with, not at the expense of, the growing involvement of the groups representative of the people of Constantinople and so of the whole empire.[22] I leave for my final section a discussion of the significance of this twofold development.

Let us tum now to the west. There is very little evidence concerning royal inauguration rituals among Germanic peoples before the church became involved here. It is possible that in many cases, regular ritual procedures did not exist, in the absence either of permanent political communities or of permanent kingships.[23]_The 1nerovingian dynasty, as Grierson has pointed out,[2,] was atypical in its relative stability, and yet, sacral features notwithstanding, it seems to have lacked a fixed ritual for the transmission of royal power.[2] More relevant is the absence of any barbarian inauguration ritual exclusive to kingship: rather, the *rex* wasa household-lord -..vrit large, whose succession to his inheritance was thus aptly signified when he took his place on the high-seat in the paternal hall or beat the bounds of the paternal property. Similarly, the

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and 'ecclesiastical'. The term 'ritualization', accommodating religious action both inside •nd outside the physical location of a church, seems more apt here: *BC* is concerned as much with the one as the orher. Treitinger's misconception generated the conclusion that *Liturgisierung* was operative 'only' in the realm of ideas. See p 28, n 84: 'Trotz alledem bleibt ... der Gcdankengehalt der verkirchlichten Riten und Zetemonien *nur geda11kliche Halt.ung ...* "Verkirehlichung" bedeutet also *nicht praktisch 11nd rechtlu/1* grllsseren Einlluss dcr Kirche auf den Kaiser.' (my stress.)

st See Beck, 'Senat und Volk [von Konstantinopel)', in *SBAW* PhK (1966) pp 18-19.

n See E. A. Thompson, *The Early Germans* (Oxford 1965) pp 32 *seq; LJ.* M.) Wallace-Hadrill, *[Early Germanic Kingship* in *England and 011 the Contine111)* (Oxford 1971) pp 7-8. A primitive lndo-European inauguration ritual persisted for Irish kings: see D. A. Binchy, *Celtic and Allgl<>-Saxo11 Kingship* (Oxford 1970) pp II *seq;* F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and fugh Kings* (London 1973) pp 15 *seq.* The relative scarcity of Gennanic evidence *is* apparent in 0. Hllfler, 'Der Sakralcharalcter des gcrmanischeo Konigtwns', in *Das K6mgt11m. (Seine geistigen und rechtluhen Cnmdlagen,]* Vortrage und Forschungen 3 (Lindau-Konstanz 1956} pp 85 *seq,* and R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Ve,Jassurig* (Colog.oe/Graz 1961) pp 482 *seq.* Compare W. Baetke, 'Zur Frage des altnordischen Sakralkonigtums', in *Kleine SchrifU/1* (Weimar 1973) pp 146-7.

'"Election and inheritance in early Germanic Kingship', in *CH],* 7 (1941) pp 1-22.

11 [R.) Schneider, *[Konlgswahl 1md Konigstrhebung im Fruhmittelalter)* (Stuttgart 1972) pp 190 *seq,* deals very fully with this problem, rejecting the extren1e view of K. Hauck, 'Von einer splitantiken Randkultur zwn karolingischen Europa', in *Fruhmittelalterluhe Studien,* 1 (Berlin 1967) pp 30 *seq,* and recognising, p 26o, th:u no *fest verbindluhe Schema* existed, though the merovingians clearly had some kind of *Erhebungszertmoniell.* [K.-U.) Jiischke, ['FrUhm.ittelalterliche Festk.ronungenl'), in *HZ,* 211 (1970) pp 580 *seq,* argues persuasively against merovingian crown-wearing or (by implication, *a forti<>ri}* coronation. Enthronement may have been the norm in theseventh century. Schneider, pp 226-7 and 259, discusses possible clerical influence on late merovingian and Lombard *Kiinigszeremoniell* but the relevance of this to inauguration practices reniains problematical.

dux was set up through rituals of shield-raising and investiture with weapons which were common to all lords of nulitary followings.[116] As our concern is with the inauguration of medieval kings as such, we should concentrate on the period when the characteristics of *rex* and *dux* vvere becoming fused. The transformative role of the Christian church in the production of this synthesis was critical: what D. H. Green has shown of the linguistic evidence on the origins of kingship[27] seems equally tn1e of royal ritual. Just as Christian clergy were responsible for the fonnulation of a clearly-defined ideology of king-ship as office, so they created (in part, fro1n ingredients ready to hand) rituals to inaugurate the officers.[28] Conversion to Christianity in itself did not immediately bring about these consequences. If the delay in the ritualisation of ruler-1naking in the empire was caused by the persistence of a rival ideology, in the post-Roman west a si1nilar and 1nore prolonged delay occurred for other reasons. One was the bar-barians' consciousness of inhabiting, in Hauck's phrase, 'late antique 1narginal cultures'; another was the existence of an ideological vacuu1n, filled only, I suggest, when barbarian elites had fully appropriated (and in so doing remoulded) Christianity. This happened in Visigothic Spain precociously in the seventh century, in England and Gaul in the eighth and ninth centuries, and in east Francia in the tenth century. The outcome so far as royal inaugurations were concerned was broadly com1non to all these realn1S: the local hierarchy took over the essential procedures of king-nuking, n1ade of the1n a liturgical rite whosecentral act was the anointing, preceded by the acceptance of conditions by the ne,v office-holder (a foreshado,ving, this, of the later coronation oath) and followed by an investiture with weapons and other insignia, usually including a crown.[29]

•• [W.) Schlesinger, 'Herrschaft und Gcfolgschaft', in *HZ.* 176 (1953) pp 225--75, and 'Ober gern1anisches Heerkonigtun1', in *Das Ko11igt111n,* pp 105-41, botb now reprinted in *Beitrage* [zur *de11tsc/1en Verfasru11gsgesc/1ic/1te des Mittelalters)* (Gottingen 1963) cspeci Uy pp 26, *35* and 80-1. On the usefulness and the limitations of tbe rypologicd distinction between *rex* and *d,c* , see the sensible remarks of Wallace-Hadrill, pp 14 *seq.*

., *T1ie Caro1&1gia11 Lord* (C:1111bridge 1965) especially pp 223 *seq,* 378 *seq.* Green does not refer to the work of F. Graus, wbo, from a different standpoint, reaches similar conclusions in 'Ober die sogenannte germanische Treue', in *Historica,* 1 (Prague 1959) pp 71-121 and 'Herrschaft und Treue', *ibid* 12 (1966) pp 5-44.

•• F. Ken1, *Cottesg11ade11t11111 und Widerstaiuhrec/11im friiheren Mitre/alter,* rev ed R. Buchner (Munster 1954) pp 46 *seq;* Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Via Regia of the Carolingian Age', in *Trends i11 Memeval Political Tlwugllt,* ed B. Smalley (Oxford 1965) pp 27 *seq;* (W.j· Ullmann, '(Der] Souveranit:itsgedanke (in den mittelalterlichen Kronungsordines)', in *Festsclrrift* P. *E. Schramm* (Wiesbaden 1964) pp 81-2.

.. E. Muller, 'Die Anfange der Konigssalbung im Mittelalter', in *Hjt/1* 58 (1938) pp 322

This necessarily brief introduction has served to throw into relief the contrast between theinauguration rituals ofeast and west. For, although the attention of students of western *Staatssynibolik* in this early period has been focussed on eastern influences, on Byzantium as 'school-nlistress' of the west,[30] n1ore fundamental than any east-\Vest borro,vings, it seems to me, is the difference between the inauguration rituals practised in the two main areas of ChristendonL Here, again, is our problem. But before offering a possible explanation, it *is* necessary to clear the ground of a misconception according to which a contrast is seen in terms of Byzantine secular ceremonial on the one hand, western ecclesiastical rite on theother. (I prefer to use the tern1 'ritual'[31] to transcend what seems to me a false distinction in the context of medieval Christendom, western *and* eastern.) The misconception arises from a widely-held interpretation of the Byzantine inauguration as essentially 'secular'. The original constitutive moment, it is held, was the extra-ecclesiastical elective Aug11stus-acclamacion at the beginning of the ritual. The Byzantine emperor, on this view, 'never stood in any need of coronation.'[32] And, in any case, this allegedly unnecessary

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stq; (C. A.) Bouman, *(Sacring and Crownir1g)* (Groningen 1957); Schneider pp 190 *seq,* and also pp 52 *seq* for developments in the Lombard kingdom cut short in the eighth century. l have attempted a comparative survey in 'National synods, (kingship asoffice, and royal anointing: an early medieval syndrome]', above, ch. 10, pi239*seq,* though I should now take a different view of the English evidence. Tbe best analysis of the structure of these rituals remains A. M. Hocart, *Kingship* (Oxford 1927) pp 70 *seq.* See now also the fine paper of **M.** Fortes, 'Of Installation Ceremonies', in *Proceedings of t/ze Royal Anthropological Institute for 1967* (London 1968) pp *5 seq.*

'° P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Stnatssymbolik,* 3 vols (Stuttgart 1954-6) 1 pp 30 *seq,* and *passim;* J. Deer, 'Byzanz unddie Hernchaf,szeichen des Abeudlandes', in *DZ, SO* (1957) pp *405 seq,* and in *BZ,* 54 (1961) pp *58 stq;* Jiischke, pp 571 *seq;* Schneider pp 232-3, 260. Por Schramm's fundament>I contribution here, see the interesting historiographical survey of J. Bak, 'Medieval Symbology of the State', in *Viator,* 4 (Berkeley 1973) pp 33 *seq,* especially 59-00.

*11 distinguish the term 'ritual' from 'cerem.orual' along lines suggested by Goody, 'Religion and Ritual: the Definitional Problem', in *British Journal of Sociology,* 12 (London 1961) pp 142 *seq.* The behaviour we are presently concerned with bas the public and collective characteristics of ceremonial, but *it* also has the religious and, front the actors' srandpoint, the purposive characteristics of ritual. Compare the careful distinction dxawn by S. MacCormack, ('Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: the Ceremony of Adventus'), in *Historia,* 21 (1972) p 722. [S.J Tambiab, *[Buddhi.sm and 1he Spirit-a,/ts in North-East Thailand]* (Cambridge 1970) p *35* and *passim,* is an exemplary study of ritual as 'cosmology in action' in the context of another world-religion.

•• So Treitinger pp 27-8. For similar views, see Sickel pp 524-5; Dolger, *Byzanz (11nd die europiiische StaatenweltJ* {Etta! 1953) pp 29:2,-3; (A.) Michel, (Die *Kaiserma,;ht in der Ostkirche)* (Darmstadt r959) pp 166 *seq.*

coronation was itself a piece of secular cere111onial, the patriarch acting as the 'fore1nost Byzantine citizen',ss or 'the representative of the state'.[34] More recently, Christophilopoulou has advanced a rather different view: she has clai1ncd that the rernoval of the coronation frotn such locations as the palace or the Hippodrome to the inside of a church created 'a new constitutional situation'. The coronation now 'assu1ned a religious character and beca,ne remote from legal consequences'.[3•] Which interpretation is correct? Both-and neither. The coronation was a constitutive in the sense that it was part of the process which *as a whole* legitimised co-ctnperor and 'ne,v' en1peror alike, a part which, since in practice throughout Byzantine history it ,vas never dispensed with, can be labelled 'dispensable' only at die risk of so1ne artificiality, not to say anachronis111.[36] Further, the reality of Byzantine belief and practice (in contrast to illusions which so1ne 111odern scholars have cherished), and never 1nore so than in thesixth century, 1nakes nonsense of any interpretation that depends on isolating religious and secular rin1al co1nponents. Might these categories, along with the itnplicit assutnption of their institutionalisation in 'Church' and 'State', represent unconscious imports frotn later n1edieval vvestern history? They have little 1neaning in the contest of early 1nedicval Byzantium.

Of course, the clerical hierarchy existed as a specialist institution in eastern as in western christendom. But in Byzantiu,n it produced no hierocratic theory, laid no claim to monopolise active participation in the church-which in a sociological sense was cotcr1ninous v.[1]ith the

[3] Treitinger p 30.

•• Bury, [TI,ej *Con.stitu1io11 [of rhe Later Roman Empire]* (Cambridge 1910) p 12. Compue Ensslin, 'The Emperor and Imperial Administration', in *Byzantium,* ed Baynes and H. St. L.B. Moss(Oxford 1948) p 270;'The Parriarchofficiated ... not as representative of the Church but as representative of the electors.'

•• Christophilopoulou pp 61-2. But this view rests on questionable assumptions.

•• For the coronation as in some sense 'essential', see Ostrogorsky, in 82, 41 (1941) pp 213 *seq;* L. Brcbier, *US lnstih1tw11s de /'Empire Byzm,rin* (2 ed Paris 1970) p 17; J. M. Hussey, *Tire Byza11ti11e World* (4 ed London 1970) p 83. Compare also the cautious remarks of Baynes pp 34-5, and Guilland, *EJ11des Byzantines* (Paris 1959) p 210. Still valuable are the com,nents of Bury, *Constitution,* pp *9 seq,*35-0. The extreme argument of [P.) Charanis, 'Coronation [and its constitutional significance in the later Roman Empire!', in *8* 15 (1940/1) pp 49 *seq,* clain1ing a 'constitutive' role for 'the Church', was elfecrively rebutted by Dolger, in *BZ,* 43 (1950) pp 146-7. C. Tsirpanfu, ['The Imperial Coronation and Theory in "De Cerimoniis" '), in KAt1po110 la, 4 (Thessalo11iki 1972) pp 63 *seq,* criticises Charanis without using all the recent literature on the subject. He also wrongly asserts that 'the British' have followed 'the German scholars' in accepting Sickel's opinion. This *is* hardly true of Bury, Baynes >r Hussey. But Tsirpanlis here cites only A. E. R. Boak-an American I

conununity of Christian believers. The divine wiU \Vas believed to operate directly through all 1ne1nbers of this community. Thus sixth-century theorists focussed not on the coronation (which they did not even 1nention) but on election and consent as the crucial ele1nents **in** imperial inauguration. And in election and consent, leading officials, senators and people (Aristotle's rroAiTa1 live on in our sixth-century source) are aU involved in tl1e expression of the divine choice, and precisely tl1eir coincidence generates a 'lawful succession' (evvoμos &vcxppl)cr1s).[37] In such an inclusive cos1nology, the patriarch took his place \viiliout friction alongside other channels of divine com-murucauon.

But whence his special qualification to crown 'new' emperors? It is worth stressing the uniqueness of his role here. The physical performance of the coronation in the ambo of Hagia Sophia underlines the fact that there was roo1n for only two real actors in this dra1na.[38] Other clergy had no active share in the ritual,[39] nor did the priesiliood have any collective role eiilier as electors or as guardians of ilie regalia, which were kept not **in** a church but in the palace by i1nperial chamberlains.•[0] The patriarch acted alone, and his position here corresponded to that of tl1e e1nperor himself in relation to the inauguration of a co-en1peror. Just as the senior emperor nornully occupied a transcendent composite status at the head of both clerical and political hierarchies-an anomalous status expressed, for instance, in

[31] Pertusi pp 12 *seq.*

•• The ambo of Hagia Sophia (from 563 to 1204) was described in detail by Paul the Silentiary, 'E• pacns Tov "AμJ'l<,.>vos Tiis 'Ayio:s Io,q,lo:s ed P. Friedlander (Leipzig/Berlin 1912) pp 257 *seq*, especially 297-8. J. J. Kreutter, *Paulus des Silentiarers Besclireib,mg dtt 1-fagia Sophia* (Leipzig 1875) p 71-2., escinlates the base-diameter of the ambo ar 12 feet. The rather smaller elevated platform had also to accommodate the chamberlains who invested tbe 'new' emperor with the chlarnys. and the portable table (6:VT1μla1ov) on which the insignia were placed: *BC* I 38, p 194. Compare the eighth- and twelfth-century *ordines* printed by [J.J Goar, [El'.i)(o:>.6y1ov) (2 ed Venice r730) pp 726 *seq*. On the rnanuscripu. see Brightman, *Li111rgies*, pp ln:xvii *seq*, and 'Coronations' p 378, with the interesting conclusion that the rite itself remained comtant 'from at least the end of the eighth century down 10 the twelfth.'

u The only other cleric mentioned in the *ordirres* is the deacon. who recited the collect and summoned 10 prayer. *BC* I 38 makes no specific mention of the clergy, but assigns, on the other hand, a major role to the acclaimers: '6 :>.o:6$' and '-ra pr(

-º *BC* I 38, p 194: 'ol -rov • < !lov' Compare their role **at** Justin rs inauguration, *BC* I 93, p 428; and at Justin Il's, similarly, *fidi ministri*, Corippus, II, *line* 86-7. *BC* I oo p 466 shows bow the insignia were looked after in the 'o!KttCXKov !3aa1A1K6v 13,a-r1ap1ov'. See [R. J. H.) Jenkins, *Commentary* (London r962) pp 64 *seq*, [to the *Administra11do Imperii* of Constantine Porpbyrogenitus), ed Jenkins and G. Moravcs,1< (Washington, D.C., 1967).

the Melchisedech 1nosaics of Justinian's Ravenna,41 or in the emperor's performance of certain liturgical functions and participation in certain liturgical privileges of the priesthood42-so, if there were no en1peror, the patriarch as head of the clerical hierarchy, and at the same time a senior political dignitary, came to occupy for the time being the highest rank in the system.43 In the act of coronation, the patriarch ,vas not therefore priest as such, but, like the e1nperor himself, transcended the distinction between e1npire and priesthood. Bury and Treitinger were right then to regard him as 'representative of' a collectivity of citizens, but wrong in implying that that collectivity was anything less than a total society, religiously - as well as poLtically - defined. Thus the coronation was a religious act without being essentially ecclesiastical. The patriarch prayed: so did the demes through their acclaniations. The Hippodrome no less than Hagia Sophia was a religious location.44 Both were centres of the cult of the e1nperor, and through him, of the whole society. If imperial triumph was celebrated in the success of the charioteer, this was because all victory, like the empire itself, was believed to *be* divinely-authorised: (ev&os j,a:o-111dcx, *lv6EO:* O'ITAO:).45

If then the coronation of a Byzantine emperor was a religious act, the contrast *between* eastern and westen1 practice should no longer be

0 E. R. Leach, 'Melchisedech and the emperor: icons of subversion and orthodoxy', in *ProceedinJt of the Royal Anthropological l,utitute for 197z* (London 1973) pp *S seq,* especially 12-13.

42 Treitinger pp 139-40; Tsirpanlis p 86, n 8.

o For the position of the emperor, see B. Sinogowicz, ('Die Bcgriffc Reich, Macht und Herrschaft im byzantinischcn Kulturbereicb•j, in *Sruculum,* 4 (Freiburg 1956) pp 450 *seq;* Dvornik pp *815 seq;* D. A. Miller, 'Royaute et ambiguite sexuelle: symbolique de la monarchic a Byzance', in *Anna/es,* 26 (1971) pp 639 *seq.* The patriarch was of course ineligible for this position. For the role of ineligibles as 'stand.ins and stak<H!olders', see Goody pp 10-2: 'The stand-in serves as temporary deputy ... It is as if the kingship cannot be allowed to lie vacant.' I am suggesting that the patriarch's role wasanalogous to that of the 'neutrals' cited by Goody.

.. f cannot agree ,vith tbe suggestion of Guilland,'Etudes sur l'Hippodrome', p 264, that a patriarch would have to hurry away fro1n the Hippodro1ne embarrassed. For the inaugwation of a co.emperor here as late as 776, with the patriarch present, blessing the insignia on a portable altar set up in the karhisma, sec Theophanes p 450. For the demes in Hagia Sophia, compare n .20 above. *BC* offers many examples of rituals flowinit natur.illy fro,n one location to another, all of theiu, and not only churches, having religious significance.

•• *BC* I 63, p 281, and 168 and 69, pp 303 *seq,*especially 321-2, show the Hippodrome ritual and acclamations. See J. Gage, '!Tavpos V1KOTI"o16s. La victoire imperiale dans!'empire chretien', in *Revue d'Histoire et de Plailosophie Religi£11ses,* r3 (Strasbourg 1933) pp 370 *seq,* esp p 400 on the fusion of 'deux mystiques trion1phales.' See now Alan Cameron, *Pcrphyri11s the Charioteer* (Oxford 1973) pp 250 *seq.*

sought in a crude distinction between religious and secular, but rather, in differing conceptions of the sacred and the profane.[46]

I approach the problem now fron1 the opposite side, taking as my entry-point the central feature of western inaugurations lacking in those of the east: the anointing.[47] In the rest of this paper, I consider three levels of meaning in the anointing ritual and try, through these, to explore the contrast between cast and west.

I Anointing in relation to its recipient, as a *rite de passage*.[48] Both western co1n1nentators, notably Hincmar of Rheims, and the western *ordines* themselves made clear that the anointing of a king was constitutive.[49] It incorporated the candidate into his office, changing his status. But it also changed the man, trans1nitting the divine grace by which alone he was enabled to fulfil his royal *111i11isteri11tn.*[60] In the belief-system of the west therefore, the anointing was conceived in this as **in** other ritual contexts as dynamic. **It** performed a specific function, n1aking the *electus* into a *rex*.[61] The coronation in the east, on the other hand, while it den1onstrated an emperor's legitimacy in his right to the universally-recognised symbol of monarchy, the diade1n,[52] did not confer qualification to rule. It constituted, instead, a recognition that the chosen emperor ,vas already so qualified. For the absence in early 1nedieval Byzantiun1 of any theory of hereditary emperorship, and the continuing adherence to the principle of election, 1neant that an emperor, like the Dalai Lama, was strictly

•• Compare M. Douglas, *Pmity and Danger* (London 1966} and cd, *Rules and Mea11i11gs* (H•rmondsworth 1973).

"Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaiscrsalbung und Schilderbebung', pp 246-9, bas argu d that Byzantine imperial anointing was a thirteenth-century import from the west. But this was a Corunenian innovation of the twelfth century: see Cbristophilopoulou pp 142-4, 210-1; Walter, 'Raising on a shield', pp 162, 171. for information on this matter, I am grateful to professor D. M. Nicol, who revises Ostrogorsky's opinion in an article in *Byzantine and J,,fodern Greek Studies*, 2 (Oxford 1976).

•• A. Van Gennep, *Tire Ritts '!f Passage,* ed and trans M. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee (London 1900).

[0]UUmann;Souveranitiitsgedankc', p 77; and (T/re) *Carolingia11 Renaissance [aud the Idea of Kingship)* (London 1969) pp 71 *seq;* Wallace-Hadrill pp 133 *seq.*

.. J. Funkcnstein, 'Unction of the Ruler', in *Adel 11nd Kirch,. Fest5ehrifl* G. *Ttlle11bad1* (Freiburg 1968} pp 6 *seq.* For the gifts conferred through anointing, see the tonsecrotio-prayer of Hinc,nar's *ordo* for Louis the Stammerer in 877, *I\1GH Cap* 2, p 461.

"Ullmann;Souveriinitiitsgedanke', p 77 n 24.

"H.-W. Ritter, *Diadem ut1d Konigslierrscliaft* (Munich 1965); Alfoldi pp 263 *seq;* Jiischke pp 572 *seq.*

speaking found rather than 1nadc.[53] The electors were channels through whom a divine predetennination "vas 1nanifested. Where a wcsten1 king prostrated hin1SClf before his inauguration[64] a Byzantine en1peror re1nained standing throughout his accla1nation **and** corona-tion alike[55]. Thus the coronation, unlike the westen1anointing, effected no syn1bolic rebirth, ,vas not dynanuc: it was a static representation of a pre-existing fact, an articulated icon. In asserting the timelessness of the ernpire,[56] it precluded the possibility of true interregna. Hence the exercise of full govern111ental po,vers by a 'new' emperor during the time-lag between *anagoreusis* and coronation;[57] and hence also, I suggest, the absence in Byzantiu111 of anything equivalent to the western 'coronation'-oath.[58]

2 Anointing as a liturgical rite, in relation to the perfonners. In the west, royal inaugurations were taken over by the national elites of ritual specialists, without whose interaction no n1ler could thereafter be 1nadc. Sorne 111en1bers of cliesc elites used their indispensable ritual function to buttress clai1ns to superiority over the secular power: *quod 111inus est a 111eliore benedicitur*.[59] The consecration of a king was regarded as a collective act performed by the episcopate as clerical

$S Guilfand, *Eludes Byza11ti11es*, pp 207 *seq:* 'Le Oroit Divin it Byz,ncc', esp p 221. Co,npare Goody pp 21-2.

" 'Fri.ihdeutsch' *Ordo,* ed C. Erdmam1, *Forsclumge11* """ *poli1ische11 ldeenwelt des Fnll1mit1elalters* (l.lerlin 1951) pp 83-7; 'Edgar' *Ord<>,* cd Schramm, *Kaiser, Ko11ifi!t und Papste,* 4 vols(Stnttgart 1968) 2, pp 233-41. Compace my comments above, ch. JO, p. 244. The idea of rebirth was intimately linked with western conceptions of royal anointing: P. Oppenheim, 'Die sakralen Mon,cnte in der dcntscben Herrscherwcihe', in *Epkmtridts U111rgicae, 58* (Rome 1944) pp 42 *seq;* UILnann, *Carolingian Re11aissa11ce,* pp 71 *seq.*

•• Goar p 727. At the begiruung of the *ordo,* the emperor bows hishead in prayer. On the iconographical evidence, see A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byza11ti11* (Paris 1936) pp IT2 *seq,* and plate XXVII, 2. It is noteworthy that the theme of royal inauguration/ coronation. though not entirely absent fro1u western baptismal liturgies. is pacticularly stressed in thoseof the eastern churches:every Christian becou1cs 'royal.' SeeT. Michels. 'Die Akklamation in dcr Taufliturgie', in *Jahr/mch fur Liturgiewisrensclu,Jt,* 8 (1928) pp 76 *seq.* On the other hand, the Byzantine conception of imperial coronation as a mystic anointing did not essentially involve the idea of rebirth: see A. M,ichel pp 10 *stq.*

•• H. U. lnstinsky, 'Kaiser nnd Ewigkeit', in *Hermes,* 77 (Wiesbaden 1942) pp 313 *seq.*

[67] Dolger and J. Karayannopoulos, *Byzanti11ische Urko111de11/el1re* (Mw1ich 1968) pp 51-2.

[68] Tbe contrary view of Charanis, 'Coronation', pp *56 seq,* must be rejected. Compare Treitinger p 30, on the 'obvious dilferencc' between eastern and western puctices.

•• Heb. 7:7. For the claim that the pope wassuperior to the emperor whom he anointed, see, for example, Innocent III, *Das Register Papst bmoze11z Ill u/,er den dtutschtn Thronstreit,* ed W. Holtnnann (Bonn 1947) p 29, n 18. For asimilar claim by Hincmar, see my paper, 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar of Rheims' , above, chapter 7, pp. 133-71.

mediators of grace:[60] any laymen present had a relatively passive role as wimesses only. It can hardly be coincidental that the same period which saw the clergy assume this new function, \vith such notable long-term implications for n1edieval politics and society in the west, saw them also asserting their status as a corporate elite of *oratores*, increasingly separated fro1n the laity by their 0\ '11 law, their own education-system, their n1onopoly of the language of learning and, above all, of liturgy.[61]

Coronation, by contrast, could be performed by non-specialists. In the east senior en1perors themselves crowned their junior colleagues, ,vhile in the west, before the crucial addition of anointing to the emperor-making ritual as practised by the papacy, Charle1nagne could himself nuke his son co-cmperor.[62] But senior emperors were not the only lay crowners in Byzantiu111: in the very early period, 'new' emperors were crowned by a 1nilitary commander and a dowager e1npress, and subsequently there is sporadic evidence down to the late tenth century of coronations of would-be usurpers by den1esmen and soldiers.[63]

The Byzantine inauguration ritual was never devised and nianaged exclusively by clerics. Its details ,vere revised by the emperors themselves, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 'in whatever way each thinks fit.'[64] It was shaped by a range of participants including the acclai1ners[65]-officials, senators, demesmen, soldiers: in th.is context, all were ritual specialists now. The absence of any clerical n1onopoly may be related to the general position of the clergy in Byzantine society.[66] The eastern priesthood never conceived of itself as a discrete

•[0] See the rubrics of tbe early medieval ordines in Bouman pp 165 *seq.*

•• J. Le Goff, *'Note* sur socictc tripartite, idcologie monarchique et renouveau cconomique dans la chreriente du IXe au Xlle sicde'. in *L'E11rope a11 !Xe a11 XI, Si de,* ed T. Manteuffel and A. Ckysztor (Warsaw 1968) pp 63 *seq;* D. B. Loomis,' *Regn11m* and *sacerdotium* in theearly eleventh century', in *England before the Conquest. Studies prese11ted to* D. *Wl,itelock,* ed P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Can1bridge 1971) pp 129 *seq;* and, for further references, my paper, see above, ch. 10, 242-7. See also M. Richter, 'A socio-linguistic approach to the Latin Middle Ages',in *Studies in Church History,* 11 (1975) pp 69-82.

u The sources are discussed *by* [C.-R.) Brilhl, ['Frankischer Kronungsbrauch'J, in *HZ.* 194 (1962) pp 276-7.

•• Ensslin, 'Zur Torqueskronung', pp 271 *seq,* gives evidence on the early cases; for Hypatius (532), *see* Mablas p 475; for Basil-Tiberius (717), see Nicephorus p 54; for Bardas-Phocas (987), see Skylittes-Kedrenos. *Historiarum Compe11di11111,* ed L Bekker (Bonn 1839) 2, p 438. See also Jenkins, *Commentary,* p. 66.

••BC I *91,* p 417.

ʊ Trcitinger pp 71 *seq;* Kantorowicz pp t*56 seq.*

For much of what follows in this paragraph, I have relied on Michel, pp *1,7 seq, 56 seq.*

juristic corporation. A clear distinction was maintained between the canons, governing internal ecclesiastical organisations, and the laws, made and enforced by the emperor and covering a wide range of ecclesiastical affairs, including the formulation of doctrine. The emperor as law-maker directly i1nplemented God's will[67]. There was no notion of the priesthood as unique 1nouthpiece of the divine law to which earthly law conformed. The Gelasian disrinction between *potestas* and *ai1etoritas* could not even find linguistic equivalents in Greek.[68] In such imperial characteristics as philanthropy and providence, for the Byzantines as for their hellenistic forebears, power and authority were concentrated.[69] Politically, the institutional church revolved in the imperial orbit. The patriarch, who owed his position to 'the divine grace and our empire [derived] fro1n it' (ti 6ekc xccp1s Kai ti e cxl'.rrf\s cxo1t1elcx 1'\µwv),[10] joined the *archontes* as a leading figure at court; and thesynods su1nmoned *by* the emperor engendered like-1nindedness *with* the emperor rather than a specifically *episcopalis unanir11itas* as in the "vest. Socially, the maintenance of cultural traditions through education remained to a considerable extent in lay hands.[71] Law in particular was laymen's business. The language of the eastern liturgies was intelligible to lay congregations.[72] The parish-priest, like the layman, could be married in law as in fact.[73] In all these

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etc, and Beck pp 36 *seq*, 6:z *seq*. See also D. Savramis, Z11r *Soziologie des byza11tinisd,e11 Monchhuns* (Leiden 1962) pp 81 *seq*,for some interesting perspectives, though imponant aspects of the subject are left untouched.

" For a clear statement, see the prologue to Justinian's Nov. bociii: "EnE161) Tofuvv *a,)Idav* 6,a TOVTO 6 e.os I ovpavov KGt&ijKEV Iva ... TOVS ,6µov5 apµ63 np05 T/iV Ti\l (,a,o,s 1f01KIAl<Xv, 6,a TOVTO ,;>1\611"" XPil•a• KGtl TOVTO• Yf'O'!'Gtl TOY v6µov KGtl **6oVvcu *tv* 1<01vc;> 1'ots V1tf}1<6o1s:.**'

•• There was no translation for *auctoritas* which conveyed the ety,uological link with *ar,ctor,* or the legal-constitutional overtones of the Latin term. It was translated &(fwµ<x (dignity) in the Greek version of the *Res Cestat Divi A11g11sti.* In the sixth-century eastern law-schools, *auctoritate* seen1s simply to have been transliterated as GtV•TophaTE, etc. See A. Dain, 'La transcription des mots latins dans !es gloses nonliques', in *Revue des Eludes Latines*, 8 (Paris 1930) pp *96*, I 11.

u For 1;>.a"6pwnfa, ovtpy,a1a, etc, see now D. J. C.:instamelos, *Byza11tille P/1ila11thropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick 1968) pp 43 *seq;* [H.) Hunger, *Prooimion. [Elemtntt der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen dtr Urkunden)* (Vienna 1964) pp 84 *seq*,143 *stq.*

,o *BC* fl 14, p *565.*

71 Beck, 'Konstantinopel', pp 24 *seq;* and 'Bildung und Thcologie im frUhmittalelterlichen Byzanz', in *Po/ychro11io11. Festsc/11ift F. Diilger* (Heidelberg 1966) pp 69 *stq*, esp p 77.

1. This feature *is* unusual among the great world-religions: see Tambiah 197-8. Byzantinists hardly seem to have recognised its significance. But for the neglect of Byzantine history by sociologists of religion see the critical remarks of Savramis p *5.*

73 For the social position of the lower clergy, see Beck, 'Konstantinopel', pp 28-9; and 'Kirche und Klerus im st ttlichen Leben von Byzanz', in *REB*, 24 (1966) pp 22-3.

ways, the continuity and hon1ogeneity of eastern society produced a firm integration vvithin it of the institutional church which contrasts significantly with the tension endemic in the western situation. The absence of Byzantine imperial anointing should be seen in relation to the range of performers involved in the inauguration: an1ong these, the clergy were naturally included, yet would hardly seek predo1nin-ance as a sharply-differentiated elite, still less exploit any such role in a political contest. Where anointing presupposed a restricted group of clerical consecrators, coronation and acclan1ation, in 1na11ifesting 'hi1n who reigned with God',[74] affrrmed me divine inspiration operating through all the electors, and so expressed the complementarity of theocratic and democratic principles in Byzantine political thought.[76]

3 Anointing as a symbol. The meaning of the western ritual of royal (and i1nperial) anointing cannot be understood in isolation. Yet there has been a tendency for ecclesiastical historians sin1ply to acknowledge parallels with one or another anointing ritual, for example mose of baptism or episcopal ordination,[76] without attempting any kind of comprehensive systematic analysis of their interrelations[77] or social referents. As for the liturgiologists, they have confined me1nselves to the invaluable, but from this standpoint preliminary, work of collecting and describing me various rituals involving the use of anointing.[78] What has been neglected is the 'positional din1ension' in

,. Goar *p* 726: '6 *i,IJ\1-wv* avv 8«;, f:la<11Aevt1v.' For the conception of the emperor as '8t6crreinos'. see Treitinger p 37; Guilland *Studes Byzantines*, pp 216 *seq;* Hunger. *Prooimion*, p 56.

" On the integration of the two principles, see Penusi p I3. See also Guilland, *Etudes Byzantines*, pp 207 *seq*, and the important reassessments of Beck. 'Senat und Volk', esp pp 40-2, 51-2, and 'Res Publica Ronuna. Vom Staatsdenken der Byzantiner', in *SBAW* (1970) pp 7 *seq*. Compare the parallel duality in linguistic developments perceived by G. Dagron, •Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'etat', in *RH*, 241 (1969) pp 23 *stq*, esp pp 49-50 on two tendencies: 'l'une conduisant a une .Eglise bierarchisee et hellenophone, l'autre a une Eglise moins imperiale, plus diversifiee, cosmopolite et polyglotte.'

[1]. [E.) Eichmann, (Konig$-und Bischofsweihe'J, in *SBAW* (1928); K. Hoffmann, *Taufsymbolik im mitte/alterlichen Herrscherbild* (DUsseldorf 1968) pp 9 *seq*, with rich bibliography. The need for a comprehensive approach had already been suggested by Kantorowicz, *Tht King's Two Bodies* (Princeton 1957) p 52, n 22, and by Bouman, 'De oorsprong van de rituele zalving der koningen. De stand van een probleem', in *Da,=rc, opstellen aangeboden aan D. T. Enklaar* (Groningen 1959) pp 64 *seq*.

17 But sec the valuable, though brief, section, 'Die Personensalbung', in (R,l Kottje, [*Studitn zum Einfluss dts A/ten Testaments a,,J Recht und Liturgie des friihen Mitte/alters*J (Bonn 1964) pp 94 *se,i.*

78 See, for example, the rich 1naterial in [P.) Hofmeister, (Die *heiligen Ole in der morgen-1md ab,!ndliindischen Kirchej* (Wiirzburg 1948); (L. L.J Mitchell, *[Baptismal Anointing]* (London 1966); (G.j Ellard, *[O,dination Anointings in the Western Church]* (Cambridge,

which, as V. W. Turner has said, 'we see the meaning of a symbol as deriving from its relation to other sy1nbols in a specific cluster or gestalt of symbols whose elements acquire much of their significance fro1n their position in its structure.'[79] Such a cluster of symbols confronts us in the oil-rituals of the Christian church. Fully to explore the positional dimension of one such ritual is a task far beyond the scope of this paper. I want merely to suggest some lines along which we might stan, lines relevant to our present problem in that they etch still more deeply the contrast between eastern and western Chrislendo1n.

In the world of antiquity, and especially in the near east, ritual anointing whether applied to things or persons transferred from the category of *the* profane to that of the sacred,[80] and in so doing defined boundaries. Here our concern is with rituals of personal anointing, and with the social boundaries these define. The prime function of personal anointing in the eastern church in the early medieval period was to initiate Christians.[81] *The* oil used for the post-baptismal anointing ,vas made and used especially for this purpose. The chrism, a mixture of aromatics and olive oil, made the Christian: *christi dicti a cl1risn1ate.*[82] To a Greek-speaker, the linguistic association

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Mass., 1933}; (H. B.l Porter, '[The] Origin [of the Medieval Rite for Anointing the Sick or Oying]' in *]TS,* ns 7 (1956) pp 211 *seq.* [P.] lvlellevizoglou, (To·A}'lo• Mvpov tv Tij 6p&o66 <i> av,noh1Kij t""hTlal,;,) (Thessaloniki 1972). presents useful material on liturgical and doctrinal aspects, but is relatively weak on the early medieval period and neglects nearly all the major work done on thissubject by such 'westerners' as Hofmeister and MitcheU.

'• 'The oyntax of symbolism in an African religion', in *PTRSL* no 772, vol 251 (London 1966) p 295. Turner's concept should prove useful to all students of symbolism. For insights into'tbeconcordance between symbolic and socialexperience', see M. Douglas, *Nawral Symbols* (London 1970) p 64 and *passim.* J. C. Faris, 'Validation in ethnographical description', in M,111, ns 3 (Londoo 1968) pp 112 *s.<q,* implies that many anthropologists have yet to be converted 10 J recognition of the need to set symbols in a total cultural context. Faris also pleads for a diachronic approach.

80 E. Kutsch, G. DeUing and C. A. Bouman, art. 'Salbung'. in *RGG* 5, cols 133o-6; [A. S.] Pease, [art. 'Oleum'], in *PW,* 3-1, cols 2454 *seq,* at 2465-8.

81 Mitchell pp 37-8. 44, 53-4, 63-4; Menevizoglou pp 41 *seq,* 188 *seq.* Typically, in both eastern and western churches, simple oil was used for the pre-baptismal anointing associated with exorcism, and chrism (vpov} for the post-baptismal anointing, associated with tbe gift of the holy spirit: sec B. Welte, *Die Poscbaptismale Sa/bung* (Freiburg 1939). An exception was the Syrian rite, which probably down to the fifth century had had only one, pre-baptismal, anointing.

•• TertuUian, *De Baptismo,* 7, in CC 1, p 282. Co1upare Isidore, *Etymologiae,* VJ, 50 in *PL 82,* col 256: 'Chrisma graece, larine unctio nominatur, ex cuius nomine et christus dicirur et hotno post lavacrum sanctificatur.' For other liturgical uses of chrism, see [P.] Bernard, [art. 'Chreme'], in *DTC* 2, coh 2395 *seq.* For its composition, in the west from oil and balsam, in the east from these and a long list of additional ingredients, see Menevizoglou pp 29 *seq.* A basic recipe appears in Exod. 30: 23-5.

was immediately obvious: anointing was the essential ritual of incorporation in Christian initiation. It, if not baptism, had to be repeated when a lapsed member was being readmitted.[83] When the empire became Christian and the *oik0t1t11ene* synonymous ,ivith Christendom[84] (in thought if not in fact) it was natural for Christian initiation to be identified ,vith me1nbership of the Christian Ro1nan empire. Ulhnann has sho,,vn how the equation Roman = Christian operated in the carolingian west.[86] Was it not equally basic in a rather different sense, to the Byzantine world-vie,v? The one boundary which that world-view required lay between the Christian and non-Christian worlds.[86] The Christian vvorld participated actively in the *basileia*, ruled by an emperor whom, according to the opening prayer of the Byzantine *ordo* of *cSoo,* 'the Lord has been pleased to establish as king over the holy race bought by the blood of his son.[87] The non-Christian world passively acknowledged the superiority of Byzantium. The crucial threshold lay between the non-Christian, un-auointed, profane, barbarian outside, and the Christian, anointed, 'holy race' within. By 1neans of chris1n, Christian Byzantine society separated itself off fron1 the external world of *non-christi.*

Conversely, the anointed, the Cluistian Romans, formed a single com1uwiity, ,vithin which the emphasis was not on boundaries but on conm1unications. Characteristic of Byzantine society were rituals of mass participation :[88] the processions of the en1peror or of relics or images through the great cities, the *11dve11tus,* the acclan1ations in the vernacular of the crowds **in** the hippodromes, and **in** the great churches the elaborate preparation of chrism by the patriarch 'before all the people.'[89] To the pure, all things are holy. This was a centripetal

•• Council of Constantinople (381), cap 7, Mansi, 3, cols 563-4; Council *in Tm/lo* (692)• cap *95,* Mansi 11, cols983-4; the Visigothic *Liber Ordi11um,* ed M. flerotin (Paris 1904) cols 100 *seq.*

H Sinogowitz pp 452-3, Beck 'Christliche Mission und politischc Propaganda im byzantinischen Reich', in *Settimant di studio dtl Ce11tro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo,* 14 (Spoleto 1967) pp *650 seq.*

•• *[The) Crorvth [of Papal Government* ill *the Middle Ages)* (2 ed London 1962) pp 105 *seq.* For this equation in an eighth-century Frankish source, see M. Andrieu, *Les Ordi11es Romani du lra11t Moye11 Age,* 3 (Louvain 1951) p 187 *(Ordo* XVII): 'romani devoti vel **boni cristiani.**'

0 Baynes pp 19-20; Delger, *Byzanz,* pp 70 *seq.*

87 Goar p. 726: 'llv ,v661<11aa1 KCXT<XoTi'jO'Qa j:>acnAta htl To revos oov To *&y,ov,* n,paerro11'1ow T<,> TIµlc,, alµcrra TOV 1,1ovoytVOV1 oov uloii'.

88 For what follows, compare *n* 45 above. See also Treitinger pp 71-2, 172 *seq;* Hunger, *Reich [der Neue11 Mine]* (Graz/Cologne *1965)* pp 184-5; MacCormack pp 746-8.

80 Theodore Lcctor, cited in *PG* 86, col :w8, desctibcs the practice 'To 1,1v<rrqp1ov (=1,1vpov) *Iv* Tij bw.11olqc htl 'ITClll'TOS TOV Aaov &y,a3to6o1', attributing its origin

society,[90] integrated without being rigidly stratified, in which some careers at least ,,.,ere open to talent, emperorship remained elective, diverse lines of access, both institutional and personal, linked provinces and centre, and spiritual power was accessible to persons, monks and holy men especially, outsiqe the institutional priesthood. As it can1e into being in the fifth and sixth centuries, as it evolved from the later sixth century ,vith the 'democratisation' of culture, the growing importance of Constantinople itself, and the more pressing consciousness of struggling against an upsurge of surrounding pagan ene1nies along its boundaries, this society shaped new sy1nbols. The liturgification of Byzantine public life, centred on the capital, reflected a new-found and increasing confidence, yes, but also and in the long run n1ore fundan1entally, a new inclusive social structure cemented by common religious belief and practice. Within this structure, it was relatively unimportant to demarcate individual functionaries or specialist groups as monopolists of spiritual power: hence the absence in the Byzantine world of personal anointings defining exclusive status, such as those of en1peror or priest. *All* children born into this society qualified for anointing with chrisn1. Other personal anointings in the eastern churches had a similarly universal application. This was obviously so **in** the case of the anointing of the sick,[91] but such later practices in s0111e eastern churches[92] as the anointing of every 111ember of the co11gregation on great feastdays, of brides and grooms, of newly-delivered mothers and babies, all exemplify the use of anointing as an inclusive sy111bol, available to all Christians as such in their natural life...;rises.

Turning now to the west, we find a different picture. There too, anointing during the early Christian centuries was associated with

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to a fifth-century pau-iarch of Antioch. Theodore wrote in Constantinoplein tbe early sixth century. For this and other evidence, see Menevizoglou pp *45* .

••For the followu,g sketch, l have drawn on tbe works of Guilland and Beck already cited; also Beck, 'Byzanrinisches Gefolgscbaftswesen', in *SBAW* (1965); and for the critical formative period, D. Claude, *Die Byzantinische Stadt im 6]ht.* (Munich 1969) pp 121 *seq, 156 seq;* P. Brown, *Tl1e World of Late Anti<J11ity* (London 1971) esp cap 14, and 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *in]RS* 61 (1971) pp So *seq.* Hunger, *Reich,* pp 262 *seq,* givesevidence for the continuing significance of holy men throughout the early Byzantine period. Useful comparative perspectives on aspects of Byzantine society can be found in S. Eisenstadt, *The Political Systems of Empires* (New Yock 1967) esp pp 238 *seq.*

11 F. W. Puller, *Tl,e Anointing of the Sick* in *Scripture and Tradition* (London 1904) especially appendix II. In these anointings only blessed oil, not chrism, was used.

81 For details, see Hofmeister pp 226 *seq.*

Christian baptisn1, and, by extension, with curative functions.[93] The critical change ca1ne in the various western realms between the seventh and tenth centuries, when anointing began to be used in the initiation of two specialised classes of people: clergy and kings.[94] Ro1ne, it is clear, had nothing to do with the origins of these practices, although many popes from Stephen **U** onwards were quick to perceive the i1nplications of anointing rulers in tenns of increased papal leverage.[9:] The origins lie north of the Alps. Scholars have long debated precisdy where, and contemporary fashion seems to be veering again towards identifying a penchant for anointings of various sorts as a typically bizarre Celtic symptom.[96] (Douglas's 'bog Irish' have a long pedigree!) But the evidence is very slim, and the whole question needs re-examining in a broader context. In general, t\VO explanations of these ritual innovations have been offered. One is that the influence of the old testament model proved irresistible-an especially popular interpretation of Pippin's royal anointing in 75 r.[97] The other is epito-1nised in Andrieu's co1nment a propos the addition of a physical anointing to the episcopal ordination just at the point where the prayer-text reads, *E111n caelestis u11guenti jlore sancti.fica:* 'Prendre ces expressions au sens materiel ct !es traduire en acte dut paraitre nature),' especially when kings were already being anointed.[98] To become chary of these explanations, we only have to look at the Byzantine imperial *ordo* with its reference to David's anointing by Samuel and its request to the Lord to 'anoint thy faithful servant with the oil of exultation',[99] and then to recall that the Byzantines never

u For western baptismal anointings. sec J. D. C. Fisher, *Christian I11ituuion: Baptism in the Mtdieval Wtst* (London 1965) pp 18 *seq,*64 *seq;* Mitchell pp 8o *seq.*Fortheanointing of the sick, Porter, 'Origin'; and for the magical properties assigned to ch.rism by the laity in the west, Bernard col 2413.

•• For ordination anointings, see Ellard; Andrieu, '[Le) Sacre [episcopale d'apr s Hincn1ar de Reims]' in *RHE,* 48(1953) pp 22 *stq;* D. H. Turner, *The Claudius PoutijiCAls, HBS 97* for 1964 (1971) pp xxiv-vi. For royal anointings, sec the works cited above, n 29, and Kottje pp 94 *stq.*

" Ullmann, *Crotvth,* pp 67 *seq,* 143 *seq.*

•• So, Porter, 'Origin'; Bouman pp xi-xii; Kottje pp 98-100; Schneider pp 197-8. Earlier upholders of this view were Eichmann, pp 24 *stq,* and T. Klauser, reviewing Ellard, in *JLW,* 13 (1933) pp 350-1.

., So, Bruh!, p 304 with n 2, giving details of earlier literature.

•• An**l",l-l·teu, ˙ Sacrė, p 41, n *5.***

t$ Goar, p 726:°TOVlTIO"'TOV aov *6oii1'ov* ... xp1aa1 KCXT<:z(((>)(10V T<j>!Aa{'l) Tfis ay<xAAICr;OEo,r.

For the influence of the old testament on Byzantine ideology, see Baynes, pp 33 *seq,* and, especially relevant to the present context, Walter pp 168-72. See also above, n *SS,* for the Byzantine conception of mystical anointing-in Walter's terms,an 'ideological' rather than a 'historical' theme.

drew the allegedly 'natural' conclusion, any more than western christians had before the seventh century. It remains legitimate to ask why western kings and priests began to be anointed as and when they did. The question can be posed in terms of the interpretation I have already suggested for the anointing-ritual itself: why were these categories of person specially and now so emphatically marked off from other members of the *populus christianus?* Why were they alone now the 't\vice-born'?[100] Why did the chrism, in the west as in the east long since the symbol of incorporation-illud *unde christo incorporen111r et unde 0111nes fideles sanctificantur*[101]*-now* acquire the further function of marking off internal boundaries within a Christian society? hi the various western realms, this development followed closely, indeed presupposed, the achievement of a permanent political and cultural synthesis between Christian (with all that implied in terms of Roman survivals) and barbarian elements: in Visigothic Spain, in late merovingian Gaul, in eighth-century England, and in Ottoniau Germany.162 The barbarians asserted not only their political independence with the creation of their kingdoms of *gentes,* but also their cultural autono1ny within Christendom in the sense that, as well as assimilating something of Roman christianity, they imposed new demands and new interpretations on the religion that was now their own. Barbarian clergy innovated. Ro1ne spoke-and also adapted. For the differentiation of hierarchical grades and functions was congenial enough to the Roman church itself. If the anointing of kings made difficulties for the papacy in the age of the Gregorian reform, the anointing of members of the *sacerdotium,* which Rome had finally imported from the north, was found to provide a very practical instrument of demarcation.[108]

For this, surdy, was the significance of anointing: the reinforcement

[100] for this conception in Hinduism, see Van Gennep pp 104-0, and L. Dumont, *Homo Hlerarchlcus,* English trans (London 1970) pp 106-7.The analogous linkage of the ideas of rebirth and hierarchy in western Christendom would repay further investigation.

[101] Council of Tours (461), *Mansi 1,* col 949.

[102] For very perceptive comments on this synthesis, see H. Lowe, 'Von Theoderich der Grossen zu Karl dem Grossen. Das Werden des Abendlandes im Geschichtsbild des frUhen Mittelalters', in *DA, 9* (1952) pp 353 *stq,* and, from a different standpoint, the fine analysis of P. Anderson, *Passagesfrqm Antiquity to Feud41ism* (London 1974) pp 120 *seq.*

[103] forthe imperialist interpretationof theano.intingsof kingsand emperors, sec*MGH,U,* 1, p 467; 1, p *566;* 2, p *538.* But for sacerdotal anointing as helping to define functional boundaries, compare the argument of cardinal Humbert, *ibid* 1, p 234, on the workings of the holy spirit: 'lpse sanctum chrisma instituit, ipse clericorum vet ministrorum diversos gradus et officia in ecd.esia disposuit'.

of stratification, the sharp delineation of restricted channels of access to supernatural power, the specification of those offices which guaranteed the identity and continuity of new political communities. Ritual, in the hands of barbarian priests, defined the holders of theocratic power. For justification the old testament, for clarification the church's law, lay ready to hand. But these *auctoritates* were servants whose utility depended on their relevance to the 1nakers of ritual. The western societies within which and for which the new rituals were designed differed profoundly from the society of Byzantium. They ,vere at once sin1pler and more highly stratified, they were self-consciously dynamic, assertive. The anointing of their power-holders on the one hand marked off the don1inators fro1n the dominated within, and on the other, through the exegesis of divine grace, legitimised that dominance both within, challenging the pagan ideology of *Adelsherrschajt,*[104] and without, asserting political independence in a world of *regna*.

But, finally, why should this one ritual rather than any other have been used for the purposes I have attributed to it? Why specifically anointing? We must expand the positional dimension. In the mediterranean world, olive oil was (and is) a basic commodity. Like corn and ,vine it ,vas an essential foodstuff (nearly everything was cooked in it); it was fuel for lamps; and it was also soap, sha1npoo, cosmetic and every sort of patent remedy for ordinary 1nen and womcn.[106] Outside the mediterranean zone, in temperate Europe, where even the agriculture of corn and vine was an alien i1nposition (and Duby has shown the implications of that revolution),[106] the olive simply cannot be cultivated.[107] Herc, and so in the heartland of the

••• For the persistent tension between kingship and nobility, see Hauck, 'Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der germanisch Auffassung von Konigtwn und Adel', in *XI International Co11gress of Historic„/ Sciences* (Stockholm 1900) Rapports 3, pp 96 *seq;* Schlesinger, *Beitriige,* pp 28 *seq*. H. Hotfntann, 'Pranzosische FUr.iten,veihen des Hocbruittelalters', in *DA,* 18 (1962) pp 92 *seq,* discusses aristocratic imit:1tions of royal insignia and ritual, but stresses that anointing was the one ritual never thus appropriated. ..

••• Pease, 'Oleum', and art. 'Olbaum', in *PW* 34, cols 1998 *seq*. P. D. King, *Law and Society in tht Visigot/1it Kingdom* (Cambridge 1970) pp 212-24, draws attention to the particularly high penalty for damage to olive trees (as conipared with other trees) in Visigothic legislation.

106 **G. Duby, 'Le m.onachisme ecl'CConotnie rurale', in *II monocl1ismo t la riform.a etcle1iastica, 1<>49-11 zz,*** Atti della IV Settimana intcrna2io1tale di Studio, Mendola 1968 (Milan 1971) pp 336 *seq,* and *Guerriers et Paysans* (Paris 1973) pp 26-7, on the essential pbce of the olive also in the new *t.ype d'alimentatio11'civilisee'*.

107 For the frequent use by geographers of the criterion of olive-cultivation in defining the mediterranean zone, see (F.] Braudcl, *[La Mediterranet et le Mo11de ,\1editerra11eer1*

new medieval society of the west, there was a permanent oil-crisis. Flesh-renouncing monks had to have special permission to cook their vegetables in lard.[108] The ecclesiastical authorities had to proscribe the substitution of nut-oil, or butter.[109] For north-western Europe olive--oil was like pepper or spice, a luxury item. But it was one that northern churchmen insisted upon,[110] and that northern society was willing to pay for. The barbarians conquered the cultivators of the olive; their adoption of Christianity assimilated thcn1 to the oil-users. Their power-holders sealed their and their peoples' God-given domination by claiming an extra share of the oil which was both so potent and so scarce.

Within a single Christendom, a single liturgical tradition, personal anointings thus came to have contrasting significance in east and west. In Byzantiun1, they were inclusive, universally available; in the ,vest they became, additionally, exdusive, defining internal as well as exten1al boundaries. In each case the oil functioned through ritual as, in Douglas's sense, a natural sy1nbol. The divergent social contexts which, for medieval participants, supplied the syn1bol's divergent n1eanings n1ay, for the 1uodem ecclesiastical historian, explain **them.**

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a *l'Epoq11e de Philippe IT)* (Paris 1949) pp 139-4r. See further R. Grand and R. Delarouche, *L'Agriculture au Moye11Age* (Paris 1951) pp 31 *5,* 365.

10. *Fra. me,umn l,istoriwm* about the council of Aix-fa-Chapclle (8r6). in *MGH Cone, ael!i karalini,* 1, pp 831-5, at 833: 'Et quia olcum olivarum ,,.,,,.*habe11t Frmui,* voluerunt episcopi, ut oleo Iardivo utantur.' Compare *ibid,* n 2, for the same problem in the eleventh century. In the present context, it is irrclcvaut whether this passage of the *Fragm,,it11111* genuinely represents what happened in 816, or belongs with some eleventh-century special pleading: the ecological exigency was constant.

••• &de, *PL* 91, col 1097; Gregory VII, *Register* VII, 1. To narivcs of the mediterrancan world, the use of butter appeared a very salient sign of barbarism: see Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* XII, 7, and Braudel p *201,* with n 4, for similar expressions of disgust in the sixteenth century. The symbolism of 'inside' and 'outudc' arising fron1 such divergent culinary practices d=rves further study: in some ascetic traditions, dairy products are classed with flesh as 'impure', while olivc-<'il belongs unequivocally to the 'pure' vegetable category.

no R. f>oehaerd, *Le Haut Moyen Age Occidc11tal. Eca11omies tt Soci<'tcs* (Paris 1971} pp 270-1, 274 with n 7. Compare also the indignant western rebuttals of ninth-century Greek accusations that utins rnadc chrisin with river-water: Nicholas I, ,vriting to the Frankish bishops, in *f>L* 119, col 1155, and Rarramnus of Corbie, in *f>L* 121, ,ol 334. Were the accusations mere Photian canards, or did the Franks protesr too much>

12

INAUGURATION RITUALS*

If I'd been addressing an audience of anthropologists, I'd have felt no need to begin by justifying my contribution to this series of lectures. Anthropologists have long been convinced of the importance of inauguration riMls. Oneof them who has contributed much on this subject, Meyer Fortes, said ten years ago: 'The mysterious quality of continuity through time in its organisation and values, which is basic to the self-image of every society, modern, archaic, or primitive, is in some way congealed in these installation ceremonies - - - - Politics and law, rank and kinship, religious and philosophical concepts and values, the economics of display and hospitality, the aesthetics and symbolism of institutional representation, and last but not least the social psychology of popular participation, all are concentrated in them'.[1] With such a lively appreciation of what they can convey, the anthropologist will expect to be able to 'read' from inauguration rituals a good ·deal about the nature of power, the structure, beliefs and values in this or that society at a given time.[2]

But are inauguration rituals equally useful to historians of early medieval kingship? For us the answer is not so simple. The time-dimension we work in raises two problems. First that of fossilisation: the congealing of ritual forms over time makes them suspect as historical documents. Some of the forms used at the coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953,[3] for instance, go back at least a thousand years; but who would claim that the 'politics and law' or "religious or philosophical concepts and values' of post-war Britain were in any very real sense represented in that inauguration ritual. Already in the sixteenth century, Thomas Cranmer, himself ex officio a king's consecrator, said of royal anointing that it was 'but a ceremony', having 'its ends and utility yet neither direct force nor necessity'.• What did such rituals mean in the early Middle Ages?

Here we broach the second problem: that of origins. Another eminent anthropologist, Edmund Leach, recognised the existence of 'the philogenetic question "how come?"' as distinct from 'the functional question "what for?"'. But, he claimed, 'the enormous complexity of the ritual sequences which anthropoloiists

* For fuU references to notes in thls chapter. *see* pp. 305-7 below.

[1] Fortes 1968. pp. 5-20.

[2] See. for example Balandier. 1972, esp. ch. 5.

[3] Ratcliff 1953.

[4] Strype 1848, vol. 1, bk. 2. p. 206.

have to study makes any guesses of the "how come" type more or less absurd'.s And what about the ritual sequences which historians have to study? Well, as a mere historian, I claim the right to be absurd in my own philo-genetic way. Despite enormous difficulties, enough material survives if bandied correctly to allow some kind of history of royal inauguration rituals to be reconstructed, including answers to some 'how come' questions. The liturgical rites of royal consecration, the *Ordines,* present special problems,[6] and we need the expert help of liturgists in their interpretation; but for the early Middle Ages, they do constitute contempor:.ry evidence, becoming more or less stereotyped only from the eleventh century onwards. But *Ordinesforschung* should be only a part of our repertoire: we need to bear in mind the diversity of other available evidence and thus of the varieties of treatment required. Perhaps because of a certain tendency towards an 'abstract-legal' or *ideengeschichtlich* approach on the part of such scholars as E. Eichmann and **P. E.** Schramm who pioneered our subject/ many more sociologically-minded medievalists have as yet hardly cast more than side-glances at royal inauguration rituals or appreciated the potential contribution which they offer, so the anthropologists assure us. for our general understanding of early medieval society and not just of the political theory of some of its clerical elite. Yet it is half a century since Marc Bloch in his early masterpiece *Les Rois Thaumaturget* blazed the broadest of trails for us to follow.

There is one point to stress at the outset: the significance, political and symbolic, of inauguration rituals arose largely from the fact that no early medieval king ever simply succeeded to his kingdom as a matter of course. A man might be born king· worthy, but he had to be made a king. In no kingdom of the early medieval West was there quickly established a very restrictive norm of royal succession. Sometimes a king was succeeded by a son or brother, sometimes by a distant kinsman, and some· times by one who was no kin at all. lnterregna happened: the Anglo-Saxon evidence is predictably clear, but clear also is that from Merovingian Gaul although, as Ian Wood reminds us,[9] dynastic continuity has tended to obscure historians' sense of the contingent in Frankish royal accessions. Kenneth Harrison, has recently written, tongue in cheek: 'much is known about the legal and "sacral" aspects of Germanic kingship. Far less is known of the events which could and sometimes did follow when personal power was extinguished by the death of a king, and the hungry athdings began to prowl'.[10] The inauguration of a new king. when it ended such a time of prowling, publicly indicated the victor of a political struggle: by no means

s Leach 1966, pp. 4-03 sqq., at 404.

6 I indicated ,ome of the'" below, chapter 14, pp. 329-39.

7 See **Bok** 1973 with full references to the work of Eichmann and Schramm.

8 Originally published 1924, now translated into English as *Th, Royal Touch. Sacrtd Monar,hy and &rafula in England and Franc,*(London, 1973).

9 See above.

,o Harrison I976, p. 92.

'but a ceremony', it must have reminded all who participated in it of the powers and functions of kingship.

Having convinced you, I hope, that an interest in early medieval inauguration rituals is legitimate, I don't propose now to embark on a potted history of them. It would be all too easy to get bogged down at the beginning. For during the period before churchmen got closely involved in king-makings, the evidence all over the barbarian West is very sketchy indeed; and any case for which it's more than sketchy is more likely to be odd than typical. Of early Anglo-Saxon accessions, for instance, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle will simply say that so-and-so 'took the realm';" and neither Eddius nor even Bede is much more helpful. Then suddenly the Chronicle for the yea 787 reports that Ecgferth, son of Offa of Mercia, was 'hallowed to king'.'[2] Caution has impelled some scholars to write in terms only of some kind of consecration;u but most interpret this as the first case of royal anointing in England.[1,] Certainly this is the Chronicle's earliest use of the word 'hallowed' for a royal, as distinct from an episcopal, inauguration. Bufit is also its last, for almost a century and a half during which we know that royal anointings were practised in England. It seems possible that the Chronicle uses 'hallowed' for Ecgferth, simply because in his case the normal 'took the realm' was inapposite;[1]s and that what was thought special was the pre-mortem character of Ecgferth's succession, not any novelty in its ritual form. It could be that kings had been anointed in England - perhaps were regularly anointed - before 787. In any case, the Chronicle is not the place we should expect to find such an innovation registered at the date it was introduced. For Scotland there is a similar general lack of evidence with information on a single case which could be the exception that proves the rule: St. Columba, according to Ao?mnan writing over **a** century later, 'ordained' a king in Scottish Dalriada as early as 574 by laying hands on him and blessing him.[16] But this obviously special case, cited by the hagiographer to show Columba's prophetic vision, need not imply that any sixth-century Celtic 'ritual' or 'ceremony' for ordaining kings existed, let alone that this was its norn1al form.[17] Historians seem sometin1es to have forgotten that a saint's life demands different treatment from a chronicle. When Adamnan recounts Columba's vision of an angel bearing a glass book 'of the ordinations of kings' and then

[11] 'Feng 10 rice':on this. •nd on Bede's terminology. see Ch.dwick 1905, p. 355 sqq esp. 360.

[12] Anglo•S.xon Chronicles.•. 785 (recte 787), ed. B. Thorpe{RollsSeries. 1861), pp. 96-7.

U E.g. D. Whitelock in her translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chr,micl,*(Cambridge. 1961), p. 35, n. 2.

[14] See e.g .. Levison 1946, p. 119; Stenton 1971. pp. 218-9; Wallace-Hadrill 1971. pp. Ilr-5. Onthe possibility of earlier insular anointing>= Kottje 1964, pp. 94-106. Bloch 1924, Appendix Ill: 'les debuts de l'onction royale'. remains well worth reading.

IS Compare tbe similarly exception•! case of the one-year reign of Cenwalh 's widow, queen Scaxburh in Wessex. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicft* Preface to MS·**A',** p.**1:**'**I>•** bcold Se•xburg ... paet rice **a,** fter him·.

[16] *Adomnan's Lif,o/Columba,*e<kl. **A.**0. •nd **M.** 0. Anderson (.Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 47}-5.

[11] As inferred by M.rtene 1736, II, 10 col. 212; Ellard 1933, p. 13; Ratcliff 1953, p. 2. But see now Kottje **1964,** p. 97.

describes the saint prophesying 'between the words of the ordination', we get **a** blend of scriptural reminiscence, liturgical phraseology and legendary motif.

For the historian, one saint's life may have very different evidential value from another: there is one remarkable passage in the late seventh-century Passion of St. leudegarius which to my mind strongly suggests that a fixed inauguration ritual existed in at any rate later Merovingian times. This text is all th" more credible here because the hagiographer, who is a contemporary of the events he describes, mentions king-making procedures en passant, in an unforced, unselfconscious way. He is out to blacken Ebroin, the enemy of Leudegarius, but he gives an essentially historical account of the background to Ebroin's fall. The date is 673:

> King Clothar (Ill) died - - - But while Ebroin should have summoned the optimates together and should have raised Clothar's full brother, Theuderic by name, to the kingdom with due solemnity as is the custom, puffed up with the spirit of pride he refused to summon them. So they began to be very fearful, because Ebroin would be able to do harm to whomever he wished with impunity, so long as he could keep under his control, and exploit the name of, the king whom he should have elevated for the glory of the public fatherland.[18]

Here we have the technical phrase *sublimare in regnum* (we shall meet it again presently) with a clear reference to a traditional ritual procedure: *solemniter, ut mos est,* which should be performed in the presence of the *optimates,* subsequently termed a *multitudo nobilium.* There is also a very significant indication that these same *optima/es,* whose views the hagiographer is expressing at this point, saw the *gloria patriae publicae* as at stake in king-making: because they had not been rightfully summoned to play their part, they rejected Ebroin and his puppet-king and invited in instead another Merovingian from Austrasia. Clearly a power-struggle was fought out in 673, and the inauguration ritual became the focus of the political conflict. If only the hagiographer bad stopped to say in detail what the customary procedures - the *mos* - consisted of. But that was no part of his concern.

That *mos,* from the sixth century onwards, seems to have centred on an enthronement.[19] I think it very unlikely that, as Levison claimed, 'the accession to the throne of the Merovingians was a secular act devoid of any ecclesiastical ingredient'[20] - unlikely, I mean, either that it was ever not religious (there is a difference between religious and christian) or that it did not also come under clerical influence before the mid-eighth century. The regal benedictions that survive in late eighth· and ninth· century manuscripts for use 'when the king is elevated into the kingdom'[21] seem to me to be of Merovingian origin; and the *po111ifices et proceres* who appear together so often in late Merovingian sources would surely all have attended the inauguration of

[18] *Passio Ltud,garii* I, c. 5, ed. B. Kruscb, MGH SS rer.merov. V, p. 287.

[19] For a fulldiscussion and references, seeSchneider 1972, p. 213.

[20] Levison 1946, p. 116.

[21] *See* Bouman. 1957, pp. 163, 175 and pp. 91 and 189-90. for the texts of the regal benedictions 'Prospice' and 'Deus inenarrabilis'.

a king. The liturgist C. A. Bouman's remark about Carolingian inaugurations seems equally apposite in a Merovingian context: 'Whenever bishops were present at an official function, it was in the nature of things that they accentuated the religious aspects of a long-standing usage by giving it a ritual turn'[22] - though in the case of king-rnaking what was new was not the ritual turn but the ecclesiastical twist.

As long as ecclesiastical blessings remained relatively subordinate adjuncts to such inauguration rituals as enthronement, investiture with weapons or regalia, symbolic marriage with an earth-goddess, or the mounting of an ancestral burial-mound, clerical writers would naturally tend to say little about procedures of king-making. They began to say more when their colleagues in the ecclesiastical hierarchies of the barbarian kingdoms took over, clericalised, 'liturgified' the conduct of a major part of the ritual. This happened at different times in the various kingdoms, but it had happened in the main ones by the mid-tenth century. This take-over centred on the introduction of royal anointing and came to involve the elaboration of a full ecclesiastical rite for the king's consecration, an *Ordo*, analogous to the other personal status-changing rites already provided for in liturgical books. Thus where an eighth-century Sacramentary might contain some regal blessings, a tenth-century Pontifical might well include - after ordination-forms for the seven ecclesiastical grades and for abbot and abbess, and consecrations for monk, nun and widow - *Ordines* also for the king and queen. The royal rite was thus regularised and recorded. But such a record by no means included the total process of a king's inauguration. Clerics rarely cared to document non-clerical procedures; yet when we happen to have evidence of these, we can see how partial a picture the *Ordines* give. Widukind, for instance, gives an account of Otto I's inauguration which begins with an enthronement ritual outside the church performed by the *duces et milites* making Otto king *more suo* - 'in their own traditional way'[23] - and ends with a description of the dearly very important feast that followed after the ecclesiastical rite was over.[2]· The early Anglo-Saxon *Ordines* open with tantalising references to the immediately preceding election and a *conventus seniorum*, presumably the Witan, but we know nothing of what ritual procedures were enacted. One of these *Ordines* ends with a mention of the feast to follow, but it is an anecdote in the earliest life of St. Dunstan which happens to reveal how important this feast was felt to be by tenth-century participants.[21] The *Ordines*, then, though often our only evidence for the inauguration rituals of the ninth and tenth centuries, have to be married up with other types of evidence if we are to begin to appreciate their context, function and meaning for contemporaries.

If we have to think in terms of a whole process, consisting of extra· and intra· ecclesiastical ritual, constitutive only in its totality,[26] we also have to distinguish

22 Op. cit., p.127.

23 *Ren.m C,,i,,,um Saxonicarum Libri Trt1,*ed. H. E. Lohmann, rev. P. Hirsch (Hanover 1935), pp. 64-5.

1A Hau.:k 1950. pp. 620-1. For othu kind,of *mos,*seeSchmidt 1961, pp. 97-233.

25 further derails below, chapter 14, pp. 330-1.

26 • Mitteu 194-4, pp. 47-60.

different observers and different periods in the rituals' evolution. Let's consider the rite of anointing - which historians seem to agree is very important but which has been too rarely considered in the context of a particular place and time, or studied comparatively in different kingdoms. There may be no point in aslcing who borrowed the rite from whom, if in fact it was not, or not always, diffused but 'invented' autonomously in various places: but if so, the question must become, under what conditions? It is probably eqwlly pointless to ask what was the purpose of royal anointing, or to whose advantage did it operate, or was it iodispensable:[27] I doubt if there is a single, generally-applicable answer to any of these questions. As to the constitutive character of anointing, for instance, the cleric who composed the 'Frohdeutsch' *Ordo* seems to distinguish between the *princeps*, or *electus*, before_the anointing, and the *rex* after it.[28] But Widukind's terminology suggests nothing of the kind: he doesn't even distinguish consistently between *rex* and *dux*, Otto being termed now one, now the other. Hincmar of Rheims, when it suited him, stressed the constitutive character of Charles the Bald's anointing in 848;[29] but he certainly never questioned the fulness of Charles' kingly powers before that date (Rheims, after all, had benefited a good deal from their exercise)JO nor did he cast doubt on the title of unanointed kings as such. The historical situation of the ninth century was too varied and too fluid for even a political theorist of Hincmar's stature to attempt to produce a clearcut or consistently-presented theory of royal anointing. What does seem to have happened is that once anointings had come to be regularly performed by the local hierarchy of a given realm, within a couple of generations or so anointing would tend to be regarded as indispensable. It joined, or rather was added to, the series of ritual acts which together made a king. For some kind of formal election, possibly culminating in procedures of elevation or enthronement, had invariably preceded it. **The** time-lag between these two main phases of the inauguration might be minimised, as in Otto l's case. But they remained distinct. In tenth-century England, for example, there is some evidence for the reckoning of reign years from the formal election rather than from the consecration. When practical difficulties enforced a longish delay between the two events, as in Athelstan's case (with Edgar's I deal in some detail below) we might hope to find some evidence, notably in charters, which might enable to test whether the royal powers of a *rex electus* before hisconsecration were less than complete in fact. But the results of such an enquiry are disappointing: whereas two of Athelstan's charters do clearly show reckoning of reign years in Wessex from a date before Christmas 924,[31] his earliest genuine one that is securely datable was issued on the day of his

27 For t and other questions, see the discussion in *Settiman, di ,o.dio de/ uncroItaliano* di *,tudi su/1' alco medio,.,,,,* VII, i (Spolcto, 1960), pp. 385-403.

28 Ed. Erdmann 19S1, pp. 83-7.

29 Dttails above, chapter 7, pp. 137-42.

30 Set Tes,icr 1943, I, pp. 210ff., and 262ff.

lt Birch, nos. 691, 692.

consecration 4 September, 925,[32] but the charter evidence as a whole is too scarce to warrant any suggestion that Athelstan was reluctant (or unable) to issue charters before he was consecrated. Edgar, as we shall see, certainly did just that. It is a commonplace that medieval men saw no incompatibility between the principles of election and heredity which to modem eyes tend to appear mutually exclusive:[33] we must also accept that a ninth• or tenth-century king exercised his royal powers from the time of his formal acceptance - *electw* or *acclamatio* - by some or all of his leading subjects, but still needed to be anointed as soon as possible thereafter for the king-making to be thought complete. Neither of the general statements in the preceding sentence will be found explicit in an early medieval text, but both are to be inferred from the evidence of what kings and others actually did.

In the light of all this, and especially of the need for more detailed preliminary work to be done before that general history of medieval inauguration rituals can be written (as, begging Leach's patience, one day it surely will be), l shall now examine three particular cases of inauguration rituals, including anointing, in practice in Francia and England in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. All three are problem cases, but they're perhaps more interesting, and certainly more instructive than 30· called 'normal' ones. Together they reveal the dimensions of our subject. Firstly then, and inevitably: the case of Pippin. For only here do we have fairly good evidence as to the date and circumstances of the introduction of royal anointing in one realm. The background is well-known: Pippin's patronage of the Bonifacian reforms in the 740s, his sending of envoys to Rome, 'with the advice and consent of the Franks',.i. toask Pope Zacharias 'about kings in Francia',[35] the receiving of the papal response that the name of king should be brought back into line with the reality of who held royal power, and that Pippin should therefore replace the last Merovingian. You did not make this non•Merovingian king of the Franks by letting his hair grow long and then enthroning him, but by anointing and enthroning him Now medievalists have been **all** too eager to stress the revolutionary effect of 751: I say 'too eager' because the effect of this anointing on the nature of medieval kingship seems to me to have been sometimes exaggerated. Pirenne,l6 for instance, following Fustel de Coulangcs,[37] drew rather too heavy a line between the allegedly quite 'secular' Merovingian rex crinitus and the Carolingian rex dei gratia. I would see a more continuous evolution of Frankish kingship starting with Clovis himself who, long-haired warrior-king though he remained, had a 'salvation-giving helmet of holy anointing'[38] put on his head when he received christian baptism. The royal

32 Birch, no. 641 (strictly speaking, a memorandum b"ed on acharter).

33 **A** point best made by Kern 1954, pp. 13ff.• 248ff.

34 Continuator fredegarii, ed. Wa!J.ce-Hadrill l%0. p. 102.

35 *Anna!t> rtgrri Frall(onun,* ed. f. Kul"le (Hanover 1895),SS rer. Germ. in usum schol., p.8.

36 Pirenne, trans. Miall 1939, pp. 136. 268ff.

37 ck Coulanges, 1888-92, vol. VJ, 'Les transformations de la royaute pendant l'epoque carolingienne'. pp. 206-8, 226ff.

38 Avitus ofVienne, Ep. 46, e<I. R. Peiper (Ber n 1883), MGH AA Vl(2). p. 75.

anointings of the Carolingiaos represent a quantitative rather than a qualitative change in the degree of integration between political power and ecclesiastical authority in Francia, and, underlying both, thedevelopment of the Franks' own self-image as a chosen people with a mission. Between Dagobert and Pippin - or even Charlemagne - is a difft'renre more of style than subnance.

But to return to 751: h)w do we explain the fact of Pippin's anointing? Fritz Kern in *Kingship and Law* l>ad a crisp answer: 'Secular politics were the effective reason for the introduction of anointing into theconstitutional law of the Frankish state';.[9] Underlying such an implicit assumption of royal initiative lies a rationalist view of politics as calculation operating in an autonomous =lar sphere. This view, though apparently surviving in some of our contemporary practitioners of *Real-politik,* is really an eighteenth-century one. Voltaire in his article, 'Roi' in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique"!* imagined the following early medieval conversation: 'Le prince disait au pretre: Tiens, voici de I'or, mais ii faut que tu affermisses mon pouvoir ... Je serais oint, tu seras oint' ('I'll be greased - and so will you!') In similar vein Gibbon wrote of Pippin's royal unction as 'dexterously applied ... and' (Gibbon could not refrain from adding) 'thisJewish rite bas been diffused and main· taincd by the superstition and vanity of modera Europe'.'[1] Weshould beware of projecting the cynicism of the Enlightenment back into theeighth century.

Now Pippin had been brought up in the monastery of St. Denis and may well have been literate. But how should a layman have understood bow to operate in the clerical preserve of oil-rituals? Just what his own anointing may have meant to him we cannot know: one of his diplomas may mention it,'[2] but that was of course drawn up by a cleric. We have some evidence, however, that the Frankish aristocracy, in the short run anyway, was little impressed by the new rite. The Continuation of Fredegar's Chronicle, written at this point by Pippin's uncle, does allude to the anointing of 751, but without enthusiasm:

> Pippin, by che election of all the Franks to che throne of the kingdom, by the consecration of bishops and by che subjection of che lay magnates, together with the queen lkrcrada, as the rules of ancient tradition require was elevated into the kingdom.'[3]

The use of the 'consecration'*(consecratio)* may be deliberately vague, for this could refer in the eighth century to any status-changing rite - the profession of a nun, for instance - without at all implying an anointing. But the chronicler's emphasis is not on the consecration anyway, but on the election and elevation of the Frankish king

39 Kern 1954, pp. *n.* Iquote here from the English translation by S. B. Chrimes (Oxford. 1939), p. 41.

'○ Quoted by ck Pang• 19S1, p. 557.

'1 *Dttline OT1d Follof th, Romon Empirt,* abridged D. Low{Harmondsworth 1960), p. 636.

'2 MGH Diplomata Karolinorum. ed. E. Milhlbacber (Hanover 1906), no. 16, p. 22.

<l.l Wallace-Hadrill 1960, p. 102. Rather th•n using Professor Wall,cc·Hadrill's elegant transbtion, I have tnrubtc<I thi, pJSsage mY$<lf to reproduce the dumsine,s ,nd ,mbiguity of the original. The Continuator here is Count Chilckbrand, son of Charles Martt!.

by the Franks - ur *antiquitus ordo deposcit.* Whatever the term *ordo* may mean in other documents or contexts of this period (and Pope Zacharias' desire 'that *ordo* be not disturbed', as reponed in the *Anna/es regni Francorum* under the year 749, may well have Augustinian undenones..) here in the Continuation of Fredegar the *ordo antiquitus* is surely to be identified with the *mos* of Leudegarius' hagiographer.•s The inauguration ritual of 751 accorded with that of Frankish tradition - which also happened to be Merovingian. In the eyes of contemporary Frankish laymen, and probably therefore of Pippin himself, this was what mattered most.

But the ritual of 751 also included the novelty of anointing. Its instigators should be sought, as von Ranke long ago surmised, in Pippin's clerical entourage, among such men as Fulrad of St. Denis and the enthusiastic reformer Chrodegang of Metz. Such men were on their home ground in the royal monastery of St. Medard at Soissons where the anointing took place. No doubt they acted under the influence of an Old Testament model, but why should a literal imitation now have been thought appropriate? Thanks to the lucky survival of the Missale Francorum, written somewhere in the Paris-Corbie-Soissons triangle in the first half of the eighth century,<4 we can be fairly sure that ordination anointings of priests were already being practised in precisely this region. If a literal interpretation of Scripture dictated the anointing of the priest's hands (the Vulgate rendering of Leviticus 16: 32 gave the erroneous translation: *'sacerdos … cuius manus initiatae sunt ut sacerdotio fungatur* ... ') it becomes understandible why priests thus anointed might then have found in Old Testament history their warrant for anointing the bead of **a** king. I doubt if a special parallel was seen between Saul and David on the one hand, Cbilderic and Pippin on the other: David, after all, unlike Pippin, had observed the precept: 'Touch not the Lord's anointed', and had waited for Saul to be killed in battle. It was not a precise situational model, but a more general one that the Frankish clergy found in the Old Testament. The typological link existed not only between Carolingian and Davidic kingship and between reformed Frankish and Levite priesthood, but between the whole Frankish *gens* and the people of Israel. The 'inventors' of Frankish royal anointing belong in the same milieux that produced the Second Prologue to Lex Salica and the also contemporary Frankish *Laudes* with their invocations of divine blessings on the *iudices* and the *exercitus* as well as the king and princes of the Franks.•'

A glance at Frankish inaugurations in the century after 751 shows no case in which royal anointing can be ascribed to a ruler's initiative. If anointings were performed in 768 or n1 (and the evidence is not clear-cut48) then Frankish clergy must again have

•• As suggested by Buttner 1952, pp. 77-90.

•s Compare thesense of *ant1ui1111* in *Passi<> L,ud,gariil,*c. 7, SS rcr. merov. V., p. 289.

46 Ed. L. C. Mohlberg, Rerum Ecclesiastie>rum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes I (Rome, 1957), p. 10, with comments, pp. 64-7, and **B.** Bischofrs views on place and date. p. xvi.

47 luntorowkz 19-46, pp. 4l ff. S.e aho Ewig 1956, pp. 16f., 47ff.

•-8 S.e Bruh! 1962, pp. 3l4ff.

been responsible. The Carolingians' own practice when they made their sons sub-kings reveals a remarkable lack of interest in the new rite: Charlemagne's second son Charles was made sub-king of Neustria in 790 without receiving any anointing,[49] and when Louis the Pious made his son Charles a sub-king in 838, he invested him with the weapons of manhood and with a crown, and, keeping abreast of the times, had all the magnates commend themselve! with oaths of fidelity to the young man, but in neither of the two quite full accounts of this occasion is there any hint of an ecclesiastical rite.[50] I can't now go into the complicating factor of eighth-century papal involvement in Frankish royal anointings. But it may be worth noting that the anointings of Pippin and his two sons performed by Stephen U in 754 don't seem to have cut much ice with contemporary Franks: the Continuation of Predegar (now being kept up to date by Pippin's cousin) simply does not mention these anointings, and the Frankish bishops implicitly ignored them if they indeed reconsecrated Pippin's sons in 768 and 771. Only at St. Denis was the men1ory of these anointings kept green,s• and that was because they'd taken place at St. Denis and redounded therefore to *its* glory. It's surely a significant (and rather neglected) fact that not a single one of Charlemagne's court poets, panegyrists or correspondents, especially the prolific Alcuin, ever mentions that Charlemagne or his sons had been anointed. Don't courtiers write what kings want to hear?

One or two general points emerge from the obscure history of early Carolingian inaugurations. First, while anointing might operate at one level as **a** rival christian brand of sacral magic, a substitute for long hair, functionally it was bound to have some different implications, if only because it required artifice, clerical artifice, in addition to nature. It did not just grow; it had to be conferred at a point in **time,** specifically through an inauguration ritual, and this meant that churchmen became involved in the procedure of king-making in a new and prominent way. If relatively many reigning Merovingians and no Carolingians were assassinated, this can hardly be explained simply in terms of the protective effect of anointing for the latter dynasty, at least in its earlier period. More relevant here are such factors as the maintenance of a fairly restrictive form of royal successionsz (and the Carolingians' abandonment of polygamy must soon have narrowed the circle of royals) and the growth of a clerically-fostered ideology of christian kingship.SJ Anointing in fact caught on slowly with the Carolingians - not because of its hierocratic undertones (can you imagine Pippin or Charlemagne afraid of being 'captured' by the Church?) but because Pippin, Charlemagne and, in this respect,

[49] See Eiten I907, pp. 46ff.

[50] Asttonomus, *Vira Hludovi<i Pii,* ed. W. Penz, MGH SS II, p. 643; Ni1bard, *HiJ1oriarum libri quarruor,* ed. E. Muellet, MGH SS ret. rm.in usum schol., p. 10.

5t This is well brought out, in referen<:e both to the Chronicle of Moissac and to the *Clausulo d, unction, Pippin!,* by Levillain 1933, pp. 225-95.

52 Cf. I. Wood, in P.Sawyer and I. Wood ed., *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds,1977), p. 10.

S3 For some consequences in terms of juristic means of dealing with bad rulers, see Ullmann 1969. pp. 66f.

even Louis the Pious were traditionalists, making their sons sub-kings simply according to the pattern of the Frankish past, not deliberately by-passing clerical consecrators. And in practice the appointment of sub-kings, given a series of long-lived fathers, became a kind of pre-mortem succession, which meant in the end that no Carolingian between Pippin and Lotbar II in 855 had to wait for a predecessor's death in order to become **king.** This effectivdy limited the extent of possible clerical intervention in, and ritual elaboration of, king-making procedures, and hdps explain the absence of a developed liturgical tradition of Frankish *Ordines* before the mid· ninth century. It also accounts for the problem at the outset of my second case-study.

The consecration of Charles the Bald at Orleans is problematical because of when it occurred: how, if anointing had become - as it's often alleged - well-established in Frankish practice from the mid-eighth century, could Charles the Bald reign unanointed as king of the West Franks from 840, when his father died, until 848? Ganshof has concluded that for a Frankish king in the 840s, anointing, 'though something important, was not something indispensable'.[5,] Well, it was dispensable, evidently. But what evidence is there that anointing was thought 'something important' by Franks, lay or clerical, before 848? It's likely that no Frankish king had been anointed since 800, and none anointed except by the pope since n1ss (or possibly, even, since Pippin himself in 751). There *was* no real indigenous Frankish tradition of royal anointing. Not only Charles the Bald but his elder half-brother Louis in Bavaria and his nephew Pippin II in Aquitaine ruled unanointed after 840.

The problem therefore is to explain not how Charles reigned for eight years without receiving anointing, but why beever was anointed at all. We must look at the situation in Aquitaine, which though it had been assigned to Charles in 843 had been held on to by Pippin II at first illegally, then from 845 under Charles' nominal overlordship. Early in 848 the Vikings burned Bordeaux. Pippin bad offered no resistance: Charles had at least tried. So the Aquitainians, 'constrained by Pippin's inertia', deserted him and 'sought Charles'. But why was the decision then made to 'anoint him with sacred chrism and solemnly consecrate him with episcopal benediction'?[56] Why anointing? Alternative explanations have been offered: one is that Charles' position in 848 was so weak that he 'had himself anointed' as a last resort to protect himself with a 'sacred character' against his unruly subjects;[57] the other is that since Charles' position was looking healthier in 848 than at any time since his accession he could now assert his authority by 'having himself anointed'.[58] Well, oil may be versatile stuff, but both these explanations can't be right - and I doubt if

[5,] *S,ttimaneSpcl,u,,* Vll. i (1960). p. 397.

[5$] Brohl 1962, pp. 321f.

[56] *Annal,,&rtiniani,* edd. F. Grat. J. Viellard and S. Clemen.:et (Paris, 1964). p. 55.

[57] uvillain 1903, pp. 31ff. at 51.

[58] Lot and Halphen (part 1: 840-53; no other pans appeared) 1909, pp. !93f. Lot's suggestion, p. 194, n.2, that the Aquitaini>n clergy had waited until Charles reached the Roman age of majority at 2S. is not borne out by *tht* consecration of Chui«' son a, kingof Aquitaine at Limoges in 855 when tht boy cannot hav• been more than 8.

either is. I see no reason to assume Charles' initiative. The idea, as in 751, was surely a clerical one, and the developing situation of the 840s with the increasing pretensions of the episcopate in general to a governmental role and the influence of Hincrnar of Rheims in particular, supplies a credible contexts[59]

If the object of Charles' anointing was to protect him from the infidelity of his *fide/es,* it was not a success: the Aquitainians were not deterred from revolting in 853, and that was just the first in a series of stabs in Charles' back. But we ought not to apply such a crude yardstick to the question of whether anointing 'worked', for a ritual does not create a political situation. We need to ask, rather, what in 848 anointing signified, and to whom? Here, again as in 751, the broader ritual context is relevant: just around the 840s, the anointing of bishops, with chrism on the head, was coming into practice in north-western Frankish ordinations. This fact, and the importance attached to it, we know from a letter written by Hincmar himself giving details of an episcopal consecration in 845.[60] Some of the prescriptions in the rite for Charles the Bald•s next anointing in 869 as king of Lotharingia show deliberate parallels with the episcopal anointing described in Hincmar's letter.[61] Though details are lacking for 848, I suggest that the bishops who devised and performed the Orleans rite were following the same model, making the king, like themselves, in a special way consecrated to God,[62] emphasising the gap between the man and the office and thus the responsibilities the office involved. If anointing was, as Arquilliere wrote, 'la traduction liturgique du *ministerium regis'* ,[63] it became so explicity only in the ninth century: before that, kings might have been seen, in Scriptural terms, as *ministri* of God's kingdom, but not until the reign of Louis the Pious was the concept of royal office worked out and publicised.[64] The churchmen who did this had their feet firmly on the ground of contemporary politics. In the *Anna/es Bertiniani,* written at this point by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, the 848 consecration is represented as the act of all the Aquitainians, lay *nobiliores* as well as bishops;[65] and in a subsequent reference to what came to be seen in retrospect as an anointing to his whole West Frankish realm, Charles under Hincmar's guidance stressed the *consensus* and *voluntas* of all his *fideles.*[66] If an enthronement also took place

59 See Lot aod Halphen 1909, pp. 130ff.. and above,\ch. 7 137, n. *4.* Devis$< 1 76 I, pp. 291f., seems rather 10 undereuiroaic Hiocmar's influ,oce on Charles in the8401.

60 Aodricu 19S3, pp. 22-73.

61 MGH C.p;t II, pp. 456-7. This text, strictly speaking a protocol, not an *Ordo,* dcscri s the *modus* and *mattria* of the aooioting in some detail.

62 /u stated explicitly in Hincmar's *adnuntia1io* preceding the 869 rite, MGH Capit. II, p. 341: ·... ut in obtcntu rcgni . . . saccrdocali ministreio ante altarc hoc coronetur ct sacra uDCtionc Domino consccretur'. Compare I Paral. xxix: 22. describing theanointing of Solomon: 'UrucCIUnt autem cum Domino in principcm'.

63 Arquilliere 1955, p. 43.

64 Anton I968, pp. 208ff.

65 *Ann.&rtin.,* p. 55. Compare ibid., p. 71 oo the elevation of theyounger Charles in855: 'Aquitani ... Karlum pu,rum . . . rcgem geocraliter constituuot, unctoquc per pontificcs coronam rcgni imponunt ... '

66 *Ubtllus a4t1<m1s Wenilonem,* MGH Capit. II, p. 451.

in 848, laymen no doubt participated. Certainly West Frankish bishops were staking a claim to an indispensable role in the king-making ritual; and it then became possible for Hincmar, at any rate, to construct a theory of the king's accountability to his episcopal consecrators. But the bishops in their new role acted, in turn, as guarantors of the law and justice of all the king's subjects, as guardians of the christian people and thus as representatives, in some sense, of the realm as a whole. This became clear when something **like a** 'coronation-oath' was demanded of the king by the bishops as part of the ritual proceedings inside the church.[67]

I have stressed that anointing was by its very nature a clerical monopoly. This was not true of coronation, attested for the first time as part of a royal inauguration in Francia only in 838.[68] Before that popes had crowned Frankish sub-kings and Frankish emperors, and Carolingian kings themselves had experimented with the wearing of crowns and various other insignia on important liturgical occasions. But crown-wearing and *Festkriinungen* need to be kept distinct from coronation as part of the royal inauguration ritual.[69] 848 seems again to have marked an innovation in Francia, in that the archbishop crowned, as well as anointed, Charles.'° This association of rituals was confirmed in the *Ordines* of Hincmar. who even used coronation as a metaphor for anointing itself in the anointing prayer, *'Coronet te d.ominus corona gloriae . . .'*/[1] and when Charles was inaugurated to a new kingdom in 869, the scriptural model to which Hincmar appealed was not David, reanointed at successive inaugurations, but the Hellenistic king Ptolemy who when he acquired a second kingdom placed 'two diadems on his head, those of Egypt and Asia'.[72] Hincmar made coronation, alongside anointing, permanently part of the ecclesiastical procedures of king-making. In West Francia the 'liturgification' of enthronement had followed by about 900.[13]

Clearly the ninth century was a seminal period in the history of royal inaugurations in western christendom. Before leaving it, I'd like to make just one ,nore general point about anointing rituals in the time of Charles the Bald. Personal anointing was conceived as one very special, peculiarly intense form of benediction whereby the recipient was exposed in a unique way to the outpouring of divine grace. The common factor was the fullness of the benediction, but the application varied with the context. The addition of anointing to episcopal ordination did not alter the character of the rite - the central blessing-prayer indeed remained unchanged - but it translated into visible, sensible terms what had hitherto been **a** metaphor: 'the flower of heavenly ointment'.[7,] The sorts of grace requested for the

[67] See above, chapter 7, pp. 133-71 passim.

[68] BrObl 1962, p. 301.

[69] **A** point rightly stressed by Jaschke 1970, pp. 556-88, esp. 565ff., 584ff.

[70] MGH Capit. II. p. 451; for coron.tion in 855.s n.65 above.

[71] MGH Capit. II. p. 457.

n MGH Capit. II, p. 340, with reference to I Mace. xi: 13.

[73] In the 'Seven Forms' *Ordo,* ed. Erdmann 1951, p. 89. See further Bouman 1957, pp. 136-40.

[74] Andrieu 1953. pp. 40-53.

bishop were specific to his office: 'constancy of faith, purity of love, sincerity of faith' and so on. The king's anointing, similarly, was intended to secure blessings needful for the carrying-out of royal functions - in particular the blessings of victory over visible as well as invisible enemies.rs The point was that only God could provide the qualities a mere man needed to fulfil great public responsibilities. If an inauguration ritual as such presupposed a gulf separating the office from its incumbent, anointing focussed attention precisely here; for it was associated in the western liturgies with *rites de passage* covering the most drastic kinds of change in status, namely baptism and last unction, both involving a transition from 'death' to 'life'.7[6] The anointings of bishops, priests and kings did not imply any functional likeness in the offices concerned, beyond their public governmental character and general importance (expressed in terms of divine foundation): anointing did not make the king intoany sort of priest (any more than it made the priest a sort of king! Such a combination of functions was precisely a part of Christ's uniqueness.) If it had implied anything of the kind, what could we make of the anointing of queens, introduced in the time of Charles the Bald (another mid-ninth century innovation) and a feature thereafter of West Frankish ritual practice?" Priest, bishop and king each had hisown specific function on whose performance the welfare of the christian people depended and for which special grace had to be acquired. The queen too had her function - one of the utmost public concern; and she too had specific needs: 'may she perceive through this anointing', prayed Hincmar over Charles' wife Ermentrude, 'cleanness of mind. safety of body. Crown her, Lord, with holy fruits . . . make her bear such offspring as may obtain the inheritance of your paradise'.[78] Though surely proving a lack of any necessary connection with priesthood, to use anointing as a fertility charm[19] was not to devalue it: rather to affirm the faith of Hincmar, Charles and their contemporaries in the sacramental outward and visible sign as guarantor of inward and spiritual grace.

And so to the tenth century: my third and last case-study is Edgar, king of the Mercians and, probably, Northumbrians from 957, and of the West Saxons from 959, to 975.[80] If there's one famous thing about Edgar, it's his 'delayed' or 'deferred' consecration at Bath in 973. 'One of the most puzzling things in our

1S SeeSprengler t9W/t, pp. 245-67, e1p. 2521!'.

[76] See above, chapter 11, pp. 270 ff.

[77] The *Ordints* of Judith (856) and Ermentrude (866): MGH Capit. 11, pp. 425-7, 453-5; tbe *Ordo ad ordinand"'" r,ginam* • ociat<d with the 'Erdmann' *Ordo* of c.900, *ed.* Schumm, 1%8. II. pp. 220-1; the *O,do od rtginam tdictndam* a11ociated with the *Ordo* of "Ratoldu,· (•Schramm·, 'Fulrad"), ed. Ward, 1942, pp. 358-9 (in us, in France in the twelfth and thirteenth cen1urie1). l do nor think that *Cont.* Fred. "quoted above, 290, implies that Pippin's qu«n Bertu<h was anointed. and the *C/a,w/a* makes nosuch daim for her.

18 MGH Capit. II, p. 455. Quoting *the* episcopal *adk>CU1io,* ibid. p. 454. Wintersig 192:,, pp. 150-3. at p. 1$2 spe:alr.sof 'eine Weihe der Thronfolgermuner'.

19 So. Kantorowicz 195!>. p. 293.

[80] Stenton I971. pp. 366-7.

history', E. A. Freeman called it,[81] just a century ago. Historians have been puzzling over it since the twelfth century. Osbern in his Life of Dunstan[82] told a story about Edgar's having run off with a nun whereupon Dunstan imposed a seven-year penance on him 'that he should not wear the crown of his realm during this whole period'. 973 thus became a spectacular crown-wearing when the seven years were up: *redeunte quasi jubileo termino.* William of Malmesbury8) was clearly sceptical about this tale (which he nevertheless recounted with relish!) but still asserted that Edgar ruled 'from the sixteenth year of his age, when he was constituted king' until 973 'without any regal symbol' *(sine regio insigne).* These twelfth-century writers seem to be invoking popular legend to explain the mystery of 973;&< but a seven-year penance would take us back only to %6 and not to the beginning of Edgar's reign at all. In fact Osbern, in depicting 973 as a *Festkriinung,* a *coronatio* or festal coronation such as was familiar to him from the practice of bis own day, thereby implied that Edgar *had* been normally consecrated already at his accession. Similar interpretations seem to be offered in the thirteenth century by Roger of Wendove,:SS and Matthew Paris.[85]• On the other band, William's contemporary Nicholas of Worcester[86] thought that Edgar himself had delayed his consecration out of 'piety ... until he might be capable of controlling and overcoming the lustful urges of youth'. Well, if that to::>k Edgar until he was nearly thirty, he must have been - for those days - a late developer! The two most recent attempts to solve the mystery are elaborations or revised versions of these medieval hypotheses: H. R. Richardson and G. 0. Sayles[87] follow Osbern with their *Festkronung* theory, while Eric John[88] thinks there's a kernel of trut!i in William's and Nicholas's belief that Edgar's consecration was delayed. Let's go back to the tenth-century evidence.

A first question: did Edgar really reign for over thirteen years without being consecrated as king? We have to start from the fact that no contemporary or near· contemporary witness actually states that Edgar received consecration when he became king either of the Mercians in 957 or of the West Saxons in 959.[89] But there is no valid argument from silence here, because literary or chronicle or charter evidence for *any* pre-Conquest royal inauguration is very rare. It's true that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's entry for 973 describing with uncharacteristic fullness the

81 Freeman, 1887. p. 639.

82 Ed. Stubbs, 1874, pp. 111-2.

v *Gts14 Rtgu'!',* ed. W. Stubbs (Roll,Serios, 1887-9), I, pp. 179-80.

84 Note the comments of Stubbs, 1874, pp. xeix-ci.

8S *Chronu:a sivr Flore, Historiarum,* ed. H. O. Coxe (London. 1841), I, p. 414.
Chronita Majora. ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1872), I, p. %6.

86 Stubbs, 187◀, p. 423.

87 Richardson & Sayles, 1963, Appen. 1, pp. 397-◀12.

88 John, 1966, pp. 276-89.

89 But no abnormality in the form of his acc0$1ion is (mf.lied in the earliest Life of Dunstan, Stubbs, 1874, p. 36. or by A::thelweard, *Chronicon,* ed. **A.** Campbell (London. 1962), p. 55.

occasion at Bath gives no hint of any previous consecration,[90] though £thelweard can beconstrued as doing so; but as l said earlier there was a tendency for only those inaugurations that were in some way odd to get written up. It is more remarkable, though even Eric John neglects this, that the regnal list *'(J'* reckons Edgar's reign in Wessex from **11** May, 959, which since Edgar's brother Eadwig only died on 1 October, 959, is obviously a mistake:[91] in fact 11 May is the day and month of the Bath consecration in 973. Did tbe list's compiler get into difficulties because he simply assumed that the day and month supplied by his source must relate to tbe outset of Edgar's reign? He doesn't seem to have taken any multiple consecrations into account - and he was writing during the brief reign of Edgar's successor. Yet it would be hasty to infer that noconsecration occurred before 973.

What historians medieval and n1odern alike have too rarely appreciated is the extraordinarily complex circumstances surrounding *both* Edgar's successive successions, in 957 and in 959. In both cases, it was actually impossible for Edgar to be consecrated king for some time after he bad been chosen king. In 957, Canterbury was still in the hands of the elder brother against whom Edgar was in revolt, and the archbishop of Canterbury, Oda, until his death on 2 June, 958 remained loyal to Eadwig.[92] As for York, the new archbishop Oskytd, appointed in the 'unusual' situation following the less-than-complete reinstatement of the traitorous Wulfstan I, only attests charters as 'bishop' throughout 957 and 958 and therefore probably did not return from Rome with his pallium until 959.[9]>His attestations before this date, as we!I as other evidence, suggest that English archbishops already at this period as later did not exercise full archiepisopal powers until after receiving the pallium, and again from just about this period, pressures seem to have been brought on these archbishops to go to Rome to fetch their pallia in person. In 957 then, since consecration by a 1nere bishop would hardly have done, Edgar had to wait. Some of his charters show reign-years being reckoned in the northern kingdoms from bis election by the Mercians and Northumbrians.[9,] His uncle Atbelstan had experienced similar difficulties, and as we saw, seems sometimes, anyway, to have reckoned hls reign-years from his election, not his belated consecration.

The situation in 959 was more 'unusual' still: the archbishop of Canterbury at the time of Eadwig's death on 1 October was Bribthelm, a recent appointee who had

90 **A** point stressed by John, 1966, *p.* 278. The 'D' version of the *Ang/o,Saxon C/,,onJck*, p. 225, after terming Edgar 'king' in annals for the earlier part of his reign. coUs him · Astbeling' in 973. But I cannot follow *Ml.* John in assigning great significance to this word. espe<ially as it does not appear in version, '/\', 'B' or 'C': since, •• I hope to show below, 973 was indeed an inauguration•rite, 'aetheling' could well represent **a** pendantic reflex on the part of the 'D' chronicler.

91 *Tht Anglo•Saxon Chronick,* trans. D. Whitelock (C.mbridge, 1961), p. 5. with Professor Whitelock's comments, pp. 3 and 5, n. 2.

92 As indicated by his a1te1tation of Birch, no. 1032.

93 For details, e Whitelock, 1973, pp. 232-47, ac 240f. I am much indebted also to earlier correspon· dence witb Professor Whitelock on thi, topic.

94 Birch. nos. 1112, 1119. 1270.

not yet received bis pallium. Edgar lost little time in, as the first biographer of Dunstan so frankly puts it, 'sending [BrihthelmJ back where he came &om'9[5] - to make way for Dunstan at Canterbury. Then Dunstan had to go to Rome to square all this with the venial pope John **XII** (no doubt a good deal of grease was needed) and also to receive his pallium, on 21 September, 960. Dunstan therefore couldn't have been available to perform Edgar's consecration until the very end of 960, or more probably, allowing time for invitations to be issued, early 961 - which gives a delay of at least 13 or 14 months between Edgar's accession in Wessex and any possible consecration. Now it just so happens that all versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle fail completely for the years 960 and 961; and the irregularity of Dunstan's appointment could account for a discrete silence of the part of other sources for these crucial years.

But arguments from silence are never entirely satisfactory. So *I* want now to offer two sorts of positive, if indirecc, evidence that Edgar did indeed receive a royal consecration as soon as possible, at least, after his coming to power in Wessex. The first is composite, consisting of litwgical docum-:nts whose significance has only very recently been brought to light by liturgists.[96] Successive recensions of West Saxon *Ordines* contained in manuscripts of the tenth century and later can be shown to demonstrate the likelihood of a tradition of West Saxon royal consecration-rites, including anointing, continuous from the first half of the ninth century (and probably older still).[97] It is very likely that from 900 the same basic rite, the so-called Second Anglo-Saxon *Ordo,* remained in use until the Conquest, with relatively minor alterations being made sometimes, for specific consecrations, in the course of that period.[98] If then probably for more than a century before **Edgar** and certainly from **900** West Saxon kings had been consecrated according to a fixed rite as soon as possible after election,[99] I can't see Edgar suddenly breaking with that tradition for any of the reasons that have been alleged. Not only would such a breach have no known parallel either English or Continental (the difference between Edgar's case and that of Charles the Bald is clear), but Edgar, having been trained at Abingdon by

[95] Stubbs 1874. p. 38. Profes,or Whitelock, 1973, has recently shed light on this obscure episode.

[96] SeeTuroer 1971. pp. xxx-xxxiii; Hobler. 1975, pp. 60-83; 217-27.

[97] I have argued this in 'The earliest surviving royal *Ordo:* some liturgical and historical aspects', below, chapter 15, pp. 341-60.

[98] Turner 1971. p. xxxiii. associates this *Ordo* with Athelstan (925) but leaves open the possibility of an earlier date. I hope to show elsewhere that theearliest form of thisSecond Ord-0 was very probably used for the con,ecracion of Edward the Elder at Pentecost. 900.

[99] Edward the Elder: Pentecost (8 June) 900: .i'.thelwurd, *Chron.,* p. SI, with xxxf.; Athelstan: *Mt,tian Rtgisur* in *Anglo-S..xon Chronidt, ,.a.* 924; Birch no. 641. with regnal list 'fl' (giving date, ◀ Sept. 925); Edmund: 'fl' calculates from '<29 Nov. 939', according to Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon CJ.ronicu,* p. 4, no. 13. making an interregnum of just over **a** month from Athelstan's death on 27 Oct. (might Edmund'sconsecntion have b«n on Advent Sunday, I Dec. 939?); Eadred: Birch nos. 815,909. but the date, 16 Aug. 946, given by Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon,* ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1848), p. 134. does not fit with that implied by 'fl' (see Whitelock, *Angl<>-Sa=n Chronicle,* p. 4, no. 14); E.adwig: '/J' suggests 27Jan. 956, the third Sunday after Epiphany, Florence. p. 136, says archbishop Oda officiated, and the fust Life of Dunstan, Stubbs 1874, p. 32, gives further details.

lf.thelwold and come under the influence of Dunstan, was just the man to appreciate the divine gifts anointing was believed to convey. For their part !Ethelwold and Dunstan needed Edgar to help realise their ambitions for reform: recent experience of royal mortality could hardly encourage confidence that Edgar would reach his thirtieth year,[100] and in my view it seems highly unlikely that they would have taken the dangerous risk of impairing Edgar's legitimacy as king by any such deliberate deferment of the consecration as Sir Frank Stenton postulated. And legitimacy was precisely what was involved - which is where my second bit of evidence comes in. On Edgar's death, supporters of his younger son !Ethelred challenged the succession of his elder son Edward, !Ethelred's half-brother: their main arguments were that Edgar had not himself been anointed at the time when he begot Edward, i.e. 959 or 960, and that Edward's mother had never been anointed at aU.[101] Now obviously !Ethelred's partisans would not have used these arguments against Edward if the same objections had applied to /Ethelred too:[102] the two inferences 1nust be, surely, that .Ethelred's mother *was* anointed queen, something which we know from other evidence anyway, and that Edgar *had* been anointed at the time when he begot /Ethelred, i.e. 966 or 967 - an anointing which can only be identified with the one which I have argued took place as early as possible after Edgar succeeded in Wessex. And there is the further point that if Edgar's anointing was credited with such retrospective significance, so to speak, for his heir, its significance for the reigning king himself surely follows *a fortiori.*

If Edgar was consecrated already at the end of 960 or early 961, whatever happened in 973 was not a 'delayed' or 'deferred' consecration. But what then was it? Clearly the rite at Bath was not just a *Festkronung* but au inauguration, because Edgar was certainly anointed then (and no *Festkriinung* ever involved a repeated anointing). But an inauguration to what? On my argument, Edgar had already been ritually inaugurated to bis Anglo-Saxon realm. Continental parallels show, however, that new inaugurations, including anointing, were perfectly in order - didn't the Old Testament offer the precedent of David? - when a king acquired new realms.[1] Charles the Bald in 869 is a ca.se in point. What then was the new realm in 973? The

IOO Edmund wa,only about 25 when be was killed in 946, and Eadwig died aged about 15.

tOl Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani,* Stubbs 1874, p. 214: ' •.• quia matrem eius (i.e. Edward's) Li legaliter **nupum in reguum tamcn** ***non magis quam p<1lrtm eius dwm tum gtnui1*** **sacratam fuisse .sciebant•. The** accuracy of Eadmer's information about the two queens is confirmed by Nicholas of Worcester, who bad made a special study of the subject: Stubbs 1874, pp. 422-4, and sent Eadmer his results. Though Ea<lmer is a late source, it is hard to see how th., above intricate argument could be a later fabrication.

I02 Th0<e historians who believe that Edgar was consecnted only once, in 973, have had difficulty explaining away this passage of Eadmer's: see. e.g.. Freeman 1887, p. 639.

IG.l Despite the objections of Richardson and Sayles 1963, pp. 397!£., I still regard the *Vila Oswa/Ji,* ed.J. Raine 1879, pp. 436-8, as a reliable witness 101be useof the Second Anglo-Saxon Or@ in 973. A further and hitherto unrecognised pointer in thisdirection is the associated queen·sOr@ prefaced by a very curious rubric whi<:h, in my view, can only relate to Edgar's wife ,£Ifthryth. I intend to argue thh fully elsewhere.

t04 See Brohl1962, p. 306 with no. 5.

key lies in the choice of ritual-site: whereas the royal vill of Kingston-upon-Thames was the place of all West Saxon royal consecrations whose site is known,[105] the 973 consecration took place in Bath - an ancient city whose Roman buildings and walls still stood impressively in the tenth century.[106] Then even more than now, this place must have conjured up the shades of Britannia, of the Roman and imperial past.[107] Here we enter a world of political ideas that have much to do with insular traditions but also with the tenth-century Continental present.Hl8 Henry, father of Otto I, like Charlemagne before him, was 'king and emperor of many peoples': Otto's great great diets were attended by 'a multitude of diverse peoples'.[109] The English kings of the tenth century, in touch fairly continuously with the Ottonian court through kindred, diplomatic and ecclesiastical links, could hardly have failed to be impressed by this contemporary imperial power. The West Frankish kings of the later tenth century, more alienated than impressed, were beginning to claim, or have claimed for them, an imperial status of their own, as 'lords of many sceptres'. If Abbo of Fleury, like Widukind in the East Frankish realm a generation earlier, used *regalis* and *imperialis* virtually as interchangeable concepts,[110] this was because the 'regal' now included a strong 'imperial' component, a real king, as distinct from a mere kinglet, being one who ruled over a plurality of realms or peoples. There are many signs that the Anglo-Saxon monarchy around the middle of the tenth century was coming to be regarded, anyway by those clerical authors whose work survives, in a similar light. Already in the 940s, Archbishop Oda hailed the *regalis imperium* of Edgar's father Edmund, 10 which 'all peoples*(genies)* are subject•.[111] For ..£thelwold, Edgar himself was a *rex egregius* to whom it was appropriate to apply the text of Jeremiah 1:10: 'Behold I have set you over the peoples and over the nations *(super gentes et super nationes)'* .[112] The biographer of St. Oswald, whose detailed information about 973 should in my view be taken very seriously, stresses the size and scale of the great assembly at Bath - suitable to 'the dignity of so far-flung a realm', adding, with an obvious reminiscence of Luke's Gospel (2:1): •a decree went out from the emperor that all should flow together to him from east and west, north and

lOS Plummer 1899, 11, pp. 133, 14S, 149, 163.

106 Biddle and Hill 1971, pp. 81-2.

101 The Old English p<l<'m *Th, Ruin*, ed. Krapp and Dobbie 1936, pp. *7:27-9*, with its reference Qine 37) to 'the crowning city of a far•llung kingdom', is usually thought to relate to Bath. For the impact of Roman ruins on the Anglo-Saxons as reflected in their poetry, sec Frankis 1973, pp.2S3-69, esp. 2S7f.

IOt Stengel 1965, pp. 287ff. (England); S6ff. (tenth-«ntury Easi Francia); Volhath·Reichelt 1971, pp. 87ff. O.spite the reservations ofH. Hoffmann 1972, pp. 42-73, at 66ff., rightly noting that not every 'imperiali,' means 'imperial', the existence of a non-Roman impetial idea of overlords.hip of other lr.ing, and people1 has b<en e1ubli1hed beyond doubt: see e,p. Erdmann 19S!, and Lowe 1963, pp. 529--62.

IO? Widukind, *Rtr.Ctst Saxon.* iii, pp. 38, 7S. Sec Brackmann 1967, pp. ISOff.

110 Werner 196S, pp. t-60, esp. 16ff.

111 PL CXXXJII, col. 952.

112 Birch no. 1190.

south'.[113] These **are,** I think, the authentic voices of a hegemonial imperialism, a idea of empire smacking more of confederation than autocracy, and harking back therefore, to an earlier Anglo-Saxon tradition of *ducatus* - leadership of allie peoples based on consent and comn1on defence interests, as distinct from *regnu,* based on conquest and military domination.[11]• Edgar's revival (whether conscious! or not) of this *ducatus* was in line with much previous West Saxon policy[115] but als showed his own sureness of touch. The need for collective defence was again bein. forced on the peoples of the British Isles from the later 960s onwards by th reappearance of the Vikings. That some of Edgar's closest advisers responded ver. quickly to the renewed threat just might be suggested by the appearance in charter from the late 960s of proems warning that the end of the world may be nigh.[116]

There is further evidence that imperial idea.s of this kind were finding expressio: precisely in the early 970s. First, on the numismatic side, there is the special 97. 'Circumscription' issue at Bath, which could have been produced partly for th purpose of an imperial *sparsio* following the consecration;[117] and the impact of th great coinage reform, later in the same year, must have been felt directly or indirect!: throughout the British Isles.[118] Second, there is Edgar's fourth code of laws - tha is, if we can accept the code's recently-proposed redating to this period of th reign.[119] One provision in this code is to be 'common to all the nations, whethe Englishmen, Danes or Britons, in every province of my dominion'; another is t• apply to 'all who inhabit these islands'.[120] Such phrases are unprecedented in earlie laws. Third, there is the submission to Edgar, very probably also in 973, of Kenned king of the Scots, and the cession to him of Lothian under Edgar's overlordship.[12] Fourth, there is the ritual at Chester which followed the inauguration at Bath: eigh 'sub-kings' rowed Edgar along the river Dee, including five Scots and Welsh an< two sea-kings of the western and northern isles[122] - all members of a pan·Britanni,

Ill *Vita O.Waldi,* pp. 436-7, compare ibid.• p. 425-6.

114 Vollrath-Reichelt 1971. pp. 182ff.

115 See *Angfo.Sa=n Chwnick,* s.a. 926, p. 199; s.a. 945, p. 212; compare the attestations of *reguli* in Birc nos. 815, 883, 909. For contemporary and later interpreutioos of Edgar's reign on hegemonial line: see A::tbelwold's account of Edgar's establishmenr of monasteries, in Whitelock 1955, I, pp. 846f the 'D' version of the *Chronilk,* s.a. *9$9;* £lfric's *Lift of St. Swithin* in Whitelock 1955, p. 851 Nicholas of Worcester, Stubbs 1874, p. 423: Florence of Worcener, *Chron.,* pp. 139, I43.

116 See Whitelock 1955, I, p. 345.

117 My suggestion is based on the evidence presented by Dolley 1973, pp. 156-9, that the Bath mint w; uniquely productive in 973. Professor Dolley himself comments, p. 159: 'The need for largesse apan the ceremony would have brought together a quite exceptional concourse of dignitaries ... • whos board and lodging would have to b< paid for from royal resource<.

118 DoUcyand Metcalf 1961, pp.136-68.

119 Hart 1973, pp. 11$-44, at p. 133, n. 6.

120 Trans. Whitelock 1955, I, pp. 397-401: IV Edgar, 2,2; 14,2.

121 Roger of Wendover. *Flort>* I, p. 416. For the date, see Stenton 1971. p. 370; Freeman 1887, pp. 582-8.

122 £lfric, *Lift of St. Swirhin,* trans. Whitelock 1955, p. 853. Only six kingsare mentioned in the *Angk Soxon Clffonul,,* versions 'D' and 'E', p.225. Florence, *Chron.,* pp. 142-3, using both these sources gives the names of eight kings. For the substantial accuracy of his a.count, seeStenton 1971, p. 369.

alliance who presumably were also participants in .Edgar's annual naval exercises around the coasts of Britain.[12.1] Fifth, there are the imperial styles in charters which, though not new, become now very prominent.[12,] In one case Edgar is termed *'basileos anglorum et r x atque imperator ... regum et nationum infra fines brittanniae commorantium'.*[125] Such political ideas did not grow in a vacuum. Sixth, there is the architectural innovation (for England) of westworks in several later tenth• century churches, notably Winchester, where the extension was begun in 971 but not completed until 994.[126] It has recently been suggested that the new church at Bath had a westwork already by 973.[127] Carolingian and Ottonian westworks, on which these English ones were modelled, were the settings for special kinds of imperial liturgical performance: were the English westworks designed. or could they have been used, for similar purposes? Seventh, there is the Benedictional of /Ethelwold, now plausibly dated to 971-5, which displays a new and specifically imperial iconography of Christ, with a deliberate paralleling of Christ and the English monarch in the role of 'imperial king of kings', a model of :enth-century 'ruler theology' which may have gone from England to Germany, not vice versa.[128] Eghth and finally, there is a small piece of liturgical evidence from the royal *Ordo* which, despite some recent objections, I remain convinced was the one used in 973. Amongst the few changes made in the existing royal *Ordo* (and I should explain that in terms of the injection of imperial content into a pre-existing royal model) one makes perfect sense in the context of an imperial rite: in the prayer following the investiture with the sceptre, a prime symbol of Anglo-Saxon rulership, the word *Britannia* was substituted for the colourless *terra* of the scriptural niodel in the phrase, 'Honour him above *all kings of Britain*'.[129] None of these bits of evidence in isolation might mean much; but cumulatively they show that a case can be made (not a new case, certainly,[130] but stronger than previously realised) for seeing in 973 an imperial inauguration rite and Edgar in his later years as ruler of a British Empire, tenth-century style.

[123] Williams of Malmesbury, *Ges"' Regum.* pp. 177-8.

[12'] Stengel 1965, pp. 325ff; John 1966, p. 58f.

[125] Birch no. 1201 (original grant probably 967, assignment to St. Mary's Worcester. 973; dated 'anno ... regno (sic) mei xiii'). Compare also Birch nos. 1266. 1268, 1270, 1307, 1316, and possibly 1302. In the light o! Chaplais 1965, pp. 48-61, the specific connexions of these and earlier charters with 'imperial titles' are worth noting: Abingdon and Winehencr, and. later. ,ucb houses as Ely influenced by IF.thelwold and bis circle. seem to be centfes of imperial terminology.

[126] Cherry 1976. pp. 186-7: Biddle 1975, p. 138.

[127] C. A. Ralegh Radford. 'Thearchitecture and sculpture of the tenth century with particular reference to the Bath area', unpublished lecture given at Bath in June, 1973. I am very grateful to Or. Ralegh Radford for allowing me to use this citation.

[128] Dc.hman 1976, pp. 367-405, esp. 390ff. with 399-400, very pertinent comments on Edgar's imperial position.

[129] Turner 1971, p. 93. for the text in British Library, Cotton MS. Claudius **A.** iii, f. 14; for **a** list of the MSS. of this 973 recension of the Second English Ord,,, see ibid. p. xxx, under (I). to which should be added the recently discovered BL Additional MS 57337.

[130] For an early fineexposition, see Robertson 1872. pp. 203-15. Compare Robinson 1918, p. 72.

I am not sure that my three case-studies will lend themselves to any summary generalisations. Instead, by way of conclusion I shall pose two very basic philogenetic questions. One: why anointing? Two: why kings? I recently suggested elsewhere that it was the existence of a permanent oil-crisis in the early medieval West which helped to make anointing with oil - a commodity potent and scarce - a 'natural symbol' to designate the power-holders in barbarian christian society. A first anointing made the christian; a second anointing identified the'twice-born'.[01] But in glibly borrowing from India that notion of the twice-born as two specialist classes of meo - priests and warriors - I evaded an important difference between India and the early medieval West. Within each barbarian kingdom while the priest· hood did indeed constitute a class, only one individual was king. If the Indian analogy had been co1nplete, there should have been anointing also of warrior lords, of dukes and counts for instance, in this age of 'guerriers et paysans'. The peculiar discrimination with which anointing was in fact applied rnirrored, therefore, not simply an actual political situation but an ideal. Where aristocratic interests constantly threatened to tear apart society, kingship represented force contained, harnessed, institutionalised so as to unify each people in fact as well as in name. The very survival of kingship, under the later Merovingians for example, itself suggests that such an ideology was not just something ecclesiastically conceived and purveyed but represents lay sentiments too: how else could we explain those popular beliefs in the sacral powers of kings en1bodied in the royal touch? I will end where I began, with Fortes' comment about 'the mysterious quality of continuity through time ... basic to the self-image of every society' and expressed in inauguration rituals. Since in the early medieval West 'society' was a kingdom or accumulation of kingdoms, to consecrate a·king was to assert a society's identity. And its continuity through time? Here, finally, is where the queen's anointing came in; for it was through the provision of heirs to the royal house and the implied confining of those heirs to a single line, that the queen's divinely-blessed fertility helped assure the integrity and the continuance of society itself.•

13t See above, pp. 279-81.

·1should like to acknowledge a long-standing debt to Professor Walter UUmann. Especially in relation 10 the last part of this paper, l must thank. for help on various points, Dr. Michael upidge, Professor Michael Dolley and most of all Proiessor Dorothy Whitelock. Harald Kleinschmidt generously allowed me to r d his un(ublisbed Gottingen dissertation on E,lgar', consecration in 973: I benefited much ftom our discussions o many problems. Tbe friendly advice and criticism of Ian Wood and John Gillingham have been. as usual, invaluable.

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THE PROBLEM OF KING ALFRED'S ROYAL ANOINTING

Alfred's royal anointing by Leo IV has long been one of the puzzles of Alfredian scholarship.[1] Despite the ingenuity of the greatest Anglo-Saxon specialists, no really satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the strange story retailed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 853,[2] and repeated in Latin translation by Asser in his *Vita Aljredi*.[3] Such near-contemporary evidence demands careful attention, especially since it has important implications for the authorship of the *Chronicle* itself.

The English evidence might haveseemed less convincing, however, had it not been supported by an apparently independent witness: a fragment from the letter of Leo IV to lEthehvulf, describing the reception at Rome of'your son Alfred'.• But a detailed comparison makes it clear that the two accounts are by no means in complete agreement:

English sources		*Roman source*
Chronicle (A, B, C.)	Asser.	Ep. Leonis IV.
}>a was domne Leo papa on Rome 7 he hine to cyninge gehalgode 7 hiene him to biscep nam.	Leo papa •.. redum oppido ordinans unxit in regem et in filium adoptionis sibimet accipiens confirmavit.	Alf- Filium vestrum Erfred •.. benigne suscepimus, et quasispiritalem filium consulatus cingulo honore vestimentisque, ut mos est Romanis consulibus decoravimus eo quod in nostris se tradidit manibus.

[1] The problem was recognised already by Sir J. Spelman, *Life of Alfred the Great,* \\Titten in 1643, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford 1709, 19 f. Bishop Stubbs, in his edition of \Villiam of Malmesbury's *Guta Regum,* Rolls Series, London 1887-9, ii. xii, classed the anointing story among 'obscure points' in the life of Alfred. W. Stevenson devoted six pages of notes to the problem in his edition of Asscr's *Life of King Alfred,* Oxford 1904, 179-85.Sec also the modem authorities cited below.

[2] On the *Anglo-Saxon Chroniclu,* see C. Plummer, *TU)() of the Saxon Chronkus Parallel,* Oxford 1892, 1899, especially the introduction 10 vol. ii; and now also Professor D. \\'hitelock's edition and translatioo, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* Cambridge 1961, with an introduction on the various MSS. and full bibliography. I quote below from the Parker '.\IS. *(Chronicle,* version A) in the facsimile edition of R. Flower and A. H. Smith, *The Parker Chronicle and Lows* (Early English Text Society), London 1941, where the 8j3 entry appears on folio 13a.

• Cap. viii: ed. cit., 7.

' Ed. A. de Hirsch-Gereuth, in *Afonumenla Germania, Hi,toru:a, Epistoltu Karolini Aevi,* **iii. 602.**

Bishop Stubbs, who first sought to reconcile these different versions, seems to have felt that the Roman evidence actually raised more questions than it ans\vered.[1] From the Englishsources alone, it had been possible to construct the hypothesis that an original confinnation anointing had later been confused with royal anointing. This suggestion was tentatively restated by Stubbs, although Sir John Spelman bad effectively challenged it already in 1643.[2] But the evidence of Leo's letter inspired a *ne\v* theory of a confusion between consular investiture and royal inauguration. The problem at this point became enmeshed in the wider controversy over the authorship of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:* the Roman anointing was seized on as ammunition by both the defenders and the assailants of Alfredian authorship.[3] It was argued, on the one hand, that Alfred, having made an honest mistake as to what had happened in 853, must himself have written or inspired that curious entry in the *Chronicle;* but, on theother hand, that if such confusion were impossible, then the *Chronicle* must have originated outside court circles, where, either through ignorance or from a deliberate desire to falsify the record, *the* anointing story was concocted. These various considerations, while they serve to show the complexity of the problem, have not brought about its resolution. The state of the controversy at present is highlyinconclusive, and expert opinion remains divided.[4]

The Anglo-Saxon specialists have naturally centred their interest upon the English evidence, taking for granted the fragment of Leo's letter as corroboration of it and explaining away any divergences. Perhaps it is time toapproach the whole problem by the alternative routeof the Roman evidence, and to concentrate not on trying to reconcile the conflicting accounts, but on elucidating the causes of discrepancy. For the discovery of Leo's letter in a sense confused and obscured the real issue: \vhat is to be made of the evidence of the *Chronicle* itself? Only \vhen the Roman account has been placed in its true perspective can the story of Alfred's anointing reveal its full significance in the history of English royal consecrations. We, therefore, begin this study with an attempt at something ,vhich no Anglo-Saxon specialist seems to have thought \VOrthwhile-a critical re-examination of the letter of Leo IV to .£thelwulf.

[1] Stubbs (op. cit., xiii) gives Leo's letter in translation, adding 'whatever that may **mean'.**

• Stubbs, loc. cit. Sec also P. E. Schramm, *A Histmy of the English Coronation,* trans. L. G. W. Legg, Oxford 1937, 16 and n., echoing Stubb's opinion. But cf. Spelman, op. cit., 20, quoted below, 157.

[3] See C. Plummer, *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great,* Oxford 1902, 70 ff.;Stevenson, op. cit., 183f.; R.H. Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons,* 3rd. ed., Oxford 1952, ii, 624 f.; and 746. And, opposing Alfredian authorship, Sir F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxo11 England,* 2nd ed., Oxford 1947, 269 n.2, and 683; also D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents,* London 1955, i. no. 2 19, 81o.

• The conflicting \'iews will bediscussed more fully below.That therecent argument of Stenton and Professor \ 'hitelock has not entirely prevailed must be inferred from a comment of H. Lowe in \Vattenbach-Levison, *DeutschlandJ Geschichtsquellen im 1\fitte/-alter,* Hft. iii, *Die Karolinger,* \Veimar 1957, 373: '2s wird auch zu fragen sein ob diese Umdeutung des Ehrenkonsulats wirklich ... die Verfasserschaft oder Initiative Alfred; bei der sog. *ChroniA* ausiuschliesscn geeignct ist'.

It has not been sufficiently emphasised that the sole source of this fragment is an Italian canon law collection of c. 1100, probably based on material compiled in the latter half of the eleventh century.[1] The importance of this *Collectio Britannica*-so called from its present location in the British Museum[2]-was first realised by Edmund Bishop, whose transcript, vas analysed and published by Ewald.[3] Thence the various papal letters and fragments found their ,vay into the solidly respectable volumes of the *lvlonumenta Germaniae Historica,* and their authenticity thereafter was generally accepted, as E,vald accepted it, ,vithout question.•

But objections have been raised to several entries in the CB. and, significantly for the purpose of the present discussion, to letters of Leo **IV** in particular.[5] These objections collectively form good grounds for treating any CB. fragment ascribed to Leo IV with rather more critical caution than Ewald used. There is no need to repeat here the shrewd and forceful arguments of Parisot and Ullmann. But it is worth noting that Fournier, ,vho in his major work on canonical collections gives no hint of these suspicions, had ,vritten to Parisot before 1899: 'We must conceive the composition of the *Britannica* quite otherwise than Ewald did', and agreed that the letters of Leo IV at any rate needed re-examination.[6] The judgement of Ullmann, in a recent study, ·was that while the CB., follo1\'ing an earlier source, contained some genuine register-fragments of Leo IV, 'this basis ,vas tampered ,vith by falsifying certain entries or inserting *some* ne,v ones. . . . It seems an urgent task to subject the register-fragments of Leo IV to a very close scrutiny'.[7]

In *vie,v* of all this, and ,vhile no further study of the CB. has yet been undertaken, there is some justification for a sceptical attitude towards the

1 P. Ewald ('Die Papstbriefe der Brittischen Sammlung', in *Nt1us Archw,* v (1879), 275-414, 505--96) could find this fragment in no other canonical collection. It is not even in the *Tripartita,* which contains a number of lettersascribed to Leo IV; cf. Ewald, an. cit., 595. Nor do the *M.G.H. Libelli de Lite* contain any references to the story of Alfred's anointing.

• Add. MS. 8873, acquired by tJ,e BM. in 183r. The earlier history of the MS. is apparently unknown.

•Art.cit. Theletter 'Edeluulfo regi anglorum', which is the 31st entry 'e>< rcgistro Leonis 1111' in the MS., appears on fol. 168•, not fol. 167, as stated by Ewald and in the *i\1.G.H.* edition cited above. The dating, and the 'Italian, probably Roman' origin of the MS. are afftrmed by P. Fournier and G. le Bras, *Hiswire desC,,U..tions Canoniques, ii.* Paris 1932, 162. The *Collectio Britannu:a* will hereafter be referred to as the CB.

• Cf. Stubbs, op. cit., ><liii; Plummer, *Alfted,* 70 ff.; Stevenson, op. cit., t8o: and more recently, Schramm, op. cit., 16 n.1, and \.Vhitelock, *Docu nts,* 572. The *M.G.l-1.* editor, Hirsch-Gereuth, closely followed Ewald's conclusions; see *Epp. Kar. Aeui,* iii.581.

• The basic critical study is that ofW. Ullmann, 'Nos si aliquid incompetenter .. .', in *Ephemerides lurisCanonici,*ix (1953), 279ff., suggesting that oneletter-fragment ascribed to Leo IV is a later forgery. Objections to other CB. fragments of Leo JV were made earlier by R. Parisot, *Le lw}'aU dt lhrraine sous us Carolingiens,* Paris 18g9, 739 f. F. Dvornik *(The Photian Schism,* Cambridge 1948, 324--6) criticised other parts of the CB. Ullmann rightlycalled attention to the 'intricate problems presented by the CB.':see art. cit., 281.

• Fournier's letter is quoted by Parisot, op. cit., 741 n.8. But cf. his later stance in *Histoire des Collections,* ii. 157: 'Nous adherons aux conclusions d'Ewald ... '.

' Art. cit., 286-7.

fragment headed in the MS., 'Edeluulfo regi Anglorum'. At first sight, its contents suggest that it is genuine, for it seems neatly to confirm the English sources for 853. But a closer inspection lays bare the essential incongruity of the two accounts: while a confirmation is, indeed, stated or implied by both, there is flat disagreement as to the ceremony which accompanied it. The peculiarities of Leo's version merit detailed analysis.

(a) 'Consulatus cingulo honore vestimentisque, ut mos est Romanis consulibus, decoravimus'.

&hramm first pointed out the significance of this passage in the context of the papal *imitatio imperii*. Accepting the ascription of this letter to Leo IV, he linked the papal conferment of the consulate with the Donation of Constantine[1]; the Frankish patriciate in the eighth century might seem an obvious parallelz. Now Leo was, **it** is true, the renovator of Rome, the consecrator and adopter of the emperor Louis II.[3] But Laehr's observations on the papal neglect of the Donation in this period must be allowed due weight: although **it** was known to the popes of the mid-ninth century, there is no real evidence that the Donation 1,vas used by them as a blueprint for action.' There is, moreover, no parallel for the papal conferment of a consulship,[5] a title 1,vhich had by now reached a nadir of debasement, being assumed at will not only by members of the Roman nobility, but also, it seems, by secretaries and merchants.[6] Gregorovius's assumption that thepope conferred the title in these cases is quite unfounded,[7] and, even had this been possible, it is hard to see *,vhy* Alfred should have been given so tawdry a rank if, as Schramm surmised, the pope's aim 1,vas to flatter .£thelwulf.[8] The parallel with the Frankish patriciate is merely superficial. That conferment served an immediate practical purpose; its implications were clear and far-reaching.[9] But none

[1] Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom, und Rmovatio,* Leipzig 1929, i. 26 f.; and *History of English Coronation,* 16.

• Cf. the suggestion of F. L. Ganshof, 'Note sur les origines byzantines du titre "Patricius Romanorum"', in *Annuair, de l'/nslitut d4 Philol.ogie et d'Histoire Orienta/es,* x (1950),esp. 282, relating the patriciate conferred on Pippin to cap.15 of the Donation.

• On all this see Schramm, *Kaiser,* i. 57.

'G. Laehr, *D korutantinis,he Sdunkung,* Berlin 1926, 15-18, 181-3.

• This was admitted by Schramm, *l!istory of English Coronation,* 16: 'There is on record no parallel for such an act'. Stevenson (op. cit., 184) suggested as a parallel the 'consulship' offered by Gregory III to Charles Martel, but this story is now rejected as resting on a wrong emendation of the text of Pseudo-Fredegar: see K. Heidmann, *Das Kaiser/um Karls (hr Grosse,* Weimar 1928, 152 n.5, and Ganshof, art. cit., 271 f., with full references.

• F. Gregorovius, *Ges,hichleder Stadt Romim Mittelalttr,* 5tb ed.,Stuttgart 1903, ii. 420.

' Ibid., accepted by Stevenson solely on the evidence of the CB. fragment. Cf. also, B. A. Lees, *Alfred theGreat,the Trmh-teller,* London 1915,85.

• *History of English Coronation,* 16. But £thelwulf would find out when he visited Rome how little the consulate was now worth, and his intended pilgrimage had evidently been known about at Rome for some time: cf. *Anna/es Butiniani,* sub anno 839.

• On the Frankish patriciatc, see Ganshof, art. cit., passim; also \V. Ullmann, *The Grou·lh of Papal Go.-ernment in th, A,/idd/ Acu,* 2nd ed., London 1962, 66 ff.

of this was true of Alfred's consulship. Had Leo wished to assert his imperial powers derived from the Donation, he would surely have chosen to confer a more valuable dignity on a more distinguished recipient. Precisely because of the Donation's unique value, the papacy could not afford to debase it by wanton exploitation.

It was in the eleventh century, in fact, that greater use was made than ever before of the papal *imitatio imper-ii,*[1] and it was, therefore, no coincidence that a notable revival in the use of the Donation took place under the Reform papacy.[2] It seems probable that the influence of imperial models affected also the conception of the consulship current in Rome at this time, so that the title regained something of its ancient status. Some evidence may be found in the statement of the early eleventh-century *Graphia Libel/us:* 'Consules in unaquaque provincia ab imperatoribus constituti sunt, ut subditos suos consilio regant'. The idea that the emperor appointed a consul 'in each province' has a certain relevance to Alfred's investiture. It is, therefore, interesting that this idea is not found in any of the sources used by the author of the *Libellus.*[3] This apparently new conception was doubtless known to the reforming popes.

The *cingulum* mentioned as part of Alfred's investiture is probably to be understood as a sword: the term certainly carries a military connotation.[4] Stevenson had already observed that while a sword never formed part of the consul's official equipn1ent, Sergius II in 844 invested Louis II as king of Lombardy ,vith the *'regalis* gladius'.[5] But if the s,vord as a royal symbol was already familiar to the mid-ninth century papacy, it was only in the course of the t,vo centuries which followed that the s,vord assumed the full significance of symbolising, and thus defining, the function of secular power divinely conceded through priestly mediators.[6] This

[1] See E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laud,s Regiae,* Berkeley 1946, 136 ff.; also Schramm, 'Sacerdotium und Regnum im Austausch ihrer Vorrechte', in *Studi Gregoriani,* ii (1947), esp. 436 ff., and 446, where he comments about the period after 1046: 'Gewarhen wir nun eine konsequent durchgefilhrle Gegenoffensive auf einen Papst-Kaiser zu, die einsetzt, sowie das Reformpapsttum die Lenkung der Kirche Ubemommen hat'; and Ullmann, op. cit., 310 ff.

• LaeJ:,r, op. cit., 34 f.

[3] For all thisseeSchramm, *Kaiser,* i. 196f., and hisedition of the *Libel/us de caeremoniis aulae imf>tralOTis,* in op. cit., ii. 90-104. The passage about consuls is at p. 91. Schramm shows clearly the extent to which the *Libel/us* is dependent on its sources, especially Isidore; cf. i. 197. In the passage quoted here, only the words 'consilio regant' are taken from an earlier source-Isidore's *Etynwlogies,* ix. 3, 6.

•Cf.Stevenson,op. cit., 183 n.5. A good instance of 'cingulurn' used synonymously with 'glaclius' may be found in the parallel accounts of Louis 11's investiture in 844 given by *Ann. Bertin.,*sub anno,and the *Vita* of Sergius IJ, cap. 13 in the *Liber Pontificalis,* ed. **L.** Duchesne, Paris 1886-, ii. 89. See also Ducange, *Glossarium media, e/. infimae Latinitatis, s.v.* 'cingulum', for evidence of the word's military connotation.

•Op.cit., 183, n.3; see also the previous note.

• This appears most clearly in the royal coronation *ord& ,*of the tenth and eleventh centuries: cf. **the** rubric of the 'Frtibdeutschc Ordo' edited by C. Erdmann, *Forsclumgen -1:ur politischen ldeenwe/1 des Frilkmill,lalters,* Berlin 1951, 86, section 12; and also the sword-prayer of the 'Ordo der Sieben Formeln', ibid., 8g. On this, see the comments of Ullmann, 'Der Souveranitatsgedanke in den Kronungsorclines', in *Festsehrifl* ***P.*** *E. Schramm,* i., Wiesbaden 1964, 72-Sg, esp. 82.

association of the sword with conceded, and therefore revocable, power emerged clearly in the thought of Gregory VII.[1]

(b) 'Eoquod in nostris se tradidit manibus'.

This expression has, to my knowledge, aroused no comment, still less suspicion, in the secondary authorities; and yet it is strangely out of place in a ninth-century papal letter. Although at first glance the clause might seem to refer to the reception of the child from the baptismal font by his confirmer and spiritual father, this is not the terminology of the confirmation rite.[2] It sounds, in fact, more like a feudal commendation: the expression used is characteristic of the homage ceremony, whose essence was 'theself-surrender *(traditio)* of one person to another'.[3] Brunner, moreover, observed that: 'Im Kreise der frankisch-italischen Quellen wird die Wendung *manibus se tradere* gelegentlich fur die Ergebung in die Horig**keit** ... gebraucht'.• Such an interpretation of the \vords of the CB. fragment is in accordance with the curial policy, not indeed of the ninth, but of the eleventh century. The reformers and most of all Gregory VII used the feudal nexus asjust one means of extending and tightening their control of secular princes and their resources, both human and material. It has been shrewdly noted that this was itself an imperial feature of the reformist programme.[b]

The attempts of Alexander **11**and Gregory VII to establish this feudal relationship with England have deservedly attracted attention.[6] Gregory's letter to William the Conqueror is unfortunately lost, but the surviving evidence allo,vs the bases of the papal claim to be inferred:[7]

[1] A. M. Stickler ('II gladius nel Registro di Gregorio VII', in *Studi Cregoriani*, iii (1948), 89-103) gives some evidence for this conclusion. See also Ullmann, *Growth of />opal Covtmment*, 304 ff.

• The liturgical evidence offers no parallel for such an expression; it is rather the idea of transmission and reception by the officiant, or by the godparents, which predominates in confirmation. The active role is that of the bishop, while the person received, at this period normally an infant, naturally remains passive during this rite of incorporation. See **P.** de Puniet, art. 'Confirmation', in *Dictionrtaire d'Arthklogit Clrrllimne et de Liturgie*, iii. pt. 2. cols. 2575 ff., esp. the passages there cited from Western liturgies. Cf. also the Roman rite of *Ordo Romanus* XI, cap. 100, ed. M. Andrieu in *us Ordints Romani du haul Mo;'<n Age,* Louvain 1949, ii. 446.

• F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism,* trans. P. Grierson, London 1952, 67, cf. 27, 74. See also H. Mitteis, *uhnrecht und Staaugtwalt,* Weimar 1933, 70 f., 479 f. For further examples of **terminology see Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. 'Manus', 'Hominium', 'lnvestitura'.**

• H. Brunner, *Dtul.!che Rtthl.!gesehichte*, 2nd ed. revised by C. F. von Schwerin, Munich 1928, ii. 364 and nn. cf. 66 nn.

• K. Jordan, 'Das Eindringen des Lehnwesens in das Rechtsleben der romischen Kurie', in *Archivftir Urkrmdtnforschrmg*, xii (1932), 64-5; and, for the feudal activities of the Reform papacy in general, ibid., 71-83.

• See Z. N. Brooke, 'Pope Gregory VII's Demand for Fealty from William the Conqueror', in *English Historital &view*, xxvi (1911), 225-38; and also, partially revising the views there put forward, *11,e English Churth and the PaP<lC)I,* Cambridge 1931, 140 ff. Also L. Wcckmann, *UU Bulas Altjandrinas,* Mexico 1949, 8o-go.

' The evidence of papal claims is to be found in (1) the letter of Alexander I I to William, preserved in the *Collectio Carnmum* of Deusdedit, iii. cap. 269, ed. Wolf von Glanvell, Paderborn 1905, 378; and (2) William's reply to Gregory Vll's revival of his predecessor's claims, printed in *Lan.frond Opera*, (Ep. x.), ed. J. A. Giles, Oxford 1844, 32. I quote this passage below, 315, n.4,

first, the payment of tribute, and secondly, the performance of homage by earlier English kings to the Holy See. The second argument was rejected out of hand by \-William, and apparently the papacy thereafter abandoned it. The claim is so remarkable, however, that it may be asked if the curia put forward any justification for it, beyond the fact that gifts and payments to Rome had been made by several English kings from Offa onwards.[1] The comparison with papal claims to feudal rights over other lands is instructive. There were two main grounds for asserting papal overlordship, both of which were put forward whenever possible: first, that 'tribute' had been paid, and second, that the kingdom or duchy has been 'handed over' to St. Peter sometime in the past.[2] *No\v,* in the case of England, there was no historical evidence of a 'handing-over' by any reigning monarch; and it may be noted that Rome did not aUege the Donation as the basis for its claims here, as wasapparently done in the case of Spain.[3] There was every reason, then, to try to find some evidence to suggest the feudal submission of an English prince, even if that evidence had to be twisted, and even if the transference of the kingdom itself to St. Peter could not be adduced. A precedent was needed to buttress the demand for fealty from vVilliam I, and it may be inferred from William's indignant denial that a bogus precedent had actually been alleged by Gregory VII.[4] Is it possible that Alfred's 'self-surrender' to Leo IV was put for\vard at this time as an argument in favour of \-William's following suit?

Asignificant pointer towards this conclusion is to be found in the words *'eo quod'* which introduce the statement of Alfred's submission in the CB. fragment, and which have a definitely causal sense. Leo's meaning is, therefore, clear: 'We have received your son, and decorated him ... *because* hehas given himself into our hands'. It is difficult to see why this point has hitherto been neglected, for the inference to be drawn from it is surely unambiguous: Leo's decoration of Alfred is presented as conditional on the prince's submission. The choice of expression thus seems to reflect

[1] Sec Wcckmann, op. cit., 74 ff.; also Stenton, op. cit., 215-16 n.1, and 46o-1. Payments by Alfred are recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chron;c1,,*sub aono883,887, 888 and 89<>. *A propas* papal claims in general, note the observation of B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jusse, 'La Brctagnc a-t-elle ete vassalle du Saint-Siege?', in *Stwii Gregoriani*, i (1947) 18g: 'II est exceptionnel que le Saint-Siege ait fait !es premi rcs demarches en vue d'obtenir la soumission d'un etat. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il se soil jamais risque ii en lancer l'idee sans s'appuyer sur un titre serieux ou suppose tel'.

• Cf.the relations ofthe Reform papacy with Denmark, as revealed in Alexander II's letter quoted by Deusdedit, *Collectio,* iii.cap. 268, and Gregory VIl's *Register*, ii. 51 and 75 (ed. E. Caspar). On papal claims to Brittany, see B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jusse, art. cit. Cf. also Gregory's claims to Spain, *Reg.*, iv. 28; Hungary, *Reg.*, ii. 13; and even France, *Reg.*, viii. 23.

• See Weckmann, op. cit., go, also referring to the 'omni-insular theory' of the papacy. The suggestion (ibid.) that this was perhaps relevant in the English case finds no support in the sources.

• Note the tone of indignant refutation in \,Villiam's reply; Giles ed. cit., 32: **'Fidelitatem faccre nolui nee volo, quia nee ego promisi, *nt.c anteusscrts rmos an-tecessoribuJ ltus idfeds,e comp,rio'*.** Stenton (op. cit., 667) comments: 'No statesman has ever settled **a major issue in fewer words, or n1ore conclusively'.**

feudal influence in the outlook of the curia; and the 1060s and ro7os were, in fact, the very decades in which this influence began to affect papal practice on a wide scale.[1]

More specifically, the attempt to present Alfred's submission to the pope as the precondition of his investiture could be directly related to the actual history of William's earlier intercourse with Rome. Although no evidence has suivived that the papacy used this argument, it seems not unreasonable to suppose, with Z. N. Brooke and Sir Frank Stenton, that William's application for papal support in ro66 might later have been regarded at Rome as tantamount to a proffer offealty, and hence used as a basis for further claims.[2] From the papal standpoint, the case of Alfred \VOuld provide a useful parallel.

The military connotation of the ,vord *cingulum* has already been stressed and it is interesting to note that the term came to be linked with the seivice of knighthood. [3] This implication is, perhaps, present in the fragment under discussion; if so, it lends a typically feudal tone to the 'Roman' investiture there described. Such an interpretation ,vould, in any case, readily suggest itself to so practised an exponent of feudal government as William I.'

Certain analogies to the fragmentary letter 'to .tEthehvulf' may be found in those documents of the later eleventh century which describe the feudal submission of princes to the Holy See. A phrase curiously reminiscent of the first part of the fragment occurs at the beginning of Gregory VII's letter to Isjasla,v of Russia, reporting his reception of the latter's son at Rome,[5] while comparable passages appear, for instance, in the letter of an Aragonese prince to Urban II, referring to the events of 1068, and contained, significantly, in the CB. itself[6]; and in the report of the Synod

[1] Jordan, art. cit., 71-83; and C. Erdmann, *Die Entstthung des Kreu{Ugsgedankens*, Stuttgart 1953, 202 ff.

• On this suggestion, see Brooke, op. cit., 140-5, and Stenton, op cit., 667; also, cautiously inclined to accept this view, Weckmann, op. cit., 81 ff., and Erdmann, *Enuuhusg*, 172 f.

• Cf. Ducange, *G/ossarium,* s.v. 'Cingulum', and the evidence of the dubbing liturgies cited by M. Bloch, *Feudal Sotiety*, trans. L. A. Manyon, London 1961, 315, noting, *d propos* the permeation of the dubbing ceremony by the liturgy: 'This process was completed by the eleventh century'. See also following note.

• For the more usual view of the rapid feudalisation of England under William, see D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, *Engli<h His/Mica/ Doeument* , London 1953, ii. 24-8, and 8g4 ff. But see also on William's feudal methods even critics of lhis view: **H.** G. Richardson and G. 0. Sayles, *The Governance of Attdieva/ England*, Edinburgh 1963, 77. It is interesting to note the account by Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* viii. 1 **(P.L.,** lxxxviii. 560) of the knighting of \-Villiam's son Henry: 'Hunc Lanfrancus Dorobcrnensis episcopus ... adarma pro defensione regni sustulit ... eique ... *militia,dngulum* in nominc Domini cinxit'. For a brief but very favourable judgement on the value of thisearly twelfth-<:enturysource, see Douglas and Greenaway, op. cit., 98.

• *Reg.*, ii. 74: 'Filius vester limina apostolorum visitans ad nos venit, et quod regnum illud dono sancti Petri *per manus rwstras* vellet obtinere .. .'. Cf. Leo IV 10 ,£thelwulf: 'Filium vestrum Erfred quem hocin tempore ad sanctorum apostoloru,n limina destinare curastis benigne suscepimus .. .' (etc. as cited above, 309).

• The letter of Sancho Ramirez is on fol. 146 of the CB., and *is* cited by P. Kehr, 'Wie und wann wurdc das Reich Aragon ein Lchen *der* romischen Kirche?' in *Sit::ungs-*

of Spalato (1076) preserved in the collection of Deusdedit.[1] If the first of these parallels may be merely coincidental, one is left, nevertheless, with the impression that the fragment 'to .£thehvulf' has, to say the least, strong affinities v.-ith an eleventh-century genre.

It may be as well to recall here the nature and purpose of the CB. itself. Classed by Fournier among 'collections ,vhich have undergone Gregorian influence', it probably dates, in its original form, from Gregory VI I's pontificate. It is especially important in the history of canon la\', as the sole survivor of the *Excerpta*, the first-fruits of the Reformers' search for precedents.[2] The common feature of the eleventh-century collections is, as Ullmann has observed,[3] their tendency 'to give documentary and justificatory evidence in favour of the hierocratic then1e', and their main purpose is to demonstrate the authority of the Roman pontiff: hence their extreme selectivity, and a proneness to include any evidence, even from dubious sources, \vhich is conducive to this end. The letter-fragment under discussion fits perfectly, needless to say, into such a body of material.

If the fragment 'to 1Ethchvulf' may indeed be, as I am suggesting, a Roman forgery of the 106os or 1070s, the question of transmission must be considered. The CB. letter, despite its idiosyncracies, so coincides, and tallies so neatly in date, with the English sources as to suggest that these (or one of them) ,vere known to its author. Do the facts justify the assumption that thestory of Alfred's anointing could have reached Rome at this period? The evidence is only circumstantial, but it does not, I think, exclude this possibility. In the first place, the assiduity of the Roman researchers should not be underestimated•; in the second, the papal claims to English fealty, partly based on the historical facts of earlier payments to Rome, may ,veil have stimulated interest in the origins of those payments,[6] and thus in the dutiful conduct of Alfred towards the Holy See. Intercourse benveen England and Italy ,vas lively at this time: possible transmitters of information ,vere the English archbishops who came to Rome for their *pallia;* the English representatives at papal councils in Rome and elsewhere; and, from the other side, the legates who visited Worcester (1060) and \Ninchester (1070).[6] Asser's work, being

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berichu d,r preussischm Akad,mie d,r 14'i.ssenschafan, (1928) at 218: 'Beati Petri limina adii, *meque regnumque meum Dto et eius pot,stati tradidi* .. .'.

[1] *Co/lectw,* iii. cap. 278; ed. cit., 383-5: King Zvonimir of Dalmatia and Croatia after his investirure 'per vex.ilium, ensem, scep1run1 et coronam' becomes a papal vassal: '!'.ie *tuis manibus* comrnitto .. .'.

[2] Fournier-Le Bras, op. cit., ii. 155 ff.

• *Growth of Papal Government,* 363.

• Cf. Fournier, 'Un toumant de l'histoire du droit', in *Rew, historique du Droit fran;ais et ltranger*, xii (1917), 141 f.; and *Histoire des Co/lectwns Canoniques*, ii. 7-14. Fournier mentions 'Italian libraries', but thereseems no reason to limit the researchers' field ofoperations toonarrowly: if the arguments of Parisot (op. cit., 739 ff.) are accepted, as I believe they should be, then at least one forged CB. fragment may well have depended on a northern French source.

• See references above. 315 o. I.

• Stcnton, op. cit., 461-2, and 651.

written in Latin, v,as perhaps a more likely source than the *Angl.o..Saxon Chronicle*,[1] and MSS. of the *Vita Alfredi* were more ,videspread in the early t,velfth century, at least, than they later became.[2] The *Chronicon* of £thehveard and the *Vita Grimbaldi* were possible sources for the story of Alfred's visit to Rome; and continental MSS. of both may well have existed in the later eleventh century.[3]

Thus there ,vere various ways by "'lucb the story of Alfred's Roman anointing could have reached Rome from England. Papal apologists ,vould readily grasp its potential usefulness, and the task of recasting it in a feudaJ mould could soon be completed. The question must be faced ho"•ever, why, if the fragment of Leo's letter wasa forgery based on English sources, the royal anointing of the insular account '<vas replaced by a conferment of the consulship. The explanation might lie partly in the idea that only emperors were consecrated by the pope; the consulship was, as the forger was concerned to stress, a peculiarly Roman dignity, and the creation of a consul appeared as an emanation of the pope's *o,vn* Roman-imperial status.• But the main reason for the change ,vould more probably have been the need for emphasis on the conditional nature of the dignity conferred: the consulship, because it was unfamiliar beyond the Alps, could more easily be presented as depending on a previous personal submission to the pope than could royal anointing, which was by no,v a traditional prerogative of English kings.

That the forgery would have been grounded on English material is suggested also by the omission of this episode from other Roman sources. The author of Leo IV's *Vita* in the *Liber Pontijicalis* makes no mention at all of Alfred's visit, aJthough he is a contemporary witness[5]; the *Vita* of Benedict III, by contrast, gives a fairly long account of £thehvulf's pilgrimage two years later.[6] The CB. is the only canon law collection to include Leo's letter; had it been genuine, one might have expected to find it elsewhere, especially for instance in the collection of Deusdedit, ,vho devotes a whole section to evidence of feudal subjections to St. Peter.[7]

' The bilingual (Latin and Anglo-Saxon) version F cannot be dated earlier than the first half of the twelfth century; cf. F. P. Magoun in *Motkm Language Revuw,* vi (1945), 371 f.

• Stevenson, op. ciL, xi, Iv ff.

• iEthelweard's *Chronicon,* a late tenth-century work, has recently been re-edited by A. Campbell, London 1g62. See rus Introduction, xii. The original JI.,[S., now lost, was sent to Essen, where the author's relative *was* abbess;see L. \Vhitbread in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lxxiv (1959), 581. On the *Vita Grimbaldi,* see P. Grierson, 'Grimbald of St. Bertin's', in *Eng. Hist. RMI.*, Iv (1940), 541 ff. Grimbald's English *Vita*, whose information on Alfred's *visit* to Rome *was* very probably derived from Asser, *was* certainly known at St. Omer by the early twelfth century.

• This is evident from the deliberate and imposing phrase: 'Ut mos est Romanis consulibus'.

• Ed. cit., ii. 1o6-34: and an unusually long *Vita*. The significance of thls omission should not be overstressed, however, for there are one or *two* other surprising omissions from this *Vita*. Cf. Duchesne, ibid., *v*. • Ibid., 148.

[1] *Collectio,* iii. esp. caps. 185-28g; ed. cit., 35<r96. Alexander II's letter to William the Conqueror is naturally included in thissection. Brooke (op. cit., 141) described this part of the *Collettio* as a 'a sort of early *Lil>er CenJuum'*.

It had, ofcourse, failed in its immediate polemecial purpose after Gregory's acceptance of the Conqueror's checkmate. The canonists may have felt that there ,vas no further use for this strangely tv.,isted version of an old tale; or, perhaps, they recognised that it was unlikely ever to supplant the aboriginal story of royal anointing-,vithout strings-in England itself.[1]

Enough has now been said to suggest that Leo's letter to iEtbelwuJf should no longer be unquestionably admitted as an independent and genuine Ivitness to the anointing/investiture of 853. Like the reference to Alfred's Roman journey in the *Vita Grimbaldi,* it could depend on English sources. It seems, moreover, to reflect more accurately the conditions of the eleventh than of the ninth century. But whether or not the hypothesis is accepted that this fragment is a Gregorian forgery, the arguments set out above, and, in particular, the doubtful nature of certain parts of the CB., make it impossible to base firm conclusions on evidence from this source. The whole problem must be thrown back upon the *Angl-0-SaX-On ChrQTlu:le* itself: will its evidence stand alone?

Since Asser took his account of 853, like so much else, *en bloc* from the *Chronicle,*[2] the English evidence, **in** fact, derives from only one source-the **A** version of the*Chronicle.* But Asser's testimony isof crucial importance, because he translates the Anglo-Saxon *gehalgode* by the unequivocal *unxit.* Without doubt, then, what is being claimed is anointing and not merely a blessing. [3] The full significance of this fact will appear later; meanwhile, it can be noted that this immediately suggests Frankish rather than Byzantine liturgical influence, for the consecration of the Eastern emperor was built around the coronation ceremony and did not at this period include unction.' The anointing, on the other hand, is theessential feature of contemporary West Frankish *Ordines.*[6]

[1] The *Chroni<k* version of the story, of course, maintained its popularity with English writers throughout the Middle **Ages:** cf. the sources named by Plummer, *Alfred,* 73, n.

• On Asser's 'remarkable' form of composition, see Stevenson, op. cit., lx:xix ff.

[3] On the Anglo-Saxon 'gehalgian', see P. Hunter Blair, *An Jnt,oduction lo Anglo-Saxon England,* Cambridge 1959, 205. The word was certainly 'normally used of the consecration of bishops' in Anglo-Saxon texts, but this wasthe case long before anointing formed part of episcopal consecration. Cf. G. Ellard. *Ordination Anointings inthe Weslml Church,* Cambridge, Mass. 1933, chs. 1 and 2; and Andrieu, 'Le sacre episcopal d'aprcs Hincmar', in *&uue d'Hirtoire &lisiastique,* xlvii (1953), 22 ff. It is, therefore, hazardous to assume, without further evidence, that terms like 'gehalgod' or 'gebletsod' used of eighth or ninth century royal consecrations imply that unction was performed.

• See 0. Treitinger, *Du ostromisclu Kaiur- und* &ichsida,Jena 1938, 29, 194 f.; and F. Dolger, *Byzanz und die eu,opiiische Staalenwtll,* Ettal 1953, 296, both decisively against the view that imperial anointing was practised in the East at this period. In general, however, Byzantine inlluence pervaded the ceremonial of Western Europe and, perhaps, lay behind the adoption of the practice of co-rulership by Offa of Mercia (787) and later by the Capetians; it might also have lead £thelweard tostress the 'steroma' or'stefos'in describing early tenth-century royal inaugurations. Cf.*Chroni<on,* ed. cit., 51,54, though note Campbell ibid., xiv, on the 'hermeneutic tradition'. On the possibility of more general Anglo-Byzantine contacts in the pre-Conquest period see R. S. Lopez, 'Le Probleme des Relations Anglo-Byzantines .. .', in *ByzanJion,* xviii (1948), 13g-62.

• Schramm, 'Die KrOnung bei den Westfranken und Angelsacbsen', in *Zeitschrift fti.r Rechtsgeschichte,* liv, *Kan. Abt.* 23 (1934), 117-242; and C. A. Bouman, *Sa&ring and Crowning,* GrOningen 1957, 9-27, 107-26.

Three main points can be made at the outset of the inquiry: first, that whatever happened in 853 (or 855), it was not royal anointing; second, that a confirmation could not have been mistaken for such by anyone present at, or informed of, the event; third, that the story of the anointing could not have got into both the *Chronicle* (A) and Asser's *Vita* without the knowledge and, one must presume, the approval of Alfred himself.

For the first point, the most obvious objection to accepting the account in the *Chronicle* at face value is thefact that Alfred had three elder brothers alive in 853[1]; his eventual succession to the throne could have been foreseen at this time only by a prophet. Thus, a later medieval writer, recounting the story, was actually impelled to endov, Leo IV with the vision of Samuel.[2] The difficulty seems to have been appreciated by the authors of recensions D, E, and F of the *Chronicle*, none of ,vhom adopted a mystical explanation: D and E *omit* that part of the 853 entry which reports Alfred's Roman adventure, ,vhile **F** puts **it** after the death of .tEthehvulf. [3] The problem was hardly disposed of by Plummer's suggestion that .tEthelwulf ,vanted the special honour of a papal anointing to be bestowed on hisfavourite son, and that a 'titular ... subordinate royalty' had previously been 'conferred on him by his father for this very object'.[t] There is, of course, no evidence at all for this highly artificial account of the 'kingship' of 853.

The second point calls for some explanation. The brilliant but wayward thesis of de Pange should have been sufficiently refuted elsewhere to dispose of the idea that the confirmation-anointing of a prince and his royal anointing could ever have been identified [5]; liturgically, these were quite separate, though not unrelated rites.[6] Now, \Yhether or not Alfred directly influenced the compilation of the *Chronicle*, the main tasks of advising and writing must have been carried out by clerics, since the Church virtually monopolised literacy. **But** the *liwati* of early medieval

[1] There was, further, no West Saxon precedent for a co-rulership, although the Chronicle, sub anno 836, relates the establishment of a sub-kingship for Alfred's elder brother; but there is no evidence of any such arrangement in the case of Alfred himself. See below for a discussion of Plummer's hypothesis.

• Ailred ofRievaulx, in his *Gemology of English Kings;* P.L., cxcv. 718.

• For D and E, see the edition of D. Whitelock cited above. F must be compared from the edition of B. Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon Chroni.cle* (Rolls Series), London 1861, i., Texts.

• *Alfred,* 74•

• J.de Pange, *Le Roi truchrelien*, Paris 1949. The Alfred story was, on his own admission, one of bis strongest arguments. Cf. 218: 'La confumation re uc a cinq ans aurait done retrospectivement ete regardee comme une consecration a la royaute'; and n. 83, where Stubbs's agreement is adduced. For a short but cogent refutation of de Pange's theory, see now Bouman, op. cit., x n.3. This provides a basis for the reappraisal of the Alfred story itself.

• Thisrelationship is too complex to be discussed here; butcf. the perceptive, though not always reliable analysis of de Pange, op. cit., 98-128. The crucial New Testament text isI Peter, ii. 9: 'VO$autemgenus electum, *regale saurdotium...*'.See also the important article of T. Michels, 'Die Akklamation in der Taufliturgie', in *Jahrlnu:h for liturgiewissenschqft,* viii (1928), 79 f., and 85 n.1.

society were at the same timeits ritualspecialists and, thus, theguardians of liturgical order. The theory of an unconscious confusion in the contemporary sources between two quite distinct types of unction should be discarded. Sir John Spelman long ago summed up the case against it with inimitable force and clarity: 'I must so far oppose (that theory]', he wrote, 'as offer it toJudgement, whether likely the Religious that have writ that passage could be so far mistaken, as not to distinguish betwixt Regal Unction and the Chrisme, a Ceremony of the Church at that time common and in frequent use? especially Asser, a learned Bishop then l·iv1ng ...'•[1]

Discussion of the third point involves trespassing on the thorny field of *Chronicle* studies, for the originally quite separate problem of the Roman anointing has long been entangled, as remarked above, in the briars of the authorship controversy. Plummer, Stevenson and Hodgkin assumed, on stylistic and other grounds, that Alfred either wrote or directly influenced the compilation of the *Chronicle* in the early 890s. This vie\v \Yas strongly supported, in Stevenson's opinion, by the account of the Roman anointing, which he was sure smacked of Alfredian influence.[2] Sir Frank Stenton, on the other hand, used the 853 as a major argument against the older view: 'It is incredible', he wrote, 'that Alfred himself should have confused decoration, or even the rite of confirmation at the pope's hands with an anointing to kingship'.[3] Hodgkin tried to counter this argument by suggesting that thestory was inspired by Franks at Alfred's court'; while by no means adequate as a full explanation, the suggestion provides a useful clue which will be followed up belO\Y. But, meanwhile, the most recent expert opinion, that of Professor D. Whitelock, has endorsed that of Stenton.[5]

To pronounce on the question of *Chronicle* authorship is not, however, the purpose of thisstudy. Only the entry for 853 isofconcern here, and the question of its \vider implications will be left open. It \viii be possible, I think, to deal with this limited problem more successfully once it is cleared of a smoke-screen of subjective opinion.

Stevenson, Plummer and Hodgkin maintained that the entry for 853 was so significant, and of such personal importance for Alfred, that the king himself must have composed it. But, since it was more or less explicitly recognised that a royal anointing could not really have been performed, Alfred \Vas held to have been under a 'misapprehension'.[6] It has become clear, however, that Alfred and his circle (for the Franks at his

[1] *Life of Alfred,* 22.

• Cf. the works cited above, esp.Stevenson, ed. cit., 181: 'It is difficult to reject the theory that we can detect his [Alfred's} influence in this strange entry'.

• Op. cit., 683.

• Op. cit., 624.

• *Ariglo-Saxon Chronicle,* xxii-iii; cf. her statement in 'Recent work on Asser's *Life',* a :urvey added to the reprint of the 1904 ed., Oxford 1959, cxxxvii: 'Stevenson's opinion .. has not won general acceptance'. Note, however, the comment of H. Lowe quoted 1bove, 310 n. 4.

• Thus Stevenson, ed. cit., 181; cf. Plummer, *Alfred,* 71.

court were clerics) could not have confused confirmation with royal anointing; and I have further suggested that the story of a consular conferment which *is* given in the 'Roman' version of events should, perhaps, be regarded as neither sound nor contemporary evidence. A confusion, postulated by Stevenson and Plummer, of consular investiture with royal investiture can, therefore, also be discounted.

Stenton's view, though, might seem to accord better \Vith the conclusions which have emerged from the earlier part of this study: for he denies the possibility of confusion on Alfred's part as to what happened at Rome in 853. But his (unstated) arguments were evidently quite different from those developed above, since he goes on to foist exactly that confusion on to the anonymous 'compiler of the *Chronicle'*.[1] His viev,s turns out to rest on the rather subjective assumption that Alfred who was there-although in fact aged only four at the time-could not have mistaken consular investiture for 'ordination to kingship', whereas a contemporary author reporting the event at second hand could have and did: hence the 853 entry. But, if the conclusions so far reached in this study are accepted, all hypotheses v,hich ascribe misunderstanding to the author of this entry, ,vhoever he is assumed to have been, must be disallowed.

There remains, however, another and quite obvious possibility: one may grant Stenton's point that Alfred could not have confused another ceremony with royal anointing; but he could deliberately have transformed the one into the other. Had Leo IV (or, as I shall suggest, hls successor), only even said blessings over Alfred, as he might well have donein the case of a foreign prince visiting Rome, this could have been quietly converted forty years later into a royal consecration, and publicised as such; and a transformation of this kind would be all the more easily effected if what had actually happened was a confirmation. Hincmar's contemporary treatment of the story of Clovis's baptism-confirmation offers an interesting comparison.[2]

This amounts, admittedly, to crediting Alfred and his circle of advisers \vith the deliberate falsification of events; but thisseems the most plausible explanation of the *Chronicle* entry for 853,[3] and so of Asser's account too.

[1] Op. cit., 269 n.2; it was the 'consular investiture' which the compiler 'afterwards confused (!) with ordination to kingship'. Stenton's view on the authorship question is fully set out in his study, 'TheSouth-western Element in the Old English Chronicle', in *Essays ... present.edW T. F. Tout,* Manchester 1925, 15-24,

• See de Pange, op. cit., 2o6 ff.;and F. Op nheimer, *The Legend oftht Su. Ampoule,* London 1953, 173 f. The crucial text is Hincmar's *Adnuntiatio* preceding the consecration of Charles the Bald as king of Lorraine in 869, printed in *M.G.H. Capit,* ii. 340.

• I am aware of the attempts that have been rnade to prove that Alfred himself confused the terms 'consul' and 'king'. The evidence from bis works has been discussed by **8.** A. Lees, op. cit., 85 n.; and by **H.** R. Loyn in *Eng. Hi.st. R,o.,* !xviii (1953), 519. Alfred's usage is far from consisteot; but there is only one case where his translation of Bede's *consul* by *consul* 7 *cymng* could be read as evidence of confusion. In fact,this reveals his awareness of the problem of translating this alieo constitutional term, and his grasp of thedistinctive elementof theconsulship-itskinglyquality. Another perceptive foreign observer, Polybius, had found a problem of definitioo here, and had come to a similar conclusion; cf. *Hist.,* vi. 11.

That no Anglo-Saxon specialist has considered the possibility of an Alfredian forgery is really rather surprising. I would tentatively suggest that this neglect has been due, not to oversight, but, perhaps, to an unconscious desire to preserve the image of Alfred the 'truth-teller'.[1] Liebermann, in a relatively little-known piece, made a very revealing observation about the story of the Roman anointing. After giving reasons for rejecting Plummer's belief in Alfred's authorship of the *Chronicle,* he added: 'Ferner miichte ich eine Falschung (sic), vielleicht bloss die erwilnschte Konfusion eines nach 871 schreibenden Royalisten, dem *rex veridicus* nicht zutrauen'.[2] So far as I know, Liebermann ,vas the only scholar to admit the possibility that the anointing ,vas a deliberate fabrication and not just the result of error; but the further possibility that Alfred ,vas its author ,vas clearly too much for him. Perhaps this ,vas at the back ofStenton's mind when he so vehemently denied Alfred's authorship of the 853 entry. **It** may be significant too, that Lieberinann's point has never been revived in more recent literature.

But the reasoning behind it should be clearly appreciated. It seems to be basedon an assumption ofincongruity in the idea ofa forgerycommitted by one who was, by ninth-century standards, 'truthful'. The antithesis implied here is, however, meaningless in an early medieval context. On the forgeries of this period, Marc Bloch made the perceptive observation that 'many pious and indisputably high-minded persons ... had a hand in such dealings'.[3] Asser's idea of truth is, then, a far cry from that of scientific rationalism.

The anointing story is, I believe, too significant to have got into the 'official' sources simply through the well-meaning invention of a 'royalist' scribe or compiler. Is it perhaps more likely that, so far from being a chance accretion, this entry was deliberately inserted into the records by an interested party, fully aware of its implications? This part, at any rate, of the entry for853 must have been written after 871, when Alfred acceded. *No,v* versions D and E of the *Chronicle* omit *only* this part of the entry, while for the rest giving the events of the **A** version. Perhaps they present here the kernel of the original contemporary annal, before the Alfredian addition. It is interesting, at all events, that the anointing story is already present in the **A** version: the first part of this MS., the annals down to 891, is in a hand of c. 900, and represents the revision of the annals possibly undertaken at Alfred's instigation, and circulated quite v.,jdely from 892 onwardst. The 11,1S. evidence, then, is by no means incompatible ,vith the

[1] 'Veredicus'; *Vita,* cap. 13: ed. cit., 12. It should, perhaps, be noted that Asser seems to use the term here in the rather narrow senseof'accurate informant', for he goes on to mention the 'multi vercdici' from whom Alfred got his information.

• *Archiufilr dos Studium der Neueren Spraclwn,* civ (1900), 193. (A review of Plummer, *Twoof **tJu** Saxon Chronicles Parallel,* cited above.)

• Op. cit., 92. The 'psychological implications' of this fact are, as Bloch insists, 'well worth pondering'.

• Stenton himself (op. cit., 682-3) refers to the 'Alfredian section' of the **MS.,** for the revision of the annals in the 890S certainly reflected the revival of learning which Alfred inspired.

hypothesis that Alfred, or one close to him, inserted the anointing story into the *Chronicle* entry for 853.[1]

The crucial problem is that of motivation: why might Alfred have wished to reconstruct his childhood confirmation in order to appear as a king \vho had been papally anointed? Thisquestion can only be answered in the wider context of the history and development of royal anointing in England-a subject still in need of further study. The unfortunate influence of the misdating of the 'Egbert' *Ordo* was surprisingly persistent: Stevenson, following Maskell, still believed in 1904 on the basis of that evidence alone that Alfred was 'crowned' in 871,[2] and it ,vas not until 1918 that J. A. Robinson gave sound reasons for challenging the eighth-century dating of'Egbert'.[3] This is not the place to go into the questions of Ecgfrith's 'hallo,viog' in 787, and of Eard\vulf's 'blessing' in 796. It is enough to say that although the use of these terms is evidence of ecclesiastical participation in the ceremonies of king-making, there is no indication that anointing was involved.' The raising of Offa's son to the throne during his father's lifetime might even suggest Byzantine rather than Frankish influence.[6]

lo the ninth century, the*Chronicle* speaks uniformly of kings 'succeeding to the kingdom', and the expressionjeng *to rice* has purely secular implications. The rather surprising inference is that ecclesiastical influence, which had seemed to be growing dominant in the later eighth century, had disappeared again from Mercian and Northumbrian inauguration rites without affecting those of Wessex[6]: surprising, that is, by comparison with the steady progress made by the ninth-century \-Vest Frankish hierarchy towards complete control of royal consecrations. Perhaps because of its greater dependence on Rome, and because it was relatively weak and divided, the English hierarchy ,vas evidently far less concerned to impose itself in this area.[7] None of the sources gives the least hint that

[1] This view would be supported if the two big marginal crosses which flank the 853 entry in the Parker MS. (A} are contemporary with the section down to 891. See fol. 13• in the facsimile edition cited above. But che crosses are more probably an addition of the second half of the tenth century. I am indebted to Professor F. Worrnald and Mr. N. Ker for their help on this point.

• Ed. cit., 18 .

• 'The Coronation Order in the Tenth Century', inJ.*T.S.*, xix (1917), 56 f., esp. 66.

• See above, 3I9 n.3. The theory that the Anglo-Saxons practised royal anointing before its introduction among the Franks has recently been revived byseveral scholars of distinction: cf.T. Klauser, *ir_1Jal,rb hfur Liturgiewisstnuhaft*, xiii (1933), 350; and now Bouman, op. c,L, x1; also Richardson and Sayles, op. cit., 397 f. But cf., too, the arguments of Ellard, op. cit., ch. i, which seem to me convincing. The verdict on Anglo-Saxon priority must remain 'unproven'.

• See above, 3190-4.

• Richardson and Sayles argue (Joe. ciL) that royal anointings were too familiar to attract contemporary comment. A comparison with the copious references to anointing in Franki3b sources might suggest otherwise.

' Until 84,8, Frankish anointings had, of course, been performed by the pope. The 'take-over' of royal consecrations by the Frankish hierarchy might be seen from one angle as part of their general opposition to Roman centralisation; in this Hincmar was a leading figure. Cf. Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Gouernment*, 119 ff., 153. No comparable movement existed in England, for fairly obvious reasons. On the maintainance of links with Rome and on the ever-growing problems of the English Church in the ninth century, see Stenton, op. ciL, 427 f.

any of the ninth-century Anglo-Saxon kings, do,vn to and including Alfred himself,1 *Ueng to rice*, 871), received any kind of priest-given consecration at their accessions. Asser implies that an election took place in 871, and that is all.[1]

Throughout his reign, Alfred faced serious problems in imposing his rule beyond the borders of Wessex. But English solidarity ,vas necessary if the Danes were to be effectively resisted.[3] Alfred maintained fairly close relations ,vith the Continent,• yet, as he must have realised, he lacked the *charisma* of Frankish princes. Of his piety there can be no doubt, but it has been pointed out above that the pious man did not scruple in those times to perpetrate falsehoods if God's or the Church's interests could be furthered thereby: one hasonly to consider the mentality of a Stephen II or a Hincmar. Alfred was also a shre\vd leader, who could hardly fail to see the advantages of a religious consecration[6]; far better to popularise the story of his papal anointing in 853, than to undergo some analogous, though less imposing rite, in his mid-forties.

If the motive behind the myth of the 853 anointing would have been Alfred's desire for a po\verful spiritual, and, moreover, papal sanction for his authority, the inspiritation was provided by the memory of the infant Alfred's visit to Rome. The myth ,vascredible, in fact, precisely because it rested on a factual basis. It may be doubted if Alfred could successfully have inserted the story of the papal anointing into the *Chronicle*, unless it had been widely known that he had indeed visited Rome in his infancy. But few would remember much about the actual event forty years later; nor would they \visb to question the truth of a story which cast such an aura of divine approval around their king.

Although Alfred is mentioned neither in the papal nor in the Frankish sources \vbich describe ...Ethelwulf's visit to Rome,• there is nothing improbable in the idea that the son accompanied his father. The *Chronicle*, however, ascribes Alfred's visit not to 855, the year of lEthelwulf's pilgrimage, but to 853. It is Asser who, after faithfully copying the account of the 853 visit, adds that Alfred went again to Rome with bis father two years later.' On the face of it, this double journey seems highly unlikely. The route ,vas at this period made more hazardous than ever by Saracen raids[8]; would a clrild of four have been sent off to Italy only to be taken

[1] As Schramm rightly points out: *History of English Ccronation,* 16.

• Cf. *Vita,* cap. 42; ed. cit., 32.

• Stenton, op. cit., 256 ff. • Hodgkin, op. cit., 647 ff.

• On the implications of becoming a 'christus', see F. Kem, *Gottesgnadmtum und Widerstandrecht*, 2nd ed., R. Buchner, Munster 1954, 46 ff.; also Schramm, *H,rrschajis-zeichen und Staat.ssymbolik,* Stuttgart 1954, i. 127.

• Cf. *Vita* of Benedict III cited above, 3I8 n. 6, and *Annaks Bertiniam,*sub anno 855. The silence of these seurces bears out the view that the English princcling, seemingly without hope of the crown, was not unnaturally regarded at *th.is* time as oflittle account. Benedict III, it may be noted, became pope only in 855.

[1] *Vita,* cap 11; ed. cit., 9: 'Roman perrexit, praefatumq.ue filium suum Alfredum *iterum in eandem viam* secum duccns, co quod ilium plus cctens lllus diligebat '

• On the dangers of pilgrimage to Rome at this time and for long after, see Plummer, *Alfred,* 76 ff., and Bloch, op. cit., 6.

again at the still tender age of six? Asser says that Alfred suffered from illness 'ab infantia'.[1] All things considered, the imposition of a double journey across Europe could hardly be taken, as Asser interprets it, for evidence of /Ethelwulf's special love for his youngest son. On the other hand, the *Chronicle*, where I am suggesting the entry for 853 \vas interpolated at the instance of Alfred himself, makes no mention of his second visit. Ho\v are the two sources to be reconciled? Asser perhaps gives a clue to ,vhat really happened: Alfred made only one journey, accompanying his father. The separate visit of853 was a later invention, and because a double visit was implausible, the real one had to be deleted from the records. Asser, however, whose *Vita* was not subject to the same scrutiny as the 'official' account of the *Chromcle*, preserved the fact of tbe 853 visit alongside the Alfredian myth. His failure to observe the incongruity of the two statements accords with the often clumsy and ill-organised nature of his work.[2] This explanation of a long-standing problem presupposes that Alfred himself concocted the anointing story, but **it** does not conflict ,vith the dictates of common sense.

But why was the Roman expedition pre-dated to 853 in the *Chromcle?* The reason for this may be sought **in** the Frankish model of the royal anointing. Stubbs had already noted the parallel between the *Chronicle's* account of853 and the Frankish sources for 781, when Charlemagne's sons were papally confirmed and anointed as kings.[3] Hodgkin suggested that Frankish influence was behind the 'official' revision of the *Chronicle* at Alfred's court,[4] and it is well-kno"'n that Asser took Einhard's *Vita Karoli* as his model.[5] The story of Alfred's Roman anointing, then, ,vas conceived under the shadow of Charlemagne. The name of pope Leo fitted into the scheme suggested by the Frankish sources: the anointing of Alfred thus echoed the imperial coronation of his prototype by another Leo. It is interesting that several forged decretals were later ascribed to 'Pope Leo'[6]: this was a name to conjure ,vith. But ,vhat mystique was there after all in the name of Benedict III ,vho had, in fact, received /Ethelwulf and, it may now be assumed, his son in 855?

If, finally, the hypothesis set out above is correct, one might expect to find evidence, perhaps of royal anointing, or at any rate of markedly increased ecclesiastical influence on accession rites in England during the period immediately follo,ving Alfred's death. Despite the deficiencies of the sources, some indications of a new development in this direction can, I

1 TT'ita, cap. 74; ed. cit., 55.

• Sec Stevenson, ed. cit., lxxix ff.; also the criticisms of V. H. Galbraith, *Historical Research* . . , London 1951, 13 ff.

• For Stubbs's observation, see his ed. of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta &gum* cited above, 145 n.1; also Stevenson, ed. cit., 18o. It should be noted, however, that the *An,roks &gni Fr=rum,* subanno 781 distinguish very carefully between baptism/confirmation and royal anointing.

• Op. cit., 624.

• Cf. Galbraith, loc. cit., and Stevenson, ed. cit., !xx.xif.

• Ullmann, *Efkm. Juris Canon.,* ix (1953), 287 n.3: 'The papal name of Leo seems to play a crucial role in forgeriesand falsificationsof1he tenth and eleventh centuries'.

think, be discerned. In the case ofEd\vard the Elder, the *Chronicle* offers no clues, but /Ethelweard, a specially well-informed source for this obscure reign, states that Pentecost \Vas the day of his coronation.[1] This fact implies both the intrusion of clerical influence, and probably also a desire to conform to Frankish practice.[2] For the inaguration of his successor, Atbelstan, the evidence is clearer: the contemporary *i\1.ercian Register* says he was *gehalgod*,[3] while the near-contemporary **Latin** panegyric quoted by William of Malmesbury apparently referred to a *consecratio*, and certainly noted that the new king was **in** his thirtieth year, and also spoke of 'pontifices' pronouncing an anathema on disloyal subjects.' Ifit is not yet quite certain that anointing took place, then one can at least say that all had been gradually prepared for an English Hincmar to take the final step 10,vards complete control by the local hierarchy over royal consecrations. AJfred the myth-maker had helped to pave the ,.,.ay for Dunstan.

[1] *Chronicon,* sub anno 900; ed. cit., 51, xxx f.

• Cf. Schramm, 'Die Kronung bei den Westfranken', 194, 198; also Bouman, op. cit., 125 n.3. It may not be without significance that Pentecost was traditionally the day of confirmation. Byzantine emperors were also often crowned on this day; cf. Treitinger, op. cit., 37. **King** Edgar, too, was crowned at Pentecost; see *ChronKle*, sub anno973.

• The *Mercian Register* was incorporated in versions B and C of the *ChronKle*. See ed. cit., sub anno 924 for Athelstan's consecration. The true date was925: see **M. L. R.** Beaven in *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* xxxii (1917), 521 ff., and **J.** A. Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan,* Oxford 1923, 27-36.

• See Stubbs's edition, i. 145. For an excellent discussion of the Latin poem used by William, see now **L. K.** Loomis, 'The Holy Relics of Charlemagne and **King** Athelstan', in *Speculum*, xxv (1950), 437-9, stressing the value of lb.is source. The fact that Athelstan was in his thirtieth year affords a remarkable parallel, hitherto unnoticed, with the case of Edgar. On the significance of this age *apropos* Edgar's deferred corona• tioo, see the illuminating suggestion of Stenton, op. cit., 363.

14

RITUAL AND REALITY IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL *ORDINES*

TO know what was generally believed in all ages, the way is to consult the liturgies, not any private man's writings.' John Selden's maxim, \vhich surely owed much to his own pioneering work asa liturgist, showsashrewd appreciation of the significance of the medieval *ordines* for the consecration ofkings.[1] Thanks to the 1nore recent efforts of Waitz, Eichmann, Schramm[2] and others, this material now forms part of the 1nedievalist's stock in trade; and much has been written on theevidence which the *ordi11es* provide concerning thenature of kingship, and theinteractionof church and state, in the middle ages.[3] The usefulness of the *ordines* to the historian might therefore seem to need no further demonstration or qualification. But there is another

I am grateful to professor Walter Ullmann for first showing me the importance of the *ordi11es,* to professor Dorothy \Vhltelock for her generous help on several points relating to tenth-<:entury England, and 10 John Gillingham for his always stimulating criticism.

[1] The quotation is from Selden's *Table-Talk* {London 1689) under 'Liturgy'. His great work on liturgy, *Titles of Honor,* was first published in 1614. I **have** used the third edition of 1672.

[2] G. Waitz, 'Die Formeln der deutschen Konigs-und der Rornischen Kaiser-Kronuog vom zehnten bis zum :zwolften Jahrhundert', in *Abhandlungen der Kiinigliche11 Gesel/schajt der Wissenschaften zu Giittingen,* 18 (1873); [E.] Eichmann, 'Konigs-und Bischofsweihe', in *Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschafte11. Phil. Hist. K/asse,* Abh. 6 (Munich 1928), and many other articles; P. E. Schramm, *A History cf the English Coronation* (Oxford 1937), *Der Kiinig vcn Frankreich (z* ed Weimar 1900), *Hmschaftszeichen und Staatssymbc/ik* (3 vols Stuttgart 1954-6), various articles on the west frankish, anglo-saxon, and german *ordines,* originally published during the 193os, now conveniently reprinted in vols n and Ill of his collected papers, *K[aiser,] K[onige und] P[iipste]* (Stuttgart 1968). The imperial *ordines* have been edited by R. Elze, *Ordines Corottationis lmperialis, MGH Fontes Juris Germanici Antiqui, 9* (Hanover 196o). But only royal *ordines* will come under consideration below.

[3] See, for example, R. W. Southern, *The Maki11g cj the Middle Ages* {London 1953) pp 97 *et seq;* W. Ullmann, *P(rincip/es oj] G(overnment* and] *P(olitics in the Middle Ages]* (London 1961) pp 129 *et seq; The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Ki11gship* (London 1969) pp 101 *et seq;* B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State* (Englewood Cliffs 1964) pp 25 *et seq;* J. M Wallace-Hadrill, *&trly Germanic Ki11gship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford 1971) pp 133 *et seq.*

side to the coin. The value of *the* early medieval *ordines* can *be*, not perhaps overestimated, but misconstrued. 'The liturgies' may indeed tell us 'what was generally believed'-but *we* must first be sure that we know how they were perceived and understood by their participants, as well as by their designers. Thi!y need to be correlated with other sources, and as often as possible with 'private writings' too, before the full picture becomes intelligible.

Amongst the various materials for early medieval king-makings, such as laws, charters, chronicles, and sometimes literature or hagiography, the *ordines* occupy a singular position. As liturgical texts, they belong to a typeof historical record not nonnally used by general historians: thus their limitations, and the special problems of interpretation which they present, have not always been clearly recognised. If we are to 'consult' them with profit, we should consult liturgical scholarship also. With this in mind, I want briefly to consider certain aspects of the *ordi11es* which seem to bear on their value as historical material. I shall select most of my illustrations from the anglo-saxon *ordines*, because these texts are most easily available, and probably most familiar, in this country.[4]

The *ordines*, by their very nature, are far from providing complete or accurate records of specific actual king 1nakings. Theyareincomplete because they cover only the intra-ecclesiastical part of the process of installation. Sometimes, fortunately, some other source survives to fill in details of the ritual procedures outside the church. Perhaps the best-known example is Widukind's account of Otto I's inauguration in 936.[6] But for some tenth-century anglo-saxon cases comparable information can be pieced together. We can be fairly sure, for instance, in the light of a charter apparently issued by king Eadred just after his consecration in 946, that the liturgical rite was then preceded by a formal election in which magnates from all over the realm took part.

'Thanks especially to the publications of the *H(enry) B[radshaw] S(ociety)*. For the anglo--saxon *ordines* discussed below, the relevant editions are those of *The Lana/et Pontifical*, by G. H. Doble *HBS* 74 (for 1937); *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, by H. Wilson, *HBS* 24 (for 1903); *Three Coronation Orders*, by J. Wickham Legg, *HBS* 19 (for 1900); *The Claudius Pontificals*, by D. H. Turner, *HBS 97* (for 1964, publ 1971). Other editions will be cited below. As yet, unfortunately, there is no complete edition of the englisb *ordines*.

• Widukind, *Rer11m Gestarum Saxonicarwn Libri Tres*, ed H. E. Lohmann, rev P. Hirsch (Hanover 1935) pp 64 *et Mq.*

• W. G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxon/rum*, 3 vols (London 1885-93) no 8r5. This charter, dated 946, is translated with an excellent commentary by D. Whitelock, *English Historical Doci,ments*, I (London 1955) pp 508 *et seq.* The presence

Again, two pieces of hagiography, the *Vita Dunstani* for 956, and the *Vita Ostvaldi* for 973, show that the feast which followed the consecration had major significance in the series of legitimating acts.' Yet the *ordo* used in mid tenth-century England says nothing of the prior election outside the church, and mentions the feast only in the laconic concluding line: *Post pergant ad mensa,n.*[8] The *ordo* used in 973 opens with the king leaving the *conventus seniorum*, but does not elucidate the significance of this meeting, which I take to have involved a formal election by the Witan; and it says nothing at all about the feast.[9]

Many of the earliest *ordines* are scarcely more than lists of prayers. The king's consecration in the early tenth-century *Leofric Missal*, for example, which may well represent the earliest *ordo* to be used for a west saxon king, consists of seven prayers linked by rubrics which in most cases are no more explicit than *Benedictio* or *Alia*.[10] This layout represents an early phase in the development of such major rites as royal consecration or episcopal ordination. Only the broad structure was fixed, the details being left to the clerics who stage-managed each individual occasion. In the case of the bishop's rite, a letter written by Hincmar of Rheims provides details of an actual performance, and we can see how the bare bones of the texts in a ninth-century pontifical

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of northumbrian magnates and welsh princes at Eadred's inauguration may be inferred from the witness-list.

[1] *Vita Dunstani* (Auctore 'B')ed W. Stubbs in *Memorials of St Dunstan RS* (I874) p 32; *Vita Oswaldi* ed J. Raine in *Historians of the Church of York*, RS (1879) I, pp 437 *et seq*,tbis passage reprinted in Schramm, *KKP*, II, pp 24r *et seq*. On the significance of tbe feast, see K. Hauck, 'Rituelle Speisegemeinschaft im 10. und I 1. Jht.', in *St11dium Generale*, III (Heidelberg 1950) pp 6I I *et seq*.

[8] See P. L. Ward, 'An early version [of tbe Anglo-Saxon coronation ceremony'), in *EHR*, 57 (r942) pp 345 *et seq*,at p 358. I hope to show elsewhere that this *ordo* represents mid-tenth-century usage. For the priority of this *ordo* over that of 973, see Ward, 'The coronation ceremony in medieval England', in *S culum*, 14(1939) pp I6o *et seq*,at pp 169 *et seq*. Compare the earlier view of]. A. Robinson, 'Thecoronation order in the tenth century', *in]TS*, I9(z917) pp *56 et seq*.

• The text is most conveniently consulted in Schramm, *KKP*, II, pp 233 *et seq*, at p 239, showing manuscript variants. See also the text of BM Cotton Claudius Aiii, in Turner's edition, pp 89 and 94- For the association of this *ordo* with 973, see Schramm, *KKP*, II, pp 180 *et seq;* and the more convincing arguments of C. A. Bouman, *S[acring and) C[rowningJ* (Groningen 1957) p 18 and n I. Some of the objections raised by H. C. Richardson and G. Sayles, The *Governance of Medieval England* (Edinburgh 1963) pp 397 *et seq* have been answered by E.John, *Orbis Britanniae* (Leicester 1966) pp 276 *et seq*.

[10] Ed F. E. Warren (Oxford 1883) pp 230 *et seq*, the *ordo* reprinted in Schrarrun, *KKP*, II, pp 223 *et seq*. See also Bouman, *SC*, pp 167 *et seq*.

would be fleshed out in liturgical practice.[11] *As* for the 'Leofric' *ordo,* fortunately later manuscripts give fuller rubrical directions which seem to represent the way the rite was originally performed.[12] In the later middle ages, the *ordines* have increasingly detailed rubrics, prescribing, for example, the king's behaviour during the period preceding his consecration, the procession from palace to church, and the concluding feast.[13] But no *ordo* before the thirteenth century gives anything like an account of the ritual procedures as a whole.

In view of these severe limitations, the early medieval *ordines* might seem far less useful as historical sources than the later elaborate and explicit texts. But a further important consideration partly redresses the balance: it was in the early middle ages, particularly in the ninth and tenth centuries, that the first royal *ordines,* which decisively shaped all their successors, were actually composed. For this period alone, therefore, they are contemporary witnesses in the strict sense. The conservatism of scribes, and the universal, timeless and normative character of liturgy in general, ensured that an *ordo* would go on being copied out and used at times and places often far removed from those of its original composition.[1•] Indeed only quite rarely is it possible to date precisely the genesis of a prayer-text, or even a complete *ordo.* The clergy designing a rite **for a** specific royal consecration usually preferred to follow the main lines of a received indigenous tradition. But sometimes, as for instance when the practice of royal consecration itself was being introduced in a given realm, an imported *ordo* might

[11] Hincmar's letter to Adventius of Metz has been edited and well-discussed by M. Andrieu, 'Le sacre episcopal d'apres Hincmar de Reims', in *RHE,* 48 (1953) pp 22 *eJ seq.* The best general introduction to this subject is to be found in Bouman, *SC,* part U, esp pp 70 *et seq.*

[11] See Schrarrun, *K.KP, U,* pp 223 *et seq.* I have argued for a ninth-century dating for the whole *ordo* in my unpublished Cambridge dissertation, *Rituals of Royal I11auguration* i11 *Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1967) cap 5.

[11] See, for example, the *ordo* of Burgundy, ed E. Eichmann, 'Die sogenannte romische Konigskronungsformel', in *Historisches]ahrbuch,* 45 *Jahrbuch,* 45 (Cologne 1925) pp 518 *et seq.* I cannot agree with L. Bohm, 'Rechtsformen und Rechtstitel der burgundischen Konigserhebungen im 9.Jht.', in *Historisches]ahrbuch,* 8o (1961) pp 27 *et seq,* that the text of this *ordo* as it survives in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represents ninth-century practice. Two later medieval english *ordines* may be found in the fourteenth-century *Liber Rega/is,* ed L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Cor011ation Records* (Westminster 1901) pp 81 *et seq,*and in the fifteenth-century *Uber Regie Capelle,* ed W. Ullmann *(HBS,* 92 for *1959,* pub) 1961) pp 74 *et seq* and introduction, pp 22 *et seq.*

" Sec A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy,* rev B. Botte, new ed and trans F. L. Cross (Oxford 1958); and Bouman, *SC,* pp *55 et seq, 79 et seq.*

be used; or partial revisions might be made in a traditional text. In such a case, the *ordo* clearly would not reveal 'what was generally believed' in quite the same sense as it would in its original context of time and place.

The point is illustrated by an *ordo* which survives in more than a dozen french pontificals copied during the central and later middle ages, including the splendid *Coronation Book* of Charles V (1365). Here, in theanointing prayer itself, isa reference to the'sceptres of the Saxons, Mercians and Northumbrians.'[16] John Selden was moved to indignation: 'The negligence or forgetfulness that left these names in were almost incredible if we saw it not'.[18] Perhaps he asked himself in what conceivable sense these words in a fourteenth-century French liturgy revealed anything of 'what was generally believed' in fourteenth-century France! What they do reveal is, first that they were added to the anointing prayer originally in England, in the mid tenth century (though not a single anglo-saxon manuscript has survived to witness this), and second, that for the french scribes who copied them, and for the archbishops of Rheims who pronounced them, contemporary political relevance mattered not a stra,v. For the mention of the Saxons, Mercians and Northwnbrians had nothing to do with frencb dynastic claims to the realms of the english king:[17] the names appear already in french manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and I doubt whether even then their original meaning was understood in France. Nevertheless they are not without meaning. Long after the topical reference to anglo-saxon hegemonial rulership had been forgotten, the solemn copying out of these time honoured words in french manuscripts signified the profound respect of the later middle ages for ritual tradition, precisely observed. The medium itself had become the message.

Sirnilar questions of meaning are raised by the formal similarities which by the close of the tenth century had come to exist between royal and episcopal consecration-rites.[18] It may seem tempting to

[10] The manuscripts are listed by Ward, 'An early version', Pf 347 *et seq*, with the 'SMN' variant at p 352 (and n 6). The *Coronation Book* o Charles V has been edited by E. S. Dewick *(HBS,* 16 for 1899), with the variant at p 27.

,. *Titles of Honor* Bk[, c 8,p 177. Selden quite rightly saw that the names must have been 'without question taken out of some Saxon ceremonial'.

[17] As used to be surmised: see the note by Dewick in bis edition, p 80. These names seem to have reappeared at french royal consecrations for as long as the ancien regime lasted.

[18] See Eichmann, 'Konigs-und Bischofswcihe'.

regard these asexpressions of an ideology which drew constant parallels between the offices of king and bishop and in which kingship was delineated, in terms of a hierocratic doctrine, as the church's executive arm. While not wishing to deny that such significance may perhaps be discerned in some cases, I suggest that many of these parallels manifest 'laws' of liturgical development which governed the elaboration of major rites. For instance, the practice of beginning rites of personal consecration with the prostration of the initiate before the altar affected monastic profession and, later, the wedding service, as well as royal and episcopal consecrations.[19] Not surprisingly, status-changing rites were felt to have a common character in as much as they were the means by which an individual assumed a new social personality. As the prdimin.ary to such a transformation prostration was surely more than 'a gesture of deepest humility and contrition'[20] or 'a supplication;'[21] it symbolised the annihilation of the initiate's former personality in preparation for 'rebirth' into a new status. If, therefore, we find prostration specified before the consecrations of both king and bishop in the tenth century, this might be attributed to a trend in liturgical technique rather than to some ideologically motivated direct borrowing from the episcopal to the royal rite. Other kinds of elaboration can also be referred to the exigencies of actual performance, and as C. A. Bouman observed, 'the *horror vacui* has always been an active factor in the development of the liturgy.'[22]

As a final example of the difficulty of interpreting the texts of the *ordines*, the prayer, *Sta et retine* is worth considering. It see1ns to have been composed in west Francia eady in the tenth century as part of a complete series of seven prayers. Ever since it was brilliantly identified by Carl Erdmann, this 'Seven-Forms' *ordo* has been regarded as unusually rich in political ideas.[23] *Sta et retine*, in particular, refers to the

u See E. **H.** Kantorowicz, *I..audes Regiae* (Berkeley 1946) p 36,n 89,and p 90, n 84; Bouman, *SC,* pp 147 *et seq;* **K.** Ritzer, *Forme.n, Riten und religioses Braud,tum der Eheschliessung in de11 chrisliiclien Kirchen des ersteti Jahrtausends* (Munster 1962) p 258. The similarities between status changing rites were first pointed out by **A.** van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans **M.** Vizedom and G. L. Caffee (Chicago 1960).

.. Kantorowicz, *I..audes Regiae,* p. 91

[21] Bouman, *SC,* p **148.**

[st] *Ibid* p 147.

•• C. Erdmann, *Forschungen zur Politischen Idee11welt tks Fru/1mittelaters*(Berlin) 195I pp *56* ***et*** *seq,* and his edition of the *ordo,* pp 87 *et seq.* See also Schramm's interpretation: 'die Auffassung des Konigtums in die Otto I bincingewachsen ist' (-still believing the *ordo* to be a German composition of c 96o) in his articleof

king as *n,ediator cleri et plebis* in an explicit analogy with Christ's function as *n1ediator Dei et hcminun1*, but at the same time, the ritually-superior status of the clergy is en1phasised: . . . *q11a11to clerum sacris altaribus propi11q11ioren1 prospicis, ta11to ei potiorem it1 locis congn1is honorem in1pe11dere 1nen1i11eris*. It seems to me n1isleading, however, to interpret this prayer solely by reference to its *verbal* content, as an exposition of 'pure' ideology, hinc1narian, ottonian, theocratic or what you will. This, after all, is a prayer with a precise ritual function: it is, as Boun1an recognised, the sole surviving text specifically designed for the enthronement of the king. Now enthronement may well have been the central act in royal inaugurations before these came under ecclesiastical influence;[24] and it seems Lkely that, even as late as the tenth century, lay *principes* as ,veil as the officiating bishops continued to take part in this ritual, as they undoubtedly did in the acclan1ations which followed.[26] In the *ordo* used in tenth-century England, *Sta et reline* appears at the enthronement, immediately after which the king exercises *his* newly assun1ed powers in the issue of a three point 'programme' of good governn1ent aimed at the ,velfare of 'the church and the ,vhole Christian people.' Appropriately, therefore, the next and final act of the liturgical dra1na is the people's three-fold shout, *11ivat rex*, in recognition of the new king.[26] The significance assigned to the prayer *Sta et reline* must be compatible with th.is ritual corollary. From the standpoint of the lay subjects who witnessed it, the enthronement clearly signified the king's installation as holder of an office defined by tradition, in the interests of the 'christian people', and with duties more in evidence than rights and powers. We need constantly to recall that the consecration-rite involved more than the n1erely verbal component which we can read on the manuscript or printed page: it was replete with audio-visual, and even olfactory,[21] aids, by means of which communication extended to the illiterate lay participants.

1935, now reprinted in *KKP*, III, pp 81 *et seq*. Compare the views of Kantorowicz, [*Tire] K{i11g's) T[wo] B[odiesJ* (Princeton 1957) p 88; Ullmann, *1,cp*, pp 130, 14z *et seq*, and 'Der Souveranitatsgedanke in den mittclaltcrlichen Kronungsordines', in *Festschrift P. E. Sd,ra,11111* (Wiesbaden 1964) pp 81 *et seq;* Bouman, SC, pp 137 *et seq.*

.. See R. Schmidt, 'Zur Geschichte des frankischen Konigsthrons', in *Fruhmitte/-alterliche Studien,* II (Berlin 1968) pp *45 et seq.*

•• This is the arrangement envisaged in the 'Leofric', and related, *ordi s*. See above 331 n 10.

.. For the text, see Ward, 'An early version', p 357.

" For the aromatic ingredients in chrism, see P. Hofmeister, *Die heilige11 Ole inder morgen-und abendlandischen Kirche* (Wiirzburg 1948) pp :25 *et seq.*

Once the church performed such essential symbolic acts asinvestiture and enthronement, the whole king making ritual assumed a strongly clerical colouring. But to view this as a kind of hierocratic take over bid, to term it a 'clericalisation' ofkingship,[28] is to risk misrepresenting early medieval reality. h1 support of a rather different view. I should like to relate the process of *Liturgiesierung*[29] to the general problem of the *ordines'* significance in terms of political ideas.

The clerical performance of the intra-ecclesiastical rites of king 1naking, in particular of the anointing patterned after the biblical *unctio in regem*,[38] certainly resulted from a differentiation of roles within christian society. The clergy were now bdieved to be uniquely qualified to operate with thesymbols that bridged the gulf between the material world of time and flux and the celestial world of the unseen, unchanging, eternal. The practical manifestation of this belief was that the laity confided, and the clergy willingly assumed, specialist ritual functions. The anglo-saxon evidence, at least, suggests no conflict of interests here. The aspect of tenth-century king makings which seems to be of paramount importance is the expression, and presumably the reinforcement, of solidarity between officiants and witnesses, between ruler and ruled. The clearest indication of this is the presence within the *ordo* of a royal commitment to certain recognised norn1s of right government. We have already noticed the three point 'progran1me' of one tenth-century rite. In the *ordo* of 973, the formulation shifts from that of a three part command issued by the newly enthroned king, to that of a three fold promise made by the king as the preliminary, and condition, of his consecration.[31] The constitutional itnplicarions of this change have been stressed often enough.[32] But perhaps just as

•• Kantorowicz, *KTB,* p 89. Compare the penetrating comments of R. Nincham, 'Theso-ailed Anonymous of York', inJEH14(1963) pp 31 *et seq* at p 41 *et seq.*

0 This term was used by O. Treitinger, *Die Ostromische Kaiser-wul Reiclisidee 11ach i/,rer Gestalt11ng imhofischen* Zerem0tiiel/Qena 1938) pp 233 *et seq,* with reference to developments in Byzantium. It is hard to think of an elegant englisb translation.

-0 SeeJ. *De* Pange, *Le Roi tres c/11etien* (Paris 1949); Kantorowicz, *La111les Regiae,* pp *56 et seq;* A.R.Johnson, *Sacral Ki11gslrip i11 At1cie11t Israel* (Cardiff 1955) pp 12*et seq.*

31 For the text, see Schrarnm, *KKP,* II, p 235.

•• See Schramm, *History of tire English Coronatio11,* pp 179 *et seq;* M. David, 'Le sermentdusacredu IXeauXVesieclc.Contribution al'etudedes lin1iresjuridiques de la souverainete', in *Rev11e d11 Moye11 Age Latin, 6* (Lyons 1950), p 144 *et seq.* F. Kern, *Gottesgnadenru,n und Widerstandsrecht im fruhere11 Mittelalter,* rev R. Buchner (2 ed Munster 1954), anhang 14, pp 304 *et seq,* tried (in 1ny view unsuccessfully) to obliterate the distinction between precept and promise. See also Bouman, *SC,* pp 144 *et seq.*

striking as the difference of form is the identity of content between the earlier *mandatum* and the later *promissio.* If the king is the subject of both acts, the recipient of both is also identical: the *popHlus christianus.*

But the full significance of the introduction of a fully fledged oath in the later tenth century is not apparent in the *ordi11es* texts themselves. Other evidence fortunately survives. The king was given a copy of the oath inanglo-saxon from which, presumably, heread out its provisions so that all the 'christian folk' present - to whom after all the commitment was given - could understand.[38] This text was then laid on the altar before which the consecration was performed. The manuscript evidenceshows that the vernacular oath was linked with an address, also inanglo-saxon,[81] to thenewking, exhorting him to keep his promises:

> The christian king who keeps these engagements
> earns for himself wordly honour, and the eternal
> God also is merciful to him....But if he violate
> that which was promised to God, then shall it
> forthwith right soon grow worse among his people ...

The king is reminded of his responsibility for 'the flock of which thou hast been made the shepherd in this life'. It is he who, on judgement day, will have to 'give account how thou l1eldest that which Christ afore purchased with his own blood'. The king's obligations are then spelt out in far more detailed and specific terms than in the *ordo* itself:

> The duty of a hallowed king is that he judge no man
> unrighteously, and that he defend and protect widows
> and orphans and strangers, that he forbid thefts ...
> feed the needy with alms, and have old and wise men
> for counsellors, and set righteous men for stewards ...

That an address of this type was a feature of late saxon consecrations is supported by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* MSS C and E, in its account of Edward the Confessor's inauguration in 1043:

.. For the text.seeSchramm, KKP,11 pp243*etseq,*withreferences to othereditions. This oath is explicitly linked with Dunstan. It was given 'at Kingston', and could relate to 975 (Edward) or 978 (Aethelred).

u BM Cotton Cleopatra B xiii is dared to the third quarter of the eleventh century. BM Cotton Vitellius A vii, of the first half of the eleventh century, was damaged in the fire of 1731, but a copy of it survives: Oxford Bodleian, Junius 6o. In both manuscripts the address followed the oath. I quote below from the translation by Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dimstan,* pp 356 *et seq.*Professor D. Whitelock kindly drew my attention to this text.

> Archbishop Eadsige consecrated him and gave him good instructions before all the people, and admonished him well for his own sake and for the sake of all the people.[36]

Here the archbishop fulfils a representativefunction: he administers the oath, admonishes the king, and performs the consecration, but he acts on behalf of the whole people. They are the recipients of the oath, the beneficiaries of its terms, the wimesses to the consecration. However passive they might appear, their participation is vital. In their name divine sanctions are invoked to constrain the king; and the ritual process of election, consecration and installation reaffirms the collective interests of king, church and 'christian folk', claiming divine authorisation for the political society thus constituted.[86]

One last point can be made concerning the interpretation of the early medieval *ordines:* they are better approached as patterns of symbols expressing the continuity and integration of society through the kingship, than as juristic texts in which conflicting hierocratic or theocratic claimsare cleady spelled out.Later, it is true, lawyers and polemicists could, and did, interpret the *ordines* in this latter sense. Much was made, on the papalist side, of the superiority of those who blessed over those who received blessing. On the royalist side, the norman Anonymous, finding in an ancient but still current regal benediction (probably of merovingian origin) the prayer, *Benedic domine hunc presulem principe111,* exploited the apparent conflation of episcopal and royal functions to argue that if the king was *presul, et summ,1s pres11l est, quia super alios presules principatum habet.*[37] Thefrankish and anglo-saxon clerics who continued to copy and use this prayer-text in the tenth century, when *presul* had long since come to be used exclusively of episcopal office,

,. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation,* ed D. Whitelock with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London 1961) p 107.

н Compare 0. Gierke, *Pol/tical Theories of the Middle Age,*_trans F._ W. - dand (Cambndge 1900) p 34: Lordship was never merely a nght; pnmanly 1t was a duty; it was divine, but for that very reason an all the more onerous calling; it was a public office.' M. Douglas, *Nalural Symbols* (London 1970) pp *55 et seq* recalling Durkheim's premise 'dtat society and God can beequated', suggests a correlation between the development of ritual as 'a system of control as well as a system of communication' and the value placed on 'effective social coherence' within a given society. See also *ibid* pp 73 *et seq,* where professor Douglas outlines the social conditions in which ritual is likely to be emphasised.

" All the treatises of the Anonymous, including the *De consecratione pontijic11111 et regum et de regimine eorum* in *ecclesia sane.ta,* are now edited by K. Pellens (Wiesbaden 1966). The quotation is from p 16oof hisedition; *ibid* pp 166 *et seq,is* the

were slow to react against what should by then have appeared a solecism: not until 973 was the wording altered to ... *h1111c praeelecmm principe111*, with a neat double reference to divine and human preselection. We must conclude that the *ordines* of the tenth century were neither conceived nor w1derstood in precise legalistic tern1S, even by clerical specialists. E. H. Kantorowicz contrasted the political ideas of the early middle ages, 'still hedged in by a general framewo1k of liturgical language and theological thought', with the law-centred kingship of the succeeding period: there was an 'evolutionary change'-'from liturgy to legal science'.[38] Pursuing the implications of this subtle contrast, we might observe that where the lawyer deals in conflicts, operating with logic through nice verbal distinctions, the liturgist deals in communications, operating with faith through a symbolic code. In view of these differences, he who consults the early medieval *ordines* should be wary of imposing on the ageof liturgy the preoccupations of an age of law.

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royal *ordo* quoted in exteuso. The Anonymous was using an earlier version of the anglo-saxon ordo of 973: see Nineham, 'The so-called Anonymous of York', pp 34 *et seq.* The prayer *Benedic domine hos presules principes* appears in the *Sacramentary* of Angouleme of *c* 800, ed P. Cagin, *Le sacrame,uair gelasien d'A11goulime* (Angouleme 1919) fol 168v. I believe that its content sho,vs it to be a late Merovingian composition: see my unpublished dissertation, pp 44 *et seq.* For the later role of this prayer (referring now only to a single ruler) as part of 'the stock of "regal texts"', sec Bouman, *SC,* pp 75 *et seq.* In some tenth-century manuscripts, its *iricipit* is recast to read, *Benedic domine hunc principem*, or *hunc regem*, compare Bouman, SC, pp 174 and 180, but *presul* remains in the 'Leofric' *ordo,* ed Warren, p 2,51, inthe*ordo* of the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, ed Wilson, p 146, and in the *ordo* of the Sacramentary of Ratold of Corbie, ed Ward, 'An early version', p 357. Compare above 331 n 10.

[88] Kantorowicz, *KTB,* pp 87 *et seq.*

THE EARLIEST ROYAL *ORDO:* SOME LITURGICAL AND flISTORICAL ASPECTS*

IN Hrs OWN CONTRIBUTION to the *Festschrifl* for P. E. Schramm, Walter Ullmann wrote with characteristic generosity of Schramm's 'brilliant accomplishments' in the field of *Ordinesforschung,* and modestly olfered his own remarkable paper as 'only a note' thereto.[1] I now olfer the following further note, which consists in part of a revision of some of Schramm's work but would have been inconceivable without it, as a tribute to the no less brilliant accomplishments of Walter Ullmann himself He will know just how much it owes to his inspiration.

Schramm began his study of the Anglo-Saxon *Ordines*[2] by distinguishing between, on the one hand, the date at which royal anointing was introduced and the king-making ritual in part assumed a liturgical form, and, on the other, the date at which a fixed rite was established and written down as an *Ordo.* While acknowledging the relevance of this distinction (in this paper I confine myself to the *Ordines)* and the possibility of such a time-lag, I would stress a further distinction between the date at which a fixed rite was used and the date of its earliest surviving 1nanuscripts. That these may dilfer widely is the first and fundamental lesson that historians have to learn from liturgists. The *Ordo* Schramm identified as the earliest English one survives today in three manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian MS *579* (the so-called Leofric Missal), Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale MS lat.10575 (the so-called Egbert Pontifical), and Rouen, Bibliotheque Municipale MS A.27 (the

* I am very grateful to HerrJosef Kirschner foe kindly allowing me to draw on his work before it waspublished; to Mr Christopher Hohler for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper; and especially to Professor Dorothy Whitelock for her usual unstinting help.

1 'Der Souveranitatsgedanke in den mirtelalterlichen Kronungsordines', in *Fesu,h,ift Schramm,* ed. P. Cla.ssen and P. Scheibert (2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1964), t, p. 72.

• 'Die Kronung bei den Wrstfrankcn und Angelsacbsen von 878 bis um 1000•, *ZRG* Kan., XXIII (1934), pp. n7-242, nowreprinted with some addition;il references in S<:hramm's collected papers, *Koistt, Koni mul Piipste* (4 vols., Stuttgart, 1968), 11, pp. 140-248. All my references below are to the latter reprint of the 1934 article.

Lanalet Pontifica .3 In the case of the Egbert Pontifical, liturgists had long since pointed to a time-lag between the date of the manuscript, c.1000, and the date of its contents, allegedly the mid-eighth century; but because the arguments adduced in this case were unsound,4 Schramm was able to ignore not only them but also their methodological implications for the treatment of liturgical materials in general. The Lanalet Pontifical is now usually assigned to the later tenth or early eleventh century. As for the Leofric Missal, Schramm followed its editor in believing this manuscript to have been written in Lotharingia *c.900* but claimed, idiosyncratically, that its royal *Ordo* was among the additions made to the book in England *c.969.s*

Schramm's conclusions, which he emphasised werebased on a manuscript tradition going back to 'the tenth century and no earlier', were first, that although royal anointing was practised in England 'from 787 onwards' no fixed rite existed until the *96os*, and second, that the *Ordo* of the Leofric Missal (hereafter 'Leofric') represented a 'first draft' and the *Ordo* of the other two manuscripts (hereafter 'Egbert'/'Lanalet') a revised and amplified version of a royal *Ordo* drawn up by St Dunstan 'between *960* and 973' but never actually used. These two main conclusions, repeated in Schramm's *History of the English Coronation*

- The Lcofric Missal was edited by F. E. Warren (Oxford, 1883), the *Btntdictiones suptT r,gem 11ovittT eltctum* there pp. 230-2 (I hope to justify below my application of the term *Ordo* to this series of benedictions, which form a full rite of royal iMuguration including anointing); the Pontifical of Egbert by W. Greenwell, Surtees Society vol. xxvn (Durham. 1853), the consecration-rite *(Btntdictio)* there pp. 100-5; the Lanalct Pontifical by G. H. Doble, Henry Bradshaw Society vol. LXXIV (London, 1937), the rite there (with only the *i11cipits* of theprayers appearing also in the *Btnedictio,u1I of Archbishop Robert, ed.* H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society vol. xx1v (London, 1903)) pp. *5 3.* Schramm, *Kaiser,* pp. 223-33, gives further details and prints the *Ordo,* giving some (not all) variants of these three texts and of a fourth, the royal consecration-rite in the eleventh-century Pontifical of Milan, ed. M. Magistrctti (Milan, 1897), pp. u2-19, in which a riteof the above *type* isspliced in withthe West Frankish 'Seven-Forms'. C. A. Bouman, *Sacrit1g and Oowni11g* (Groningcn, 1957), pp. *9-15*, 23-4, gives further details and supplies some corrections to Warren's and Grcenwell's editions. Clearly, a new edition of the *Ordo* is urgently needed. I have been able to consult the Paris MS and photographs of theOxford one. I dealt with this *Ordo* at length in my unpublished dissertation, 'Rituals of Royal Inauguration in Early Medieval Europe' (Cambridge, 1967), ch. *5*, for which the irupiration and careful supervision of Walter Ullmann roust here be gratefully acknowledged. I wish to make dear, however, that some of the views expressed therein. especially on the early English *Ordines* (brielly indicated in my paper (ch. 10 above, pp. 247-8)), were wrong, and that I have thoroughly revised them in what follows.
- **At** the beginning of the Paris MS appears material from penitential canons once attributed to Archbishop Egbert of York (734-66). But the attribution is very questioll:lbleand,as Schramm "1W, need have no bearing on the date of the Pontifical proper.
- For the *most* recent opinions on the date and character of all three books, see D. H. Turner, *The Claudius Po11tific•ls,* Henry Bradshaw Society vol. xcvu (1971, issued for the year 1964), pp. xvi-xxviii, xXJCiii; and C. Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in D. Parsons, ed., *Ttnth-Ctntury Studies* (London, 1975\, pp. 6o-83, 217-27 (notes).

(Oxford, 1937) and more recently in bis collected papers, *Kaiser, Konige und Piipste,* continue to be accepted by leading historians of Anglo-Saxon England.[6] Yet work already published before 1934 (some of it then unknown to Schramm) as well as subsequent critical studies show both Schramm's conclusions to be untenable. They have survived partly through a regrettable lack of contact between liturgists and general historians, partly through the magic of Schramm's name reinforced, notably, by the magic of Sir Frank Stenton's, and partly through the coincidence that Schramm's two liturgist-critics, P. E. Ward[7] and C. A. Bouman (the latter unfortunately writing in ignorance of Ward's work), both abandoned academic life after publishing relatively little. It is now clear that the methods of *Diplomforschung,* which Schramm quite explicitly applied to the medieval *Ordines,* are simply not appropriate for liturgical documents.[a] In what follows, taking up some problems where Ward and Bouman left off and drawing on more recent liturgists' work, I attempt a long-overdue revision of Schramm's views and offer an alternative hypothesis which, whatever historical questionmarks it leaves, at least does no violence to the liturgical evidence.

I. THE 'LEOFRIC' ORDO AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE 'ORDO' OF JUDITH

Ward already observed against Schra111m that the royal *Ordo* belongs to that part of the Leofric Missal which was written *c.900.9* 'Leofric' therefore could not have been Dw1stan's work. But how much earlier than *c.900* was such an *Ordo* in existence? The earliest securely dated royal *Ordo* is that used for Judith, Charles the Bald's daughter, as queen of the West Saxons when she married ..-Ethelwulf in 856.[10] Schramm classed this *Ordo* as West Frankish,[11] not Anglo-Saxon,

- See F. M. Stcnton, *Anglo-Saxon England,* 3rd cdn (Oxford, 1971), p. 368; C. J. Godfrey, *Tiu: Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 382;H. G. Richardson and G. 0. Sayles, *The Governance of Medieval England* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 39S--9.

"The Coronation Ceremony in Medieval England', *Sp,culum.* xiv (1939), pp. 16o-78; *·An* Early Version of *the* Anglo-Saxon Coronation Ceremony', *EHR,* LVJJ (1942), pp. 345--01.

- For excellent suggestions on method, see Bouman. *,So,ring,* pp. *50-89;* R. Elze, ed., *Ordir1es Coronationis lmptrialis,* MGH, Fontes Juris Germ:mici Antiqui, 1x (Hanover, 1900), pp. xxiv-xxxv.
- Ward, 'Coronation Ceremony', pp. 162-3.

[a] *&11tdictlo super r,ginam quam Edelulfus rex auepil in uxorem,* ed. from a now lost Liege MS by J.Sirmond, *Hincmari a,chltpluopi rtmensls optra* (Paris, 1645), I, pp. 741-4; reprinted in MGH, Capit.11, no. 2!)6, pp. .µ5-7. (The couple were married at Verberie).

[11] 'Ordine-s-Studien 11: die Kronung in Frankrcich', *A,d,iv fiir Urkunde,,foruh11ng,* xv (1938), p. 8.

attributing not only its structure but also its prayer-forms to Hincrnar's authorship and ignoring the question of what sources Hincmar might have drawn on in existing regal liturgies, whether Frankish or English. Scholars have long been aware that 'Leofric' and 'Judith' are related. Schramm, asserting the priority of '.Judith', neglected the important article of Armitage Robinson, where the case for the priority of the king's *Ordo* was soundly based on careful comparison of the prayer-texts, showing the 'Judith' forms to be adaptations, those of 'Leofric' original.[12] Bouman produced some additional evidence pointing the same way, but he was very cautious about attributing a date pre-856 to 'the"Leofric" formulary as a whole', insisting only that some of the regal blessing-formulae which compose it were available in 856.[13]

As I hope to show, Robinson was substantially correct. But neither he nor Bouman really disposed of Schramm's main argument for the priority of a queen's *Ordo* over the king's: namely, the appearance in 'Leofric' of two passages which Schramm diagnosed as borrowings from the *Consecratio virgi11um* of the Gelasian Sacramentary[14] - proof enough, he claimed, of the dependence of 'Leofric' upon Judith', 'for how could anyone in the case of a king have conceived the idea of putting a prayer over virgins at the base of the *Ordo?'1s* What are these alleged borrowings? First, Schramm observed that the *incipit* of the opening prayer of 'Leofric', 'Te invocamus domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus', is paralleled in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries only in the *Oratio super ancillas Dei*. Second, in the prayer 'Benedic domine hunc presulem principem', there are three clauses almost identical with a passage in the *Consecratio virginun1*. (It was because these clauses do not in fact appear in Judith', as we have it, that Schramm felt forced to hypothesise a lost 'fuller version' - for whose existence there is otherwise no evidence at all.) Schramm's argument has, at first sight, considerable force: *even* if another possible source for *either* of the two passages in question could be found,

[12] J. A. Robinson, 'The Coronation Order in the Tenth Century', *}TS,* xix (1918), pp. s6-7z. esp. pp. 62-3. Schramm haddiscovered this article by 1938 when he listed it, without comment, in **a** bibliography in 'Ordines-Studien m: die Kronung in Engbnd', *Archiv fiir Urku11den-forsd,ung,* xv (1938), p. 3o8. It is important to stress that in reprinting his 1934 paper in 1968, Scluamm did not take the opportunity for any serious revision, merely citing Robinson's article, *Kiliser*, p. 169, n. 1, with thecomment: 'seine Feststellungcnsind - wic ichhotfe - durcl1 meine FeststeUungen Ubetholt'(l).

ns *ocrmg*, pp. 100-3, 110-11, 153.

[14] Ed. **L.** C. Mohlberg, *Uber S=amc11torum Romanae EaleriM Ordin/J Atmi Circuli. (Sacramentarlum Gelosia,1um),* Rerum Ecdesiasticatun1 Documenta, Series maior, Fontes IV (Rome, 1958), p. 126.

Schramm's explanation, relying on a single source as the model for *both*, would remain the most parsimonious one. But close examination of the liturgical sources shows Schramm's to be a false economy. In the borrowed clauses of 'Benedic domine', there are two critical variant readings, one of which occurs in the Gelasian *Consecratio virginum* but not in the Gregorian, the other in the Gregorian but not the Gelasian.[16] Only in the Leonine Sacramentary *(Veronense)* do both these variants occur: yet the *incipit* 'Te invocamus' does not appear in the Leonine virgins' prayer.[17] Thus, since we cannot in any event manage with fewer than two sources for these borrowings, we do better to deal separately with them.

'Te invocamus' is an *incipit* rare but not unparalleled in the Visigothic *Liber Ordinun1*,[18] where it occurs, for instance, in the *Oratio ad barbas tondendas*, part of what in the Spanish book is still a coming-of-age rite adopted by the early church fro1n pagan Rome.[19] In the Gclasian Sacramentary, a similar prayer has become associated with clerical orders. A comparison of these prayers with the opening benediction of 'Leofric' is suggestive:

Lib. Ord.	Gd.	'uofric'
Te invocamus, aeterne omnipotens deus, ut abundantia fontis niae benedicas hunc famulum tuum ilium ... Postea: Oratio ... respicc propitiw ... ut per huius benedict.- ionis copiam ad **iuvenilem se ecatem** pcrvenire congaudeat ktabundus ... ut ... gratiam per manus **inpositionem accipiac,** sicut David per manus Samuelis accepit quod in apostolorum niorunt tipo prefiguratu1n est.	Dew cuius providentia **creatura omnes cremcntes** adulta congaudet, propitius super hunc famulum tuum **iuveniJia aetarjs decorem** laetanteu> et florem primis awpiciis adtundentem ... ••	**Tcinvocamus,** d.s.p.o.a.d., ut hunc farnulum tuum quem tuae divine dispell.S3tionis providcntia ... usquc ad hunc presentent diem iuvenili ftore laetantcm **crescere concess- isri** ...

" Gregorian, ed. J. Deshusses, Le *Sacramenl4ire Grlgorieu*,Spicilcgium Friburgcnse, XVT (Freiburg, 1971), p. 420: 'tu in merore solatium', where the Gclasian reads 'consolatio'. But the words 'In te habeat omnia' in the Gelasian have disappeared from the Gregorian version.

17 Ed. C. Mohlberg, *Saaa1t1tntari11111 Veroueiue*, R.E.D., Fontes 1 (Rome, 1956), pp. 1 39-40.

13 Ed. M. Fcrorin, *Mom1meuta Ectlesiat Liturgica*, v (Paris, 1904), p. 294. On such related expressions as 'Te rogamus', *etc.*,see E. Bishop, 'Liturgical Note' to *T/,e Book ofCmie*,ed. **A. B.** Kuypers (Cambridge, 1902), p. 258. Sec also Bouman. *Sacri11g*, p. *58*, n. 1, for 'dominc sancte pater .. .' etc. as 'a commonplace of cuchology'.

,. Ed. Fcrotin, p. 37. Sec **A.** Chavasse, *Le Sacramcntaire C,!/asie11* (Tournai, 1958), pp. 451-2.

•• Ed. Mohlberg, p. 229.

Regrettably, no comparable Leonine *Oratio* exists: if it did, we might have found here further evidence for the link which Coebergh traced between the sixth-century Roman liturgy and early Spanish texts.[21] In any case, it seems just as plausible to suggest that the author of the regal blessing drew on a coming-of-age rite as on a nun's consecration, especially if he were writing at a time and place in which Spanish texts could well have been available.

In fact the Spanish and insular affinities of the first two 'Leofric' prayers ('Te invocamus' and 'In diebus', Bouman suggests, were originally one)[22] are so obvious as to strike any open-minded reader. Spanish and insular 'symptoms' abound: *plasmatun1; de die in dien1* ..• *ad rneliora proficere; pax et securitas;* the antithesis *cor-corpus*.[23] Relevant also are those Leonine affinities which C. Hohler now shows to becharac-teristic of insular as well as Spanish liturgies.[24] Schramm preferred to see 'In diebus' asa *Virt11osenstuck* of a kind 'beloved by the age of Charles the Bald',zs but he adduced no evidence in support of this statement, and the *liturgical* sources of that period will not, I think, afford any. Bouman was equally disinclined to see the obvious: noting the pro-nounced use of alliteration in these two prayers, he admitted that 'we might be tempted to regard the phenomenon ... as an indication of their insular origin', but he resisted temptation by stalwartly concen-trating on a literary tradition that linked Sidonius and Venantius with ninth-century Frankish writers, and finally by appealing to Schramm's comment on 'the age of Charles the Bald'. But Bouman, on his own admission, started from the assumption that these prayers were West Frankish of the mid-ninth century, and then proceeded to find an 'argument of style ... entirely consistent with that conclusion'. Thus again, he described 'Te invocamus' as 'a wordy *oratio* of the Frankish-German pattern', and 'In diebus' as possibly designed to be pronounced 'as a "Gallican" benediction'.[26] What neither Schramm nor Bouman recognised is that not a literary but a *liturgical* context is of primary

[11] C. Coebergh, 'S2cr2menuite leonien et liturgic mourabe', in *Mi$Ctllanea liturgica in honortm* L. C. *Mohl/Nrg* (2 vols., Rome, 1948-9), u, pp. 295-304-

[11] See F. E. Warren, *Tk Liturgy and Ritual of the Ct/tic Chiud*, (Oxford, 1881), p. 168, n. t; Bishop, 'Liturgical Note', pp. 252-3; G. Manz, *Ausdrutksformen dtr lttUinischen LJturgkJp,a<hen bisins H]ht.* (BCUion, 1941), pp. 23-9; A.Dold and L. Ezenhocfcr, eds., *Das /rische Palimpscst-salu4men"'1 im Clm. 1#29* (Bcuron, 1964), p. 88; H. Porter, 'The Origin of the Medieval Rite for Anointing the Sick·, *)TS*, n.s. vn(1956), p. 219.

u 'Service Books', pp. 79-80. Compare *itkm*, 'The Type of Sacument:iry used by St Boniface', in *Sankt &nifaJius Ctdenkgabt* (Fulda, **1964),** pp. 89-93.

relevance here. In relation to that context, Bouman's mention only of Frankish and Gallican parallels is dangerously misleading when in fact extended alliteration, rhymed cola and rhythmic cursus are all well-known stylistic features of Spanish and insular liturgies par excellence.[27] There is one further piece of evidence for the insular origin of 'In diebus': the prayer 'Deus qui sub tuae maiestatis arbitrio', which appears in the rite for an abbot's consecration and which is clearly modelled on the king's prayer 'In diebus', is present in no fewer than seven liturgical books of English origin, and *only* in these.[28] Though none of them predates the tenth century, the fact that the abbot's prayer was then so widely used in England implies its considerably earlier adaptation, also in England, from the regal text.

The second alleged 'borrowing' by the 'Leofric' redactor from the *Consecratio virgin11n1* consists of three clauses in the series of benedictions beginning 'Benedic domine hunc presulem principem'.[29] If, as the variants here suggest, the source of these clauses was a Leonine rather than a Gelasian or Gregorian Sacramentary, this would itself imply early date and the possibility of insular provenance.[30] Further, the whole passage beginning 'Sit in eis' (including all our borrowed clauses) in the Leonine virgins' prayer may originally have existed separately as 'a traditional form of blessing on solemn occasions',[31] and thus lacked any specific connection with virgins only. Certainly its wider suitability is shown by its use for the blessings of widows, kings and abbots. Thus we need not follow Schramn1 in regarding the presence of these clauses as proof of the dependence of the 'Leofric' king's *Ordo* on 'Judith'. Study of early Christian rites of passage as a group shows, not surprisingly, that these were felt to contain a common

•• The fundamental work remains Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), esp. pp. 163-202. See also W. Meyer, *Cesammdte Abft<md/111,ge,1 zur miltellattini.sc/ren Rhythmik* (2 vols., Berlin, 190s), ,, pp. 178, 192-3; K. Polheirn. *Die /ateinistht Rtimprosa* (Berlin. 1925), pp. 309-11; L. Brou, 'Probltmcs liturgiqucs cbez Saint Isidore', in *lsidoriana* (l.e6n, 1961), pp. 193-209; Dold and Eizenhoefer, *Palimpsestsakramentar,* pp. 87-9.For thebackground, secJ. N. Hillgarth, 'The E'1.!t, Visigothic Spain and the Irish', *Studia Patristica,* 1v (1961), pp. 442-s6; *idem,* 'Visi-gothic Spain and Early Christian !reland', *Proceednrgs of the Royal Irish Ac4<lemy,* cxn(1962), pp. 167-94,

u Turner, *Clt1Udius Pontificals,* pp. xxxvi-xxxvii. V. LeroqU3is, *LtsP0111ificauxManustrits dts biblio-th/quts pub/iquts de France* (4 vols., Paris, 1937), notes no further instance of this p ycr.

n Schramm, *Kaiser,* p. 229: clauses l., m., n. and the beginning of o. ('arnore te timcat et timoi:e diligat. Tu ei honor sis, tu gaudium, tu voluntas .. .' etc.).

•• Above, p. 346.

[11] 0. G. Harrison, 'The Formulas "Ad virgines sacras". **A** Study of the Sources', *Ephtmtrides Liturgicae,* LXVI (1952), pp. 26o-1. But R. *Metz,* Li *Consluation des viergts tkns l'lglist romailtt* (Paris, 1954), p. 16o, n. 81, remains sceptic2I.

quality, such that borrowings from one to another were thought apt: from baptism to monastic profession, from the bishop's consecration to the king's to the abbot's, from the abbess's to the queen's, and so forth.32

If Schramm's case for the priority of 'Judith' must be rejected, can the priority of the 'Leofric' *Ordo* as such be affirmed? Bouman thought it 'easier to date some of the formulas ... than the formulary as a whole'.33 But he was needlessly cautious. The near-identical ordering of the prayers in 'Leofric' and Judith' cannot be coincidental. The model which Hincmar had before him in 856 opened with 'Te invocamus', which needed relatively little adaptation for a queen; and if, on Bouman's own showing, this prayer and 'In diebus' which follows it in 'Leofric' originally 'belong together', Hincmar could have had both available but bypassed the second because he was using 'Te invocamus' as a *prooemium* to the consecration prayer which he was now casting as a Preface on the pattern of other major rites.34 Then the model gave the 'Leofric' anointing-prayer, 'Deus electorum', which had to be adapted, in a characteristically Hincmarian style, for a royal lady.35 It seems likely that the model next included the 'Leofric' benediction-series beginning 'Benedic domine hunc presulem principem': Hincmar adapted its first clause for Judith- a fact unnoticed by Bouman.36 Next in the model came the blessings 'Omnipotens deus det tibi' and 'Bencdic domine fortitudinem': in these prayers, which in 'Leofric' consist wholly of scriptural quotations, the adaptation for Judith is especially obvious. The only 'Leofric' prayer which cannot be shown to have influenced 'Judith' is the last, 'Deus perpetuitatis', but it was associated with an enthronement-ritual which would not have been required at Verberie.37 Otherwise, the content and structure of

•• For some detailed references, see above, chapter 10, p. 242, n. 4 and chapter 14, p. 334, n. 19.

11 *Sacri11g,* p. 153.

" *Ibid.,* pp. 100-3.

•• Compare the Old Testament paradigms introduced here with those of the *canstcratio* in Hincmar's *Ocdo* of 877. Of the two 'quaint words' in the adapted section noted by Bouman, *Socring,* pp. 60, n. **1,** and 111, as 'not in keeping with the sober and traditional vocabulary of the rest of the formula', *luci.fiU4Jn* was used by Hincmar in the *Anna/es Berliniimi, s.a. 868,* while *t.fferatum* is biblical.

11 The 'kofric' series is largely borrowed from two eighth-century Gelasian regal benedictio11s. A further argumeru for the priority of 'Leofric' is thus the improbability of Hincmar's having drawn directly on the eighth-century Gelasian source for just one clause of 'Judith'.

*' It was al.so used asan *Oratio super militantes,* which might have been thought inappropriate for Judith. The prayer's earlie,t appearance under this rubric was not, as Schramm and, surprisingly, Bouman *(Sacring,* p. 67) seem to have believed. in the Sacramentary of Fulda (c.950), but in the Lcofric Missal on the very same folio as the royal *Ordo itself:* its last three

'Judith' implies not only, as Bouman suggested, that Hincmar's sources in 856 included some regal benedictions like those of'Leofric', but that Hincmar had before him a series in precisely 'Leofric's' order and with the anointing-prayer occupying the same central place. If we add the negative evidence that Hincmar had to compose a coronation-prayer forJudith presumably because his model lacked one, we need no longer leave open Bouman's possibility that 'the Order [of 'Leofric'] as such may have been composed at a later date than 856'. In other words, a full king's *Ordo* of 'Leofric' type was in existence by the mid-ninth century.

II. WHERE DOBS THE 'LEOFRIC' 'oRoo' COME FROM?

Theeditor of the Leofric Missal, F. E. Warren, was convinced that this was a Lotharingian manuscript. More recently, Ward has claimed on 'paleographical grounds' that the 'Leofric' *Ordo* was evidence for 'Flanders *ca.900'*. Bouman, independently, inferred that the regal benedictions in the Leofric book 'are undoubtedly of West Frankish origin' though remaining 'no more than an "outsider" ' on the continental side of the Channel, while Robinson having established the dependence of '.Judith' on 'Leofric' thought that this showed the latter to have been 'current in Rheims before 856'.[38] Now since the material in a liturgical (or any other) manuscript may originate in a diJferent location from that in which the manuscript itself was written, it may seem odd that none of these three scholars seriously considered the possibility that 'Leofric' was English. Perhaps embarrassed or irritated by the chauvinism (real or imagined) of earlier and insular writers,[39] Robinson, Ward and Bouman, and I myself until recently, were very ready to accept indications of a continental origin for the earliest extant royal *Ordo*. Fortunately Hohler has now addressed the

lines immediately precede the Ordo's opening rubric on fo.302v. The prayer reappears, along with the two benedictions precedir>g it in 'Leofrlc', to form **a** *Btntdictio principis*, following blessings of banner and weapons, in a rwelfth-century Cracow Pontifical, ed. W. Abraham, in *Polska Akodetnja: Umitjttuosci Hiu.-Fil. Rozprawy*. Ser.u, 41, no. **1** (Cracow, 1927), pp. 1-17; but according 10 Ward, 'Anglo-Saxon Coronation', p. 346, **n.** J, thispontifical was written in Lotharingia. The quite large variants in the texts of'Dwspcrpetuitatis' suggest widecurrency, but its history, whether English or continental, before , . 900 remains unknown: the Leofric Missal shows it in use for both wasrior and king, but who borrowed from whom?

•• Wasd, 'Coronation Ceremony', p. 163; Bouman, *S.,cring*, pp. 10; 154; Robinson, 'Coronation Orde,:', p. 63.

" E.g. W. Maskell, *M umenta ritualia tulcsiat Anglic11t1at*, .2nd edn (3 vols., Oxford, 188.2), n, pp. x-xi; H. A. Wilson, 'The English Coronation Orders',jTS, 11(1901), pp. 481-504.

problem without inhibitions: after demonstrating the extreme complexity of the make-up of early liturgical books, he has argued that the Leofric Missal, though it contains Lotharingian and West Frankish material and is written in a continental hand, is in fact an English hook, and that parts of it, especially in its 'pontifical' section, may be as old as the 'sixth or seventh century'.[40] Although Hohler himself bas been concerned with the book as a whole rather than with the royal *Ordo* as such, his conclusions at once require and enable us to take a fresh look at 'Leofric' and the problem of origins.[41]

Certain features of the 'Leofric' prayer-texts are suggestive of early date and/or insular provenance. First, 'Omnipotens deus det tibi' and 'Benedic fortitudinem', composed of quotations from the Old Testament, have only early parallels in regal liturgies, and they centre on the linked concepts of divine favour and the blessings of nature - identifiable themes of insular *Fiirstenspiege/.'*•[42] Second, the Frankish benediction, 'Benedic domine hunc presulem principem', in my view of Merovingian origin, is adopted unchanged: since the use of the term *presul* for the king43 was barely acceptable to ninth- and tenth-century clerics,44 it had probably got into the English *Ordo* early enough to have become traditional by the end of the ninth century. Thirdly, the ideological content of 'Te invocamus', of 'In diebus' and of the

•• 'Serv•ice Books', pp. 69-70, 78-80. The assertion, p. 80, that Bouman 'accepted' that 'the ('Leofric') *O,do* is English' isa little misleading, however: this may be, as Mr Hohlerimplies, the only reasonable infcrenoe from Bouman's work, but Bouman himself in fact repeatedly affirmed *(Sacring,* pp. 10,61, 102, I«, 153-4) the West Frall.k.isb origin of both 'the formulary' and its component prayers and prooedures. That is why the present paper still needed to be written.

" Since completing th.is paper, I Juve learned through the kindness of Professor Julian Brown of Mrs Elaine Dragc's unpublished Oxford D.Phil. dissertation (1978), 'Bishop Leoine and Exeter Cathedral Chapeer:a reassessment ofthe Manuscript Evidence'. MrsDrage has produced very strong paleographical reasons for believing chat the Leofrie Missal was written in Locharingfa, ac St Vaast, Atras,,.88o. Nevertheless, in view ofSt Vaast's geographical position in the Rheims archdiocese, of ninth-century contacts between England and Flanders, and ofthe diverse origins of the liturgical material in the Leofrie Mi$$al, my arguments for the Anglo-Saxon origin of the king's *O,do* itself will I hopestand iodcpendendy of the MS's provenance. I am very grateful to Mrs Drage for diseu$$ion of all these poirus.

.. H. H. Anton, *Fiirsltnspitgel und Heffschtuthos in du Koroli11getztit* (Bonn, 1968), pp. 66-79.

'" Aurclian of Arlcs addressed Thcudeberc as *prae,u/:* MGH, Epp. m, p. 124. For the late antique context, sec j. Straub, 'Zur Ordination von Bischofeo und Beamten in der christlichcn Splitantikc', in *Mullus. Fttts<hrift T. Kl4user* (MUnster, 11)6,d, pp. 336-45, at p. 342. Compare Isidore, *SentcntiM,* PL uxxw. 721: 'Dedic deus principib11$ pracsulatum.'

" See Bouman, *Sacring,* p. 164, for the original reading ('hos praesules principcs') in the Sacramentary of Angouleme, and pp. 174 and 18o, for alterations in West and East Frankish *Ordme,* of the latct' ninth and tenth centuries. For 'hunc pracelcctwn principem' in the mature version of the Second English *Ordo,* sec *Claudius ,lji,als* u,ed.Turner, p. 94.

additional material in 'Deus electorum' and 'Benedic domine hunc presulem principem'[45] is reminiscent of such Spanish and insular texts as the Visigothic regal Mass,[46] the eighth-century Gelasian regal prayers 'Deus pater gloriae' and 'Christe deus oriens'[47] (both of these showing 'Spanish symptoms'), of Pseudo-Cyprian and the Irish *Collectio Canonun1*, and of the letters of Boniface, Cathwulf and Alcuin:[18] In all these, the emphasis tends to be on the king as judge rather than as war-leader, on the king's protective function in relation to his people in general rather than to the Church and its ministers in particular, and on royal rights rather than royal duties.

Itseems plausible for several reasons that an English *Ordo* should have provided the basis for Hincmar's *Ordo* of 856. The historical context is right. Charles the Bald had himself been anointed in 848, and hissecond son was anointed sub-king of Aquitaine in 855.[49] Charles and Hincmar would have planned the consecration of the thirteen-year-old Judith with a view to enhancing her status amongst the West Saxons, a people notorious in the ninth century for thescant respect they accorded kings' wives.[50]There wasobviously no West Saxon queen's *Ordo* for Hincmar to borrow,[51] and neither, it seems, was there any West Frankish one: hence the need to adapt a king's *Ordo*, as in 856, or to compose a new rite, as for Ermentrude in 866.[52] But why should Hincmar not have adapted a West Frankish king's *ordo* in 856? It is possible that an English rite would in any case have been thought more apt for someone

" The material in these prayers for which no source has been identified amounts in 'Deus eleccorum' to the phrase: 'regnique fastigia in consiliis scientiae et aequitate iudicii semper asscqui', and a reference to 'plebs commiss.,•; in 'Bcnedic dominc' to nearly all of clause o. and all of p.: 'per tuam diseat comniissa sapientiant regni gubemacula moderar ut semper felix, semper a te gaudens, de tuis mereatur bcneficiis gratulari, et aeternis valeat commcrciis copulari. Ut quem tu nobis hodie tua ntiscricordia iucundum prcsentare dignatus cs, tua facias multorum annorum curriculis protectione sccurum.' The srylistic similarities here are with eighth-century regal benedictions.

•• *Libtr O,Jinum*, pp. *295-6.*

" Ed. Bouman, p. 190, from the Sacramentary of Gellone. On the components and dating of the eighth-century Gelasian, see C. Vogel, */111,oduaion aux sources dt J'histoire du cu//t chrltitn* (Spoleto, 1966), pp. 58-67.

•• For details of these insular texts, see Anton, *Fiirttenspieg*, pp. 67-131.

0 *A11na/,s &niniani, ,.a.* 848, *855,* ed. F. Grat *tt al.*, pp. *55,* 71.

.. *An11. &rrin.*, p. 73; Asser, *Vita Alfrtdi*, ed. W. Stevenson (repr. with introduction by D. Whitcloclc, Oxford, 1959), p. 11, with Stevenson's comments, pp. 200-2.

" Itisjust possible that a Mercian queen's *O,do* exfated: Professor Whitelock reminds me that in a charter of 869, W. G. Birch, *Oirtularium Saxonicum* (3 vols., London, 1885-9) (hereafter cited as *BCS),* no. 524, Burgred's queen A!thdswith appears :is 'pari coronata stemma regali', which could imply a consecration-rite for her, paralleling her husband's. But how could Hincmar have got hold of such an *Ordo?* A!thelwulf would be an unlikely middleman. In any event, Hinctnar in *856* dearly adapted a lting's rite.

•• MGH, Capit., u, pp. 453-5.

becoming an English queen. But it is also likely that no fixed rite as yet existed in West Francia: there the *continuous* history of royal consecrations only begins in 848 and the *Ordines* tradition can be traced back no further than 869.53 For .England the picture is rather different. It is not so much that the virtual absence of liturgical evidence here,54 as compared with the dozen or so surviving Frankish sacramentaries and pontificals of the later eighth and earlier ninth centuries,ss precludes any argument from silence; for royal *Ordines* do not quickly become regular features of such books. (Equally, for the later tenth century when the English evidence becomes more plentiful, it would be easy to misinterpret the contrast between the regular appearance of a royal *Ordo* in Anglo-Saxon pontificals with the continuing rarity of such appearances in contemporary French books: the contrast is a symptom of varying degrees of royal powerand ecclesiastical centralisation in the two realms.) It is rather that there is actually more English than Frankish evidence for theindigenous practice of royal consecration in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Certainly the English evidence comes from Northumbria and Mercia,s6 not Wessex. But in view of the relations between the three kingdoms at this period, it seems unlikely that West Saxon kings would have neglected their

•• See my couunents above, chapter 7, p. 137, with nn. 3 and 4, for full bibliographical references. The consecration of *869* was **a** Lotharingian alfair but the *Ordo* used, because of its influence on that of 877, is the fount of a West Frankish liturgical tradition.The Supplemented Gregorian, of course, unlike the eighth-century Gelasian, contained no formulas for royal consecration. Such formulae, and full *Ordi11es,* begin to reappear in sacramentaries and pontificals from the later ninth and tenth centuries onwards. For the *Ordo s«undum ouidentoles,* see below, *354* , n. *66.*

" For the few mere fragments surviving, see K. Gamber, *Codius Liwrgici Latini Anti,Juiores,* 2nd **edn** (Freiburg, 1968), pp. 150-1, 227-32.

•• Vogel, *Imroduaion aux sourcts,* pp. 81-2, 185--6. For ninth-century MSS of the Gregorian, see now tl1e edn of Deshusses, pp. 34-47,

•• Northumbria: *Anglo-Saxon Chronic/,, s.o. 195* in the 'Northern' recension, ed. B. Thorpe, R.S.(London, 1861), p. 103, trans. D. Whitelock, *English lvstorical D«umtnts* (London, *1955),* p. 168; and Symeon of Durham, *Historia R.egum,* ed. T. Arnold, R.S. (London, 1885), p. *58:* both these draw on a lost set of Northumbrian annals nearly contemporary with the events they describe. Mercia: *Ang Saxon Chronicle, s.4.* 785 (for 787), ed. Thorpe, pp. 96-7, trans. Whitelock, *Documents,* p. J66 (the 'A' text heredrawing on lost Mercian annals); *BCS* no. 370 (Ceolwulf I referring to his *con cratio* by the archbishop of Canterbury), on which sec now K. Harrison, *The Framework of Ang Saxon History* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 115.J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Medieval History* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 1s&-9, is helpful, but in my view over-cstimaccs Franlcish influence. Of the decrees issued by the Synod of Chelsea (787), **A.** W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *eds., Councils ond Ectltsi11Stical Documents* (3 vols., Oxford, 1869-73), w, pp. 453f., c. 12, 'De ordinatione et honore regum', refers to the king as *christus domini,* but this need not imply *per se* **a** Mercian royal conseaation-rite, as has sometimes been alleged. The novelty in 787, however, may well have bin in the pre-mortem succession, rather than the 'hallowing', of Olfa's son: see my comment in 'Inauguration Rituals', in P. H. Sawyer and!. N. Wood, eds., *Early Mtditval Kin11ship* (Leeds, 1977); above. o. *2R* .

neighbours' practice,s7 or that }Ethelwulf and his advisers would have exported in 856 anything other than a West Saxon rite; unlikely too that }Ethelwulf would have agreed to Judith's being anointed had he not been so himself, which could well mean taking the West Saxon fixed rite back at least to his accession in 839, if not to Egbert's in 802 or even Beorhtric's in 786.

How much older could 'Leofric' be? All its datable sources are considerably older than the mid-ninth century. The *Benedictio chrismatis* which forms the basis of 'Deus electorum' is Gelasian, and, like the Spanish sources discussed above, could have been available in England as early as the seventh century.s8 'Benedic domine bunc presulem principem' is largely composed from two series of regal benedictions whose earliest extant source is eighth-century Gelasian but which themselves could fit very well in a Merovingian context. The origins of royal anointing in England cannot be explored here; nor can the further intriguing problem of possible Celtic precedents.s9 But if 'Leofric' represents an English fixed rite dating from the first half of the ninth century *at the latest*, then the search for origins could take us back a century or more before that.

III. 'LEOFRIC' IN RELATION TO 'EGBERT'/'LANALET'

If the 'Leofric' *Ordo* preserves the West Saxon usage of pre-856, what of its brother-Ordo, 'Egbert'f'Lanalet'? Here Schramm's view, that 'Egbert'/'Lanalet' is an 'amplification' of 'Leofric', has retained the assent of all subsequent scholars. Apart from the setting of the *Ordo* within the Mass, which even if a late feature6o need not affect our view of the *Ordo* itself, the two characteristics of this alleged 'longer version'

67 Compare the evidence for the cl:<boration of the West Saxon royal genealogy during the first halfof the ninth century. probably to emulate that of the Mctcfan kings: see K. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Pr"'ttdings of the British Academy*, XXXIX (1953), pp. 287-348. D. Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists', in Sawyer md Wood, *Early Mtdltval Kingship*, pp. 72-104, at p. 73, cites some later Scottish and Irish evidence for a link between genealogies and inauguration rituals (the recitation of the new king's genealogy is part of the king-malc:ing), and, pp. 74-5, shows the legitimising function of gene.uogies and king-lists on the continent.

18 H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972), pp. 168-82, 272-5.

., For ref«cnces, see my p:<pcrs above, chapter 13,p. 312 and chapter 11, p. 278.

See now J. Prelog, 'Sind die Weihesalbungen insuLuen Ursprungs1', *Friihmitteldlterliche SIUditn*, xm (1979), pp. 303-56.

•• See T. Klauser *in]dhrbuthfar LJturgiewissensdu,ft*, XJV (1938), p. 461, though on pp. 28?-9I of my dissertation, I adduced some evidence that early ninth-century fiankish inaugurations might have been set within the Mass.

are first, the insertion of the prayer 'Deus qui populis' between the first and second prayers of'Leofric', andsecond, the presence of'much more explicit rubrics'. But 'Deus qui populis' is clearly a late interpolation in an existing *Ordo,*[61] and therefore irrelevant to our dating problem. Neither do the 'more explicit rubrics' constitute in themselves an indication of later date by comparison with 'Leofric', any more than short or non-existent rubrics necessarily imply early date. We know that in the ninth century, the prayer texts for a major rite would be copied out in a *rotula,* while the detailed instructions on movement, gesture and so on would be set out separately in an *ordo.*[62] Although **it** was only from the tenth century onwards that it became normal practice to work from a single text, there are plenty of earlier examples, especially in baptismal and ordination rites, of detailed indications already being inserted in rubrics between the prayers. The very fact that the final, rather full rubrical direction of 'Egbert'/'Lanalet' actually appears in 'Leofric' too,[63] shows that the presence or absence of full rubrics will provide no sure criterion for relative datings. 'Leofric' may, indeed, have been intended for performance in just the same way as 'Egbert' or 'Lanalet', but with its officiants using a separate guidebook of ritual instructions.

'Archaic traits' were long since recognised in the 'Egbert'/'Lanalet' rubrics.64 My own somewhat extended list runs as follows:

(i) In three rubrics, all the participating bishops are termed *pontifias.* Though this usage is extremely rare in early medieval liturgical sources, the word *pontifex* for 'bishop' does occur twice in rubrics in the Visigothic *Liber Ordinum.*[6]s In the probably ninth-century *Ordo secundum occidentales,* the term will refer to an archbishop,66 but in other liturgical sources of this period it always denotes the pope. In the sixth and seventh centuries, writers used *pontifex* and *episcopus* interchange-

11 The '.Egbert' scribe had no ipace to copyout the whole prayer, bur s«ou tohave been clumsily copying the rubric of his model *(rtq. in •g•pik* llbri). See Bouman, *S,,aing,* pp. 100-5.

u See Hincmar'i letter to Advcntius of Metz, and the excellent discussion of *this* evidence in M. Andrieu, 'Le S3cre <!pi,oopal d'apres Hincmar de Rcims', *RHE,* xtvm (1953), pp. 22--73,

u See below, pp. 358-9.

.. G. Waitz, 'Die Formeln der deutschcn K<inigs- und de.- r<imischcn Kai=-Krlinung vom 10. bis zum 12. Jhr.', *Abhondlungen dtt lwniglichtn Gesellsch".fl dtr Wlssenu/uJ.fim zu Giittingm,* XVn,(1873), p. 21; E. Eichmann, 'K<inigs- und BiKhofsweihe', *SitzungsbttichJt dn ri.ickn Aleildtmi, dtt Wissen,c/ulfwi, Phil.-Hisl. Klasse,* VI (1928}, p. 26.

u Ed. F<!rotin, pp. 61, 543.

н Ed. £1ze, *O,dints,* pp. 3-5. I= no reason to link this *Ordo* with 816 and thus to interpret its *ponlijh*< " 'the pope'.

ably;[67] but thereafter there is a tendency (in Bede, for instance) for the latter term to be used for 'bishop', the former for 'archbishop' or 'pope'. The unspecialised sense of *pontifices* in our *Ordo* could thus be an indication of early date; and it may be worth noting that both *pontifex* and *episcopus* were translated by Anglo-Saxon *bisceop.*[68] The absence of early English liturgical material for comparison is very unfortunate.

(ii) The anointing-rubric shows the literal application of an Old Testament model: oil is to be poured out from a horn over the king's head, with theantiphon 'Uncserunt Salon1onem'. As in contemporary rites of episcopal consecration, the emphasis is on the collective nature of the central act: one bishop pours the oil, the rest anoint.[69] There is no need to postulate a special link here with the circumstances of 751: the Solomon-model, well-attested in Merovingian sources, remained potent in the ninth century.[70] With Hincmar, the *modus* of royal anointing seems to have taken on new affinities with contemporary rites of baptism and of episcopal consecration. The very explicit Old Testament symbolism, which distinguishes 'Egbert'/'Lanalet' from all other westen1 *Ordines* (and which finds parallels in the prayer texts too, as 'Leofi-ic' showed) seems likely to be old.[71] It could also be insular, for Old Testament typology is at least as prominent in Anglo-Saxon historical and hagiographical writings of the seventh and eighth centuries as in contemporary Frankish products, and Fournier long ago drew attention to 'Jes tendances bibliques' in the Irish canons.[72]

., This is also true of 'Egber1'/'unalc1', where in the linal section the officiants are termed *tpiscopi*. See below, p. 358.

.. Eddi, *Vila Wilfrithi,* ed. B. Colgnve (Cambridge, z927) nearly always keeps *pontifex* for ha hero Wilfcid (whom he OOOISionally also calls *tpiscopus),* and renders 'archbishop' by *archi-episcopw,* never *pontifex.* In M. Richter, ed., *Tht Canterbury Professions* (Torquay, I973), there seems to be *no* case *of pontiftx* for 'bishop', though nos. 1 and 19 contain rare appearances of *pontiftx for* 'archbishop' in the late eighth and ninth centuries.

0 The 'Egbert' rubric is peifecdy clear: 'Unu, ex pontificibus' is the subject of 'verger o!eum'. I cannot see why Schramm and Bouman follow G.-iwell in seeking to emend the teXt, and their punctuation has no manuscript support. The collective nature of Old Testament public king-makings was rightly $tressed by J.De Pange, *Lt* Roi *trb chrltien* (Paris, 1949), pp. *49-50.*

"Anton, *Fiirsttnspitgtl,* pp. 51, with n. 31, 430-2, gives references.

71 Eichmann, 'Die rechtliche und kirchenpolitische Bcdeutung der Kaisersalbung Im Miuclalw:', *Feslsdirift C. Herrling* (Kempten, 1913), p. :164- For *the* poSS11>le modelling of the linal section of the *O,Jo* on Solomon's inauguration, see below, p. 359.

,. P. Fournier, 'Le *Libtr ex k Moysi* et les tendanccs bibliques du droit canonique irlandais', *.Rtvut Celt t,*XXX (1909), pp. 221-34; on Anglo-Saxon materw, Mayr-1-brtilig, *Coming of Christianily,* pp. 139-41, ao4-19.

(iii} The *principes* join with the *pontifices* in handing over the sceptre. This surely represents a transitional phase in the evolution of a part of the inauguration ritual which, by the tenth century, would be monopolised by clergy. This is the only extant *Ordo* to prescribe the active participation of laymen within the liturgical rite proper[73] - in striking contrast with the West Frankish *Ordines* tradition from Hincmar onwards. Linking the appearance of the *principes* at this point with their and the people's role in the acclamation and enthronement which conclude the *Ordo,* I am tempted to compare *the* evidence for lay participation in the *deportatio ad cathedram* in Frankish episcopal consecration rituals.[74] Clearly, the sceptre is the central *Heffschaftszeichen* in our *Ordo* (there is, we recal nocoronation). This short sceptre has Old Testament and specifically Davidic connotations, signifying law as equity (as against the long *virga* - law as chastisement}, but it also has Germanic ones.7S Did early English kings have sceptres? Even if we leave the Sutton Hoo whetstone aside, we should perhaps treat the reference of Boniface to *sceptra i1nperii Anglorum* when writing to an English king76 as more than rhetorical metonymy. The absence of any special tradition-prayer for the sceptre in the *Ordo* (compare Hincmar's 'Accipe sceptrum' and later similar formulae) is a further sign of early date.

(iv) The use of a helmet *(galea)*[71] rather than a crown has often been noted as archaic. While coronation was practised from at least the mid-ninth century in West Francia and the early tenth century in England, evidence for the helmet as a royal *Heffschaftszeichen* among Germanic peoples is considerably earlier. Whether any regular

.,. That is, apart from their role in ritualised election procedures within the church.

" Bishops alone performed this at Wilfrid's ordination: Eddius, *Vila Wi!fridi*, *c.* xii, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), p. 26. But for lay participation, sec Gregory of Tours, *Historiae Fran.orum*, nt, 2, ed. B. Krosch and W. Levison, MGH, SS rer. Merov., i. i, p. 99; and the sources cited by E. Martene, D, *Anliquis&clesia*, *Ri/jbus* (4 vols., Antwerp, z736), 11, pp. So-1. Andrieu, 'Le Sacre episcopal', p. 63, infers continuity in this wage from Merovingian time3, though it is attested in liturgical boob only from c.900.

1f **A.** Gauert, 'Das "S pter" vonSutton Hoo', in P. .E. Scluamm, *He"schaftszti.thtn und Staats• symb<,lilt* (3 vols., Stuttgart, 19s4-6),1, pp. 26o-8o; and K. Hauck, 'Halsring und Ahnenstab als herrscherliche WUrdcuichen', *ibid.*, pp. 14s-212; S. L Cohen, 'The Sutton Hoo Whetstone', *Sptculum,* XJJ **(1966),** pp. 466-70; R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *Asptcts of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (London, 1974), pp. 6-7, 76-7.

" Bonifuc to A!tbelbald of Mercia, ed. M. Tangl. MGH, Epp. sci.,t, no. 73, p. 146.

17 'Egbert' gives:*'Hie*o pontifices sumunt galtum [sic) et ponant super caput ipsius.'

" Paulus Diaconw, *Historlo Langobardorum,*ed. G. Waitt, MGH, SS. rer. Lang., p. S9• See also H. Janlcuhn, 'Hemchafbzeichen aus vor- und frahgescbichtlichcn Funden Nordeuropu', in Schramm, *Hc"scheflsuichm,* ,, pp. n 3-14.

Anglo-Saxon practice may be inferred from the Sutton Hoo helmet,79 or from the dying Beowulf's handing-over of his gold-mowited helmet to hissuccessor,80 is debatable. But that a helmet did remain the prime royal headgear in ninth-century England is suggested by linguistic evidence whichJosef Kirschner has expertly assembled.81 Until about 900, the Latin *corona* was almost invariably translated by the Anglo-Saxon *beag;* but thereafter, West Saxon writers nearly always used *helm* and *cynehe/111* instead to convey the concrete meaning of 'royal crown', *beag* being then restricted to religious contexts ('crown of glory', and so on). This change in linguistic usage may be seen as the outcome of a search for a more precise terminology, which itself reflected the reality of an Anglo-Saxon practice persisting throughout the ninth century: in other words, still arowtd 900, the chief royal headgear actually was a *cynehelm* and not an open circlet *(beag).* We know, however, that precisely in the early tenth century a royal *Ordo* became current in England in which the use of a crown was pres,-cribed8Z (though the crown did not necessarily immediately oust the helmet as an alternative *Herrschafiszeichen);* and it may also be relevant that the earliest nwnismatic portrayal of a crowned head in England dates from the reign of Athelstan.83 It is possible that the *galea* of the Egbert and Lanalet books simply reflected the standard West Saxon terminology of the period when they were ,vritten, *corona* and *galea* being then perhaps treated asinterchangeable(just as *cynehelm,* and even *helm,* were used to render 'crown of thorns'!).84 But it seems more likely, in view of the 'Lanalet' scribe's possible difficulty with the word,Ss that *galea* in these two manuscripts faithfully reproduces a model dating from the period, that is, pre-900, when the helmet was

"Bruce-Mitford, *Angl<>-Saxon Archatology,* pp. 198-252.

•• *&owulf,* lines 2809-1*S.*

11 Herr Kirschner generously informed me of this material in a series of personal communications in 1973. I should stress that I alone am respoMolc for the historical inferences I have drawn from it. See now J. Kirschner, *Die &zekhnungen far Kranz und Krone im Aftengfisthen,* **In-**augural dissertation, Munich, 1975, esp. pp. 144ff., 177ff., 2531f.

" I accept the daringof the Second English *Ordo* by Turner, *Claudius Pontificals,* pp. xxxii-xxxiii. I hope to deal more fully with this *Ordo* in **a** forthcoming study.

11 See C. B. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Athebun', in *British Numimutlic Journal,* XIJI (1974), pp. 35-160. Hitherto kings had normally been shown wearing diadems. Mr Blunt interestingly notes (p. 47) the comp3rison with the similar crown wom by Athchtan in the frontispiece to the *Lift of Cuthbtrt* in Corpus Christi College, Ca!llbridge, MS 183, fo.1v (a contelllporary picture). I am very grateful to Mr Blunt for kindly confirming this point.

"For instance by Alli"ric: Herr Kirschner comments that this would seem 'an unlikely translator's choice. if not motivated by a rather old, strong and finally lexically "petrified" role of the Teutonic royal helmet'. See *Die &zeidunmgtn,* pp. 187-8,.208-9, 252.

" According to Doble, p. 62, this word in the **'Lanai(:('** rubric is 'much blurtt<l'.

the royal headgear. The rubric probably preserves the memory of a practice long outmoded by the time it was recorded: *galea* betokens both Englishness and antiquity.

The last and perhaps the most significant point in a comparison of 'Leofric' with 'Egbert'/'Lanalet' is the near-identity of their final sections, full rubrics and all. 'Leofric' in fact preserves in one passage what is evidently the original reading:

'uoj,ic'	*'E.g rt·*	***•Lanald'***
Tune dicat omnis populus cum episcopis[11]• iii. vicibus	Et dicat omnis populus tribus vicibus cum episcopis et presbytcris	Et dicat 01nnis populus tribus vicibus cum cpiscopis et presbiteris
Vivat rcx ill.insempitcrnum. R. Amen.	Vivat rex .N. in scmpitemum.	Vivat rex .N. in sempiternum. R.Amen. et vcnit omnis populus ad osculandum principem sempiternum.
Et confumabitut cum benedietione omni populo in solio regni, ct oscubnt princi insempitemum dicentcs Amen. Amcn. Amen.	Tune confirmabitur cum **benedictior,e omnis** populus et osculandum principem in scmpiternum dicit. Amen. Amen. Amen. Tune dicunt orationem sq,timam supra regem.	Tune confurnabitur cwn benedictione isu.
Deus perpctuitatis ..• •.• et dcfendas. Per.	Deus perpetuitatis ... Per. (Ma,s prayers] Primum mandatum regis ad populum hie viderc potcs.	Deus perpct ... [Mass prayers]
Rcctitudo rcgis est noviter ordinati et in solium sublirnati populo tria prccepta sibi subdito prccipere.	Reaitudo regis est noviter ordinati ct in solium sublirnati haec tria prccepta populo christiano sibi subdito precipere.	

In primis ut ecclesia dei et omnis populus christianus veram paccm servent in omni tcmpore. R.Amcn."

Aliud est ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicat. R.Amen.

Tertium est ut in omnibus iudiciis aequitatem ct misericordiam praccipiat ut per hoc" nobis indulgeat misericordiarn suam[0] clemeru et m.isericors deus. R.Amen.

Here is a discrete ritual bloc composed of acclamation and enthronement. Again the active participation of the *principes* here, and the

"Bouman, *S4tring,* p. 168, wrongly gives: 'cum episcopo'.

., 'Lanalet' omits 'R.Amen' here and after the second and third clauses. See Doble, p. 63.

H 'Lanalet' gives. instead of 'per hoc', 'sibi et'.

"•taoalct• gives 'suam miserkordiam'; 'Lcofric' omits 'suam'.

direct drawing on Old Testament models,90 might indicate an early date: in later *Ordines*, clerically performed chants would take the place of this *collaudatio.*[91] That 'Leofric' preserves the correct technical sense of *confir,natio* "" enthronement is borne out by the subsequent reference to the lc.ing as *in solium sublimatus.* The term *principes* reappears, evidently denoting a more restricted group than the whole acclaiming *populus:* those who took a hand in the tradition of the sceptre now come forward to kiss the new king ina ritual of recognition, not (as Schramm supposed) an act of feudal homage. The issuing of governmental *precepta* by the *rex noviter ordinatus* to his subjects wasa natural corollary. The content of these *precepta* can be parallded in insular sources - not only, as Schramm implied, in mid-tenth-century Anglo-Saxon laws, but in earlier laws,[92] and most notably in earlier Latin prose-writers: Pseudo-Cyprian, Boniface and Alcuin.[93] The programmatic forrnulation: 'rectitudo regis est ... haec tria precipere' is reminiscent of the Irish canon-collection's: 'justitia regis justi haec est .. .' or 'sunt septem quae omni regi conveniunt .. .', Pseudo-Cyprian's Justitia regis est', and Alcuin's 'regis bonitas est .. .' and 'regis est'.[94]

CONCLUSION

Leaving open the problem of where royal anointings may fust have been practised, I have tried merely to show good reasons for admitting Wilson's claim of 1901 that 'perhaps the earliest of all known western coronation [*sic*J orders is one contained in an English servicebook',9s and for regarding that *Ordo* itself as English. I have also suggested that the *Ordo* is represented not only by 'Leofric' but by 'Egbert'f'Lanalet' too. Is it fortuitous that the earliest surviving *Ordo* should be an

"Schramm, *Kaiser,* p. 218, notcS 111 Reg., **1.** 39 and Dan., 2. **4** as models for the acclamation 'Vi vat rex ill. insempiternum'. But he neglected the much more significant I Parat 29. 22-4, where the role of the *princip,s* is set out: 'Unxerunt ..• Salomonem •.. Seditque s..Jomon super solium Domini in regem pro David, patre suo; et cunctis placuit, et paruit illi omnis Israel. Sed et univem principes et potentes , . , dcderunt manum, et subjecti fuerunt Salomoni regi.' Compare also II Para!. 23. 20.

[11] E. H. Kantorowicz, *lAudes Regiae*(Berkeley, 1946), pp. 78-So.

"Compare thepreface and c:ip.1 of Inc's laws, ed. F. Liebermann, Dit *Gtsetzt der Angelsaths<n* (Halle, 1903-r6), 1, p. 88; also Alfred, c:ip.4,2, *ibid.,* p. 50, ('Swa we cac $CltalS be eallum hadum' corresponding to the 'omnibus gradi1>us' of the *prtctp14).*

" Pseudo-Cyprian, ed. S. Hellmann, p. 51; Boniface, MGH, Epp. sel., I, **p.** 147; Alcuin, MGH. Epp.,1v, pp. 51, 172, 293, etc.

N F. W. H. W:userschleben, Die *Irische Kanonemammlrmg,* 2nd edn (Leipzig. 1885), pp. 77, 8r; Pseudo-Cyprian and Alcuin as cited in preceding note,

*"]TS,*11(1901), p. 482.

English one? Perhaps - if a seventh-century Visigothic or Celtic rite ever existed. But in any case, this particular survival may have its own significance. Whatever *the* gap between the introduction of royal anointing in England, in the eighth century at the latest, and the establishment of a fixed rite, the liturgical tradition here seems to have been remarkably stable: if I am right, the same *Ordo* was used for West Saxon kings through most (if not all) the ninth century, and it was then very largely incorporate-d in the new *Ordo* current from the early tenth century until the close of the Anglo-Saxon period. In West Francia, by contrast, if a fixed rite existed before the mid-ninth century (and the evidence implies, rather, the continued use of Merovingian regal benedictions for early Carolingian king-makings) it was wholly abandoned by Hincmar whose *Ordines* seem to be quite original compositions; then a Sens tradition distinct from that ofRheitns developed in the later ninth century; and a further break came in the tenth century with the itnportation of the English rite into West Francia.[96] If the relatively early introduction of a fixed rite in England may be explained in terms of the precocious political and ecclesiastical centralisation already achieved by the eighth century (had more evidence survived, .IEthelheard of Canterbury might have appeared a figure comparable to Julian of Toledo or Hincmar of Rheims), the subsequent persistence of that rite through the ninth, tenth and most of the deventh centuries reflects the continuity of English kingship and of the independent liturgical traditions of the English Church. As a witness to some of the political realities, as well as the political ideas, linking pre-Viking England with the age of the Conqueror, the first Anglo-Saxon *Ordo* can claim the attention of historians as well as liturgists. 'Leofric' and 'Egbert' have their origins in the world of *Beowulf:* they survive in the consecration-rite of 1o66.[97]

,. Turner, *C/auduu Ponti.fiC41s,* p. xxxui.

'" Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 44, ed. J. Wicldum Legg, Three *Coronation Ordtrs,* Henry Brad.shaw Society vol. xrx(London, 1900), pp. SJ-61. For the association with William the Conqueror, see Schramm, *Archiv ftlr Urlumdcnforschung,* xv (1938), pp. 317-18; and *idem, Klfistr,* pp. 18o-2- a characteristically brilliant and, in this case, plausible intcrpreution of textll21 variants in a liturgical document.

THE SECOND ENGLISH *ORDo*•

It is more than usually appropriate to begin this paper with a tribute to previous scholars, and especially to John Briickmann. His own work was of course on the Third English *Ordo* in the twelfth century.[1] But his perception of the importance of queens' *ordines* for understanding those of kings is just as relevant to the First English *Ordo*, which I think wasin use in Wessex at least by the mid-ninth century, and to the Second English *Ordo* which is my present subject.[2] The sources of the Second *Ordo* are indicated on Table 1. The First *Ordo* is an obvious component. Otherwise the sources are West Frankish: Hincmar of Rheims' *Ordo* for Charles the Bald in 869; the so-called 'Erdmann' *Ordo;* and the 'Seven Forms' *Ordo*.[3] These last two sources are both post-877. They have been dated *c.*900, but I suggest were produced in the 880s or 890s, evoked by the then rapid turn-over of West Frankish kings.[4] Table 1 also sho vs the existence of two distinct versions of the Second *Ordo*. For the moment I shall call them A and B. A's best-known MS exemplar is the Sacramentary of Ratold (BN lat.12052) dating to 973/986.[5] Son1c

• This paper was presented to the International Conference on lv1edieval Coronations held in Toronto in February, 1985, in memory of ProfessorJohn Briickrnann. My thanks are due to Professors Janos Bak,Jane Couchman and Patricia Briickmann for their help and hospitality. I must also record a longstanding debt to Simon Keynes for sustaining m interest in the Anglo-Saxon *Ordines* and for much advice and criticism.

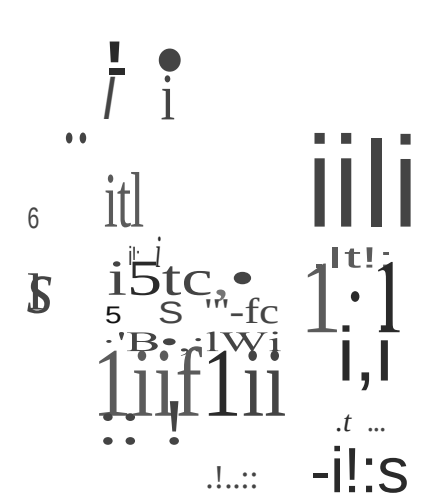
1 J. Briickmann, 'The *Ordi11es* of the Third Recension of the Medieval English Coronation Order', in T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (eds.), *Essays i11 Medieval History presented 10 Bertie Wilki11so11* (Toronto, I%9), pp.99-115.

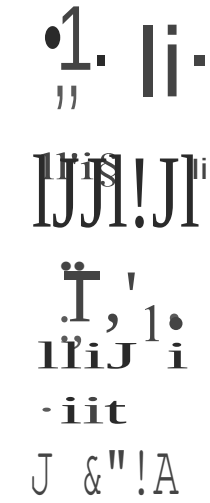
2 J. L. Nelson, 'Theearliest surviving royal *Ordo'*.in B. Tierney and P. Linehan (eds.) *Autl1ority at1d Po,ver. Swdies on Medieval La,v and Covemmet11 preremed to Walter Ullmo,m* (Cambridge, 1980); above, chapter 15, pp. 341-60.

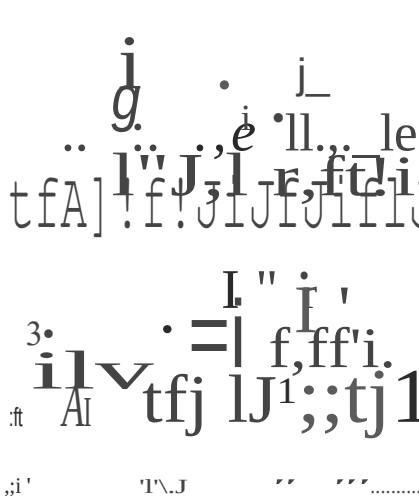
3 See Notes ro Table1.

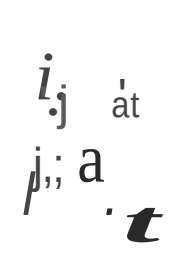
4 There ,vere six royal inaugurations in the West Frankish kingdom between 877and 893, five of them certainly involving anointing-rites; see C. R. Bruh!, 'Frankischer Kronungsbrauch und das Problem der Festkronungen', *Historiscl,e Zeitsclirifi*, 194(1%2), 205-326, at 325-6. All three of the Second *Ordo's* West Frankish sources may havecome separately to England; bur it seems likelier that some combination, at least of869 prayers with 'Erdmann', had been done already in West Francia. The process of blending may have gone further: a lost West Frankish *Ordo.* combining 'Erdmann' and the 'Seven Forms', is surmised by George Gamen in an unpublished paper on the Second English *Ordo.* I an1very grateful to him for letting me read this paper in advance of publication.

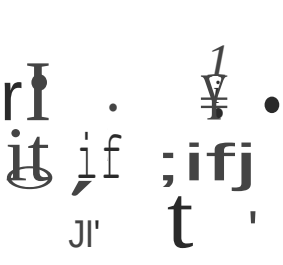
5 See P. L. Ward, "An early version of the Anglo-Saxon coronation ceremony', *English Historical Review*, 57 (1942), 345-58. For this Sacramentary asa whole, and for English elements within it, see C. Hohler, 'Some service booksof the later Saxon church', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tet1th-Century Studies* (Chichester, 1975), pp.60-83, at 64-7.

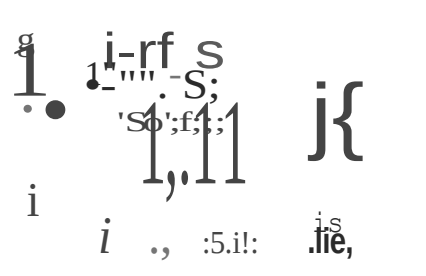


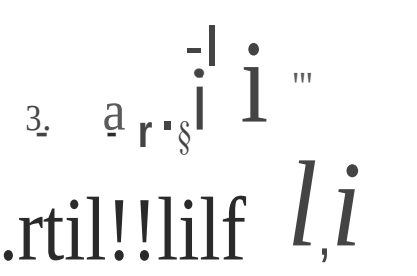


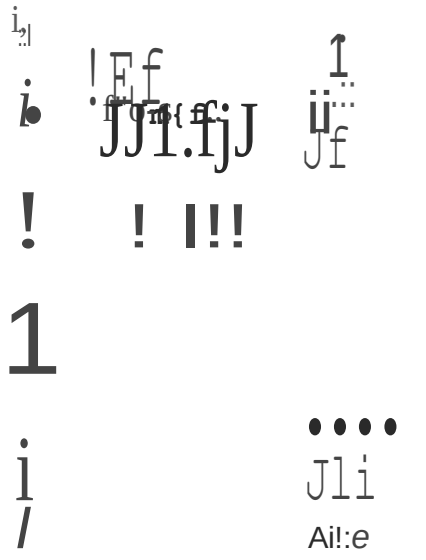


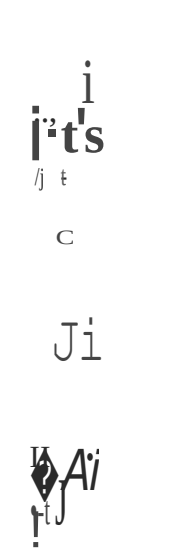












(a) This tablt showsonly the main fe:uuru of the*ordines,* 3nd e,tcfudes the *or s* for queens.

(b) See chapter *IS.* pp. 341-oO above.

(c) MCH CapitulaJia, vol. II. nos. 276 and 302, pp. 3)7 ◄I, 4S6•8.

(d) See P.E.Schramm, 'Die Kr6nung bel den Westfranken und An.gelsa<:hsen-_ *ltiluhrift fur Rechlfgt1chichte, Kanon/JtiS<he Abteilung,* xdil (1934). pp. 201--S (feprfnted In his *Kalt ,. Konige1,md Piips1* (Stuuprt. 19681, vol. II, pp, 216•19),

(e) See C. Erdmann. *ForKhu.n,en :u, polltlJchui ldeewwe/1des FniJrmittelaltus* (Berlin, 195l). pp. 87•9,

(f) I h;n•e put thisacclamation In square buek,1s ause ftisimplk:h in the rubric here.

(g) The various ting formulae are discussed by Bown.an, *Sacring.* pp. 129-3l.

(h) Fos the sword•formulae.sec Schramm, •Ksonung'. p. 204 *(Kaiur. KOl'lig<und Npstt,* p. 218)and £.tdmann, *Fortchunpn,* p. 89.

(0 This prayer Is that of the•Se ·-en-Forms' *Ouk).*

seventeen other manuscripts wereidentified over forty years ago by P. L. Ward.[6] All of these dates are from the eleventh century or later, all areof West Frankish/French or Lotharingian origin, and most arecharacterised by the mention in the consecration-prayer of'thesceptres of theSaxons, Mercians and Northumbrians'- hence t11e label: 'SMN' *Ordo.* B appears in six manuscripts written in England in the later tenth or first half of the eleventh century. They are, in likely chronological order:

The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert (Rouen Bibi.Mun. Y 7)[7]
The Sherborne Pontifical (Paris BN lat.943)[8]
The Anderson Pontifical (London BL Addit. 57337)[9]
The Sampson Pontifical (Cambridge Corpus Christi ColJefe 146)[10]
Claudius Pontifical 11 (London BL Cotton Claudius A.iii)[1]
Fragments of a pontifical probably from Ramsey Abbey (London BL Cotton Vitellius A. vii)[12]

Table 1 shows that Version A consists of almost the ,vhole of the 'Erdmann' *Ordo*, with a final section taken, virtually unaltered, from the First English *Ordo.* Version B by contrast omits the preliminary section of A (as derived from 'Erdmann') and substitutes a three-fold promise remodelled from the final *tria precepta* section of the First English *Ordo.*[13]

[6] Ward, 'Early version', pp.347-9. Sec further E. A. R. Brown, *'Franks, 8Hrg..11dia,u, and Aquitanians' andthe Royal Coronation Ceremony in France: theOrdoof Paris, Bib/iotl,equt Nationale, man,.scrit latit, 1419,* Appendix I (forthcoming).

[7] Ed. H. A. Wilson. Henry Brad haw Society, vol. 24 (London, 1903), with the king's *ordo* at pp.140-7. Seealso J. Backhouse, D. H. Turner and L. Webster (eds.), *The Golden A{e of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966-1066* (London, 1984), p.60.

Also known as the Pontifical of St. Dunstan. See V. Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux Manuscrits des Bibliotheques de France,* 3 vols. (Paris. 1937), vol. 2, pp.160-4: Backhouse. Turner and Webster, *Coldtn Age,* p.55. I am indebted to the late Mr. Derek Turner for allowing me to consult his 1nicrofilm of this manuscript, and for his expert advice.

[9] This recently-found manuscript was ,vritten c.1000, at Canterbury. or perhaps at Winchester. (D. Turner, personal communication.)

[10] The royal *ordo* was printed, with English translation. by L. G. Wickham Legg, *Eng/isl, Coronation Records* (Wesuninster, 1901), pp.15-21). The manuscript, written at Winchester early in theeleventh century. later belonged to BishopSampsonof Worcester (1096-1112).

[11] Ed. D. H. Turner, *The Claudius Pot1tificals,* Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 97 (Chichester, 1971, issued for the year 1964), with the king's *ordo* of Claudius Pontifical II at r.r-89-95.

This MS was very badly damaged in the fireof 1731, andonly partsof the *ordines* for king and queen are legible. They were clearly very similar to those of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 44, written in the second half of the eleventh century: ed. J. Wickham Legg, *Tltree Coronation Orders,* Henry Bradsha,v Society, vol. 19 (London, 1900). pp.53-63. The king's *ordo* in these MSS is a slightly elaborated form of the B version. See below, chapter 17, pp. 375-402.

[13] For the 'threefold commands' concluding the First *Ordo,* see a'>ove, chapter 15, pp. 358-9.

Seven-Forms	SM1V	*Ratold*	*8*
Omnipotens eterne deus .... super hunc famulum tuum N. quern supplici devotione in regem eligimus .... ecclesiamque tuam deinceps .... enutriat .... virtutis regimen adminlstret et ad vere fidei pacisque concordiam eorum animos te opitulante reformet, ut horum populorum debita subiectione fultus, condigno amore glorificatus, ad paternum decenter solium tua miseratione conscendere mereatur.	Omnipotens sempiterne deus creator ... quern supplici devotione in regnum *pariter* eligimus ... administret ut regale solium *videlicet saxonum merciorum nordhanhlmbrorum* sceptra non deserat sed ad pristine fidei ... reformet, ut *urrorumque horum populorum* .... glorificatus. per longum vite spatium pateme apicem glorie tua miseratione *unatim* stabilire et gubemare mereatur.	0.s.d.c. in regnum N. *Albionis tot/us videlicet francorum pariter* eligimus ... totius *Albion/s* ecclesiam ... solium *videlicer franconan* sceptra ... ut utrorumque horum populorum ... unatim stabilire ...	0.s.d.c. in regnum *Anglorum vel Saxonum pariler* eligimus totius regni N. ecclesiam ... solium *videlicet a11glorum ••el saxonum* sceptra ... ut populorum debita subiectione ... unatim stabilire ...

TABLE 2

Since Bis therefore substantially further removed from it sources than A, it looks as if A is the prior version of the Second *Ordo.* C. A. Bouman's analysis of the structure of the consecration-prayer in the two versions pov.rerfully supported the argument for A's priority.[14]

A clue to A's date may emerge from anexamination of verbal variants in thesame prayer. Table 2 compares the relevant passages in theoriginal source (the 'Seven Forms' *Ordo),* in the two sub-versions of A, and in B. The 'Ratold' redactor ha·s clearly tried to adapt the text to a West Frankish situation. But the 'SMN' form cannot have been A's original one, for the mention of 'both peoples' *(utrique populi)* suggests a reference to two peoples, and two only, earlier in the prayer. Again the word *pariter*seems linked to two peoples, not the 'SMN' text's three or 'Ratold''s one. The B text, ho,vever, while specifying two peoples by name in the earlier passage, lacks the *utrique* of the later one. Hence the original readings of the Second English *Ordo* revision seem to survive in no extant text but can be reconstructed: two references to two peoples supported by the additions *pariter, 1itrique,* and finally the passage referring to 'the apex of paternal glory' and 'stablishing and governing [it) unitedly'. This last passage seems to refer to the making permanent of a political union, and - if we press a literal reading - one achieved by the father of the king for whose consecration the new passage was designed. Given the frequency of fraternal succession in the ninth and tenth centuries in England, the allusion would have more point if the king in question were succeeding directly to his father: two of the only three cases in the whole period from 860 to 1000 are Edward the Elder and Athelstan.[15] Both at first glance seem equally good candidates for association with the redaction of the Second *Ordo.* In the early 880s Alfred had annexed Anglian Mercia to his West Saxon kingdom, and thereafter he and his two next successors Edward and Athelstan, sometimes used titles referring to two peoples, and Angles and Saxons.[16] Further, the relevant West Frankish materials could well have been available in Wessex at any point from 886 onwards when Grimbald came from Rheims to Alfred's courtexpecting, it seems, promotion to the see of Canterbury.[17] The Second *Ordo's tem1inus post*

•• C. A. Bouman, *Sacri,ig and Cro,ving* (Groningen. Djakarta, 1957), pp.112-9.

[15] Edward succc-eded his father Alfred in 899, and wassucceeded by his son Arhelstan in 924. The third case, Edward the Martyr, who succeeded Edgar in 975 is too late for consideration here: see below. 368-74. The frequency of fraternal succession in Wessex is perceptively discussed by P. Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wessex, 800-1066', *Past and Present,* 91 (1981), 3-27, at 10, 19-20.

[16] See S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great. Asser's Life of King Alfred and other co,itemporary sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp.227-8; H. Kleinschmidt, *Utttersuchungen iiber daseng/iscl,e Kiinigtum* im *10Jalirhundert* (Gottingen, 1979), pp.4-0-1, 52-65.

[17] P. Grierson,'Grimbald ofSt. Bertin's', *English Historical Review,*55(1940), 529-61; M. B. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 5 (1976), 149-71, at 163-6. I am nor convinced by Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great,*

quem therefore predates the accession of Edward as well as that of Athelstan.

But there are two reasons for thinking Edward's consecration a more likely occasion than Athelstan's for the first use of the Second English *Ordo*. First the emphasis on the unity of the two peoples (echoed in the ring-prayer's *s11bditos coadunare)* is better attributed to Alfred's last years, or even the months immediately following *his* death, than to the reign of his successor. [18] Several texts produced in the 890s show Alfred claiming rule over Mercians as well as West Saxons and asserting the oneness of 'Englishkind' *(Angelcynn).*[19] Asser's inforrnation on the different kinds of education given to Alfred's elder and younger sons hints at a plan to hand on an undivided Wessex-Mercia to Edward, and perhaps put Aethelweard into the church. Alfred's Will points the same way.[20] Edward the Elder himself, by contrast, seems to have envisaged a redivision bet\veen his eldest but illegitimate son Athelstan and his second, legitimate son, Aelf\veard - a plan frustrated in the event by Aelfweard's death within days of his father's.[21]

The second reason has to with what I will call the Briickmann factor -

pp.332-3, that Grimbald did not expect a bishopric when he came to Wessex. If Canterbury was the see envisaged, it is relevant to note that archbishopsof Canterbury had probably consecrated kings earlier in theninth century: N. Brooks, *The Early His1ory of the Clmrdt of Canlerbury* (Leicester University Press, 1984), pp.146-7. Cf. Nelson, 'Earliest surviving royal *Ordo',* above, pp. 352"3.

[18] For the rebellion of Alfred's nephew Aethelwold immediately after Alfred's death, *see Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* s.a.900, ed. C. Plummer, *Two oft/re Saxon C}rronides Parallel,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-9), vol. I, p.92. *See* also Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Grear,* p.173. Aethelwold was presumably bidding for a share in the enlarged inheritance of Alfred's kingdom.

[19] Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great,* pp.124-5 (preface to translation of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care),* 163-4 (prologue to Laws). *Cf.Ar1glo-Saxo11Chronicle,* s.a.886, 8%, vol. I, pp.80, 89. One further hint of a link between the Second English *Ordo* and Alfred may be its insertion in the benediction 'Extendat', derived from Hincmar's 869 *Ordo,* of a reference to 'Sanctus Gregorius anglorum apostolicus' (so, all the Version B MSS; 'Ratold' gives *a11gelorr11t1* (!), while the other A MSS omit this phrase altogether). Alfred's devotion to Gregory is well-kno,vn; and Gregory's relevance to the fostering of English unity has recently been stressed by **P.** Wormald, 'Bede, *the Bretwaldas* and the origins of the *ge,rs Anglorum',* in Wormald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 1983), pp.99-129.

[20] Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi,* ,.75.ed.W. **H.** Stevenson (Oxford, **1904),** p.58; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Creal,* pp.90, 173-6. Secfurther M. Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan', *A11glo-Saxo11 E11gla11d,* 9 (1981), 61-98, at 80-1; Nelson, '" A king across thesea": Alfred in Continental perspective', *Transactionsof tire Royal Historical Society,* 5th series, 31 (1986) (forthcoming).

[21] Edward had Athelstan brought up in Mercia: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regunr,* ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 2 vols. (London, 1887-9), vol. 1, p.145. The evidence for events following Edward's death is set out by Plummer, *Two of tire Saxon Chronicles Parallel,* vol. 2, pp.132-3. Even after Aelfweard's death inJuly 924, Athelstan was not consecrated to the reunited kingdom until September 925.

the need to take into account the queen's *ordo* that goes with the king's. The A version of the Second English *Ordo* is accotnpanied in all the manuscripts by a queen's *ordo* that does not simply replicate its 1nodel, the 'Erdn1ann' queen's *ordo,* but slightly modifies it at t,vo points, and hence n1ust surely have *been* produced with the possibility of use in mind.[22] We know that West Saxon kings' wives in the ninth century received no consecration, or *even* recognition as queen.[23] Whether under Mercian or Carolingian influence, or both, change was clearly envisaged by the redactor of the Second *Ordo.* Who was the beneficiary? Athelstan never married. The philoprogenitive Edward, on the other hand, married Aelfvveard's mother Aelffiaed probably very soon after his father Alfred's death and possibly before his own consecration on 8Junc 900.[24] Was Aelffiaed in fact consecrated? No surviving charter bears her subscription as queen, and she is nowhere accorded that title.[25] Yet her daughter Edith, brideof Otto I, doesseem to have been consecrated ,vith hin1 in 936 - an innovation in the East Frankish kingdom.[26] Was Edith perhaps following in her mother's footsteps? A consecration for Aelffiaed would have aptly signified Edward's intention of keeping the succession in his own line, thereby excluding his cousins, one of whom still posed a serious threat to Edward in 900, and was not defeated and killed in battle until 902.[27] I suggest that Aelffiaed's existence, in the circumstances of 900, inspired the preparation of a West Saxon queen's *ordo,* evidently for the first time, and by someone capable of identifying, and returning to, his source's model: the rite for consecrating an abbess.[28]

So far I have tried to date the Second *Ordo* mainly on internal grounds. But there is another approach. A survives only in Continental manuscripts, and it is worth posing again the question asked many years

[22] Both of these occur in the prayer immediately following the queen's anointing. Here'Erdmann"s model wasthe prayer for the consecration of anabbessas found in such Franldsh Gelasian sacramcntaries as *Liber Sacramentor111n Gelloner,sis,* ed. A. Dumas, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CLIX (Turnhold1, 1982), no. 2578, p.400; cf. *Po111ifitale Roma110-Germa11in1m,* ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, 2 vols. Vatican City, (1%3), vol. I, pp.80-1. The redactor of the Second English *Ordo* used the abbess's prayer to reinsert the word 'affiuentem' at the opening of1hequeen's benediction, and the phrase 'ut ntunquam postmodum de tua gratia separerur indigna' at the end.

[23] Stafford, 'King's Wife in Wessex· pp.3-4, 16-7.

[24] If *we* can trust thewitness list of a Malmesbury charter dated 901, P. Sawyer, *A11glo--Saxo11 Charters.* Ar, *An11otated List and Bibliograpliy* (London, 1%8), no. 363, Aelffiaed was then Edward's wife. Cf. William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Reg11m,* vol. 1, p.137.

[25]· Shesubscribed Sawyer, no. 363 simply as *co11jux regis.* For the tide *regir,a* assigned 10 Edward's third wife Eadgifu in a Gennan source, see Stafford, 'King's Wife in Wessex', p.17, n.44.

[26] K. Leyser, 'DieOttonen und Wessex', *Fruhmitte/alterlicheStudien,*17 (1983), 73-97, 3181-2.

[27] Cf. above, n.18.

[28] Above, n.22.

ago by Ed1nund Bishop, of'whensuch orders"got"across the water and into France'.[29] P. E. Schramm, who telescoped the First and Second *Ordines* into the years from 957 to 973, and regarded Dunstan as the author of both, believed that the B version of the Second *Ordo* was its original form and that A was a Continental derivative resulting from Dunstan's sending ofa copy ofB to a friend at Arras.[30] More recently, Derek Turner has pointed out that the Second *Ordo* 'lies behind actual French usage, which does suggest that it was originally imported [into France] for practical rather than literary purposes'. Those practical purposes Turner linked with the situation in 936 when Louis IV d'Outremer returned from years of exile in Wessex to be consecrated king at Laon by the archbishop of Rheims. 'This, if any', wrote Turner, 'seems to be the occasion in the tenth century when an English Coronation rite might have been employed (in France)'.[31] The importance of Turner's suggestion lies in his clear recognition of the priority, and antiquity, of A. The Second *Ordo's* composition can be detached from Edgar's consecration at Bath in 973 - where even Schramm's critics had left **it.**[32] But even if Turner is rightabout 936, that cannot be the whole story. According to Schramm, the 'SMN' *Ordo* did not become 'French usage' until the twelfth century.[33] In any case, Ward's identification of distinct sub-groups among the Continental **'SMN'** manuscripts means that we have to account for the 'getting across the water' of more than one version of A quite apart from that of the Ratold Sacramentary.[34] The amount of evidence for contacts bet"veen England and the Continent in Athelstan's reign and later leaves no difficulty in supposing that several copies of the Second *Ordo* were

[29] Quoted in N. J. Abercrombie. *The Lifea11d W,,rk ,,f Edm,md Bishop* (London. 1959). A endix:'E. B. on Coronation' (1914}. p.520.

P. E. Schramm. 'Die Kronung bei den Wcstfranken und Angelsachscn·, *Zritsdrrift fiir Red11s. esd1ir/11e,*54, Kanonistische Abteilung 23 (1934), 117-242, at 151-90. reprinted in his *Kaiser, Ko11ige u11d Papste,* 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1968), vol. 2. pp.140-248, ar pp.169-98.

[31] *Claudius Pontificals.* p. xx xiii.

-.[2] Ward. 'The Coronation Ceremony in Medieval England', *Speculum,* 14 (1939), 160-78, at 166-70; Bouman. *Sacrit1g and Crow11i11}?,* pp.106, 157.

. n Schramm. *Der Koni)? von Frankreic/1,* revised ed.• 2 vols. (Weimar. 1%0), p.100, inferred fro,n thearchbishop ofRhei,ns' Memorial on Philip rs consecration in 1069 that the 'West Frankish' ('Erdmann'} *Ordo* was still in use; and. ibid.. pp. 119-20, from Suger's account of the consecration of the next king, Louis VI in 1108, *Vi,• de L,>ui.< VI le Gros.* ed. H. Waquct (Paris, 1929), p.86, that the 'Fulrad' ('SMN') *Ordo* was then followed. Brown, *'Franks. 8111; 1111dia11s and ilq11i1,111ia11i,* section III, notes that Suger wrote over thirty years after the event, perhaps with a text of the 'SMN' *Ordo* at his elbow. She observes. however. that the large nu1nbcr of French twelfth- and thirteenth-century MSS suggest the use of the 'SMN' *Ortlo* probably in 1108 and for some time thereafter.

·.[14] Ward. 'Early version', p.349.

transmitted in liturgical books.[3]s The 'SMN' and'Albion' variants in the consecration prayer would thus represent attempts at '.:!'dating the A *Ordo* made in England after,.930 and *c*.950 respectively.

It is time now to turn to the B version of the Second English *Ordo*. There are two distinct sub-versions, one contained in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, the other in the remaining B manuscripts. The differences between these sub-versions are verbal, not structural, but they clearly show that 'Robert' is closer to A than is the other sub-version.[37] 'Robert' has son1etimes been depicted asintermediate between A and B, or as 'outside the main line of development'.[38] In fact it represents the one ,najor revision of A, a revision to which only minor verbal changes were subsequently made. Assuch 'Robert' deserves more attention than it has so far received. The Benedictional itself is one of the earliest products of the Winchester school. Against the suggestion that it was made for a bishop ofSelscy, the presence of benedictions for the feast of Grimbald, *tantus patronus*, points to the New Minster Winchester as the book's destination.[39] There seems good reason to date it to <.975, quite well on in the pontificate of Aethelwold (963-84).[40] In fact, the obvious explanation for the inclusion of the revised Second *Ordo* is that a copy wasavailable at Winchester through Aethelwold's initiative.

The single significant innovation in this revision is what would later be known as the Coronation Oath. Its substance was derived from the three-fold precept, originally the concluding section of the First English *Ordo* and taken from it into the A version of the Second *Ordo*. But the change in place meant a change in function: what had been a royal declaration of intent, a kind of programmatic statement issued literally from the throne by the newly-installed king, was turned by the reviser into a promise that was implicitly a pre-condition of the ensuing consecration. Schramm was right to insist on the crucial ideological difference bet,veen *Vorschrift* (prescription) and *Verpjliclttung*

[35] See Turner, Introduction to the *Claudius Po111ifitals*, passim; D. Bullough, 'The Continental Backgronnd of the Reforin', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Te11th-Ce11111ry Studies* (Chichester, 1975). pp.20-36; S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds.), *Ltami11g and Lilt'ralllrt'* i11 *A11glo-Sa. 011E11glarul* (Cambridge, 1985). pp.143-201.

[36] I assun1e that these can be correlated, partly with political developments, partly with royal styles used in charters; Kleinschmidt, *Unters1u/11111ge11*, pp.40-1. 64-89; Kc nes, 'King Athelstan's books', pp.157-8. 190.

[37] J. A. Robinson, 'The Coronation Order in the Tenth Century', *Joun,al of Theological Studies*, 19 (1917-8), 56-72. Ward, "Coronation Ceremony', p.170, n.3.

[38] Robinson, 'Coronation Order', pp.56-62; Ward, 'Coronation Ceremony', p.170. n.3.

[39] *Br11edittio11al of Arthhishop Robert*, p.39.

[40] This dating can be established on iconographical grounds. I am very grateful to Robert Dcshman for this information, and for helpful discussion: cf. below, n.45.

(commitment).[41] It was not that the reviser wished to imply a diminution of royal authority: rather he intended to highlight far more clearly than A's opening section had allowed, the functional requirements of christian kingship as an office.

The inclusion of a promise of some kind in royal *ordines* went back at least to the ninth century. Hincmar of Rheims dre\v on the model of the profession of the bishop elect.[42]The same parallel may have inspired the reviser of the Second English *Ordo*.[43] But he was also influenced, perhaps, by the model of the abbot's profession, and, moregenerally, by the parallel between abbatial and royal office. The Benedictional of Robert contains in its rite for the blessing of an abbot the prayer, 'Deus qui sub tuae maiestatis arbitrio', which is largely derived from the royal blessing, 'In diebus' of the First and Second English *Ordines*.[44] Since the Benedictional ofRobert is perhaps the earliest book in which thisabbot's prayer appears, the prayer could well have been available at Winchester because it reflected the views of Aethelwold as evidenced in the *Re;utaris Concordia* and in Winchester iconography of the period.[4] Had Aethelwold himself composed the new abbot's prayer while he occupied the abbatial office?

It seems unlikely that the reviser produced the *B-Ordo* as a mere *jeu d'esprit*. If however he had a particular king-making in mind, whose was it? Edgar is an obvious candidate, 973 the occasion. But (as I have argued elsewhere) 973 was not Edgar's only consecration: he was very probably also consecrated at the beginning of his reign in Wessex, *c*.960, and I am tempted to link the producton of B version with this occasion.[46] Aethelwold as abbot of Abingdon had been closely associated with Edgar since the aetheling had sought his guidance there in the mid-950s; looking back on these years, Aethelwold recalled teacher and student planning monastic reform together. From Abingdon, Aethelwold sent to Fleury and Corbie for help in modernising and beautifying the

[41] Schramm, 'Kronung bei den Westfranken', **p.166** (= *Kaiser, Konigeund Piipste*. vol. 2, p.180), against Bouman, *Sacring and Cro..ming*, pp.144-5.

[42] Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought ofHincmar of Rheims', above, chapter 7, pp. 143-66.

• Compare theopening rubrics in the rites for theconsecrations of bishop and king in the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, pp. 125, 140. A parallel wasevidently seen between the two rites.

...,*Benedidional of Archbishop Robert*. pp.130-1.

•s The vie,vs of the tenth-century reformers, especially Aethelwold, ,viiibeexamined by Robert Oeshman in a forthcoming paper on the iconography of *St*. Benedict, a version of which was read to the University of London Palaeography S:minar in 1985. The abbot's prayer alsoappears in the so-called Pontifical of Egbert of <.1000, the Lanalet Pontifical of the early eleventh century, and the Sherborne Pontifical which Ward, 'Coronation Ceremony', p.167, n.5 dated *c*.1000, though Turner, *Claudius Pot1ti_fi(als*. p.xvi, thought possibly mid-tenth-century.

[46] See above, chapter 12, pp. 297-300.

monastic litury.[47] If, as I have suggested, he was capable of revising the rite for abbatial inauguration, might henot have thought the production of a new king's*ordo* desirable, to express his and Edgar's conception of kingship as office? If so, Aethelwold could have taken a copy of this *ordo* to Winchester with him when he became bishop in %3: this would have been the model of the scribe of the 'Robert' book.

Though theconnexion of the'Robert' *Ordo* with Edgar's consecration *c.*%0, is plausible, it is not the only possibility. Edgar's elder brother Eadwig may also have been taught by Aethelwold at Abingdon, and the new *Ordo* could have been produced with Eadwig's consecration in mind.[48] But that hypothesis leaves little time between Aethelwold's assumption of the abbacy in 954 and Eadwig's consecration on 27 January 956. In Edgar's case, by contrast, the time-span involved is more comfortable; and there was a probable further dela¥ ofup to18months between Edgar's succession and his consecratjon.[4] Moreover, it could have been the experience of Eadwig's lukewarm support for monastic reform which impelled our enterprising liturgist to revise the king's *ordo* as he did, for Eadwig's successor. There is a further difficulty about linking the 'Robert' *Ordo* with Eadwig in 956 which applies equally to the Edgar hypothesis. No queen was consecrated along with either Eadwig in 956 or with Edgar at the outset of his reign, yet the 'Robert' *Ordo* does have an *ordo* for a queen to go with it.[50] However this queen's *ordo* is simply a copy of the existing A queen's *ordo:* hence its presence in the Benedictional of Robert could be attributed to the scribe's desire for completeness, or even to the conservatism of liturgical manuscripts in general.[51] There is an obvious distinction, anyway, between copying, and composing or adapting, a liturgical text. The 'Robert' queen's *ordo*, as a straight copy, contrasts strikingly with the restructured king's *ordo*, and therefore throws no light on the circumstances of the latter's composition. The changes within the king's *ordo* itself seem to me to point to the beginning of Edgar's reign, and to Aethelwold who (far more than Dunstan) was the ideological force behind that king's

[47] Aethelwold's dose relations with the young Edgar: Old English account of King Edgar's establishment of the n1onasteries, in D. Whitelock ed.. *E11glish Historical Do,uments*, vol. 1, rev. ed. (London. 1979) no. 238, p.921;influenceof reformed Frankish liturgy: Aelfric, *Life of St. Eihelwold, c.* 10, and Wulfstan. *Life of St. Ethe/wold* c. 14, both ed. M. Winterbottom. *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto. 1972), pp. 21, 42; *Historia Monasterii Abingdot1*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series 2.i (London, 1858), p.129.

[48] Sue Mathews kindly drew my attention to the possibility that Eadwig toostayed at Abingdon. See C. Hart, 'Athelston Half-King and his family', *A11glo-Soxot1 Englat1d,* 2 (1973), 115-44, at 126, n.4.

[49] See above, pp. 298-9.

[51,] *Be11ediaio110/of Archbishop Ro/,ert,* p.148. Did the 'Robert' co,nposcr envisage the possibility chat a queen's *ordo* might be needed. perhaps for Edgar's first wife, ActhclRacd' In fact she was never consecrated:see above, p. 300.

"Bouman, *Saering and Crowt1ing,* pp.55-7, 79-80; Nelson, 'Ritual and reality in the early medieval *Ordines',* above, chapter 14, pp. 329·39.

engagement with ecclesiastical reform.[52]

lfwe turn, finally, to the remaining sub-version ofB, that is, the *ordo* contained in the Sherborne Pontifical and the other four English manuscripts listed above, we find the Briickmann factor again significant. For although the queen's *ordo* that appears in these manuscripts is alsoa straight copy of the Aqueen's *ordo,* it is prefaced by a new rubric that surely pins it down to an occasion when immediate use was envisaged:

> The king's consecration ends. The queen's consecration follows. To do her honour, she is anointed on the crown of her head by the bishop with the oil of sacred unction. And let her be blessed andconsecrated in church, in the presence of the magnates, to consortship of the royal bed, as it is shown on the following page. We further decree that she beadorned \vith a ring for the integrity of the faith, and a crown for the glory of eternity.[53]

The references to 'the following page' and to a 'decree' are incongruous in a liturgical book, and, interestingly, were dropped in eleventh-century copies of the Second *Ordo.*[54] They seem to echo a decision of the witan relating to the consecration, perhaps controversial, of a particular queen. Who could this have been? The likeliest possibility is Aelfthryth, consecrated along \Vith her husband Edgar in 973.[55] The only statement to this effect occurs in the *Vita Os1valdi,* and doubt has been cast on the accuracy of thisaccount on the grounds that the hagiograeher was clear!y writing with a copy of the Second *Ordo* at his elbow.[56] He was also writing, however, for an audience at Oswald's own house of Ramsey,

[52] Aethelwold's role is highlighted by E. John, *Orbis Britanniae* (Leicester, 1966), pp.159-60, and Dunstan's relatively low profile by N. Brooks, *The Early History of the ChurchofCanterbury* (Leicester, 1984), pp.245-53. Aethelwold's stresson thesignificance of royal consecration rites may be reRected in the marginal crosses added at Winchester, possibly during his pontificate, to the Parker MS ('A') of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at the annal for 853: see Nelson, 'The Problem of King Alfred's Royal Anointing.Journal *of E«lesiastic:al History,* 18 ; above, ch. I3, p. 324, n.I, and the facsimile edition by R. Flower and A. H. Smith., *The Parker Chronicle and Laws,* Early English Text Society, (London, 1941), fol. 13a. But see further Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript', pp.168-70, suggesting a mid-tenth century dating for the marginal crosses.

[53] This rubric appears before the queen's *ordo* in the Sherborne Pontifical, fol.74; the Sampson Pontifical, ed. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records,* p.21; and the Anderson Pontifical, fols. 63r-63v.

[54] *Claudius Ponti.fic:als,* ed. Turner, p.95; Corpus 44, ed. Wickham Legg. *Three Coronation Orders,* p.61; perhaps also Cotton Vitellius A.vii, though this passage has unfortunatdy been totally obliterated.

ss No previous tenth-century king's wife is known to have been consecrated, or 10 have used the title of queen during her husband's lifetime: Stafford, 'King's Wife in Wessex', p.17, with nn.42, 44.

[56] *Vita Oswaldi,* ed. J. Raine, *Historia11s of the Church of York,* 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1879), vol. I, pp.436-8, reprinted Schramm, 'Kronung beiden Westfranken', pp.231-3 *(""Kaiser., Kii11ige und Piipste,* pp.241-3). See H. G. Richardson and G. 0. Sayles, *TheGovermmceofMedieval* Engla11d(Edinburgh, 1%3), Appendix I, pp.397-412, at 400.

hence for men who kne\v at first hand what had happened at Bath in 973; and he is in fact quite explicit about his use of an *ordo* text, presumably because **it** was kno\vn **at** Ramsey to have been the rite used on that occasion.[57] H. G. Richardson and G. 0. Sayles spotted a difficulty in the *Vita's* account, which, in their vie\v, rendered it 'useless' as evidence for 973. The *Vita* author, near the end of his account of the consecrations of king and queen, wrote the words: 'peractis egregiis nuptiis regalis thori' ('when thedistinguished nuptials of the royal bed had been completed'). Richardson and Sayles saw here a reference to the marria e of Edgar and Aelfthryth, which happened in 964, and not to 973 at all. [8] I suggest that the rubric introducing the queen's *ordo* helps account for the *Vita's* curious expression: the phrase 'consortium regalis thori', which I take to refer to Aelfthryth's queenship, could have inspired what was in effect a synonym in 'nuptiae'. It is clear, anyway, that the *Vita* author, as Eric John pointed out, 'cannot have taken the reference to the nuptials literally'.[59] He described what he thought were royal inauguration rites of the king and queen, and these wereof interest precisely because of the role of Oswald as archbishop of York, an office he assumed in 972.

I should like to end with some further arguments linking a rather special queen's consecration, hence the revised version of the B *Ordo*, with 973. First, there is evidence that \Vhile Aelfthryth was consecrated queen her predecessor, Edgar's previous wife Aethelflaed, was not, and that this contrast was exploited by the partisans of Aelfthryth's son against Aethelflaed's son in the succession dispute that followed Edgar's death in 975.[60] Second, Aelfthryth subscribed charters as queen in the 960s and early 970s, indicating heightened asfirations to status on her part as compared with her predecessors.[6] Third, Aelfthryth had associated herself closely with the monastic reformers patronised by her husband and especially with Aethelwold who, perhaps in conse uence, assigned the queen an important role in the *Regularis Concordia*.[6] Those who designed Edgar's consecration in 973 were well-disposed to Aelfthryth. Fourth, the Byzantine princess Theophano wascrowned and probably anointed empress in Rome when she married Otto II on 14 April 972.[63] It just happened that Oswald, archbishop-elect of York, visited Rome for his pallium sometime in 972 and so either witnessed

[57] *Vita Oswaldi,* p.437: '... stetit archipraesul (Dunstanus) et oravit pro eo orationes. quae in illorum libris scriptae sunt. Deinde secundum dixit Oswaldus ... '

[58] Richardson and Sayles, *Govenumce,* pp.401-2.

[s•] E.John, *0,bis Britarmiae,* pp.276-89. at 286.

[l,O] See above, p. 300.

[61] Sawyer, nos. 757, 771, 794, 795, 801, 805;and the possibly authentic 731, 779, 785, 806and 1449.

[62] Stafford. 'King's Wife in Wessex', pp.23-4.

[63] Benedict of Monte Soracte, *Chronico11,* in Monumenta Germ:iniae Historica, Scriptores vol. Ill, p.718. See *Regesten des Kaiurreicl,es unter Otto II.ed.* J. F. Bohmer, rev. H. L. Mikoletzky (Berlin, 1950), p. *7:10.*

Theophano's consecration or heard about it very soon afterwards.[64] That could have provided an authoritative precedent for Aelfthryth's consecration the following year.

Finally, while thesequence of versions of the Second *Ordo*seems fairly clear, one remaining difficulty should be acknowledged in the chronology of use I have suggested. The date of the 'Robert' manuscript is ahnost certainly slightly later than 973: this means that a scribe at Aethelwold's Winchester copied out the 'Robert' *Ordo* when it had been, so to speak, superseded by the revised version of the other B manuscripts. Is this credible? I think it is, for three reasons. One: all the other bits of evidence (the date of the manuscripts of the Sherbome, Anderson, and Sampson Pontificals; the queen's *ordo* rubric; the *Vita Oswaldi;* the emphasis of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle)* point towards the use of the revised B version in 973.[65] Two: it may be inappropriate to assign criteria of'up-to-dateness'overriding importance for the scribeof a tenth-century liturgical book. The compiler of the Pontifical section of the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert presu1nably incorporated the texts he found to hand at Winchester. How much supervision ,vas exercised by Bishop Aethelwold over these texts (as distinct from the iconography of the illuminations) is hard to say. If, as I have suggested, Aethelwold took a personal interest in some rituals, it would follow that the texts that lay to hand for the scribe of the Robert book might tend to be 'up-to-date' in any case. Turner showed that the rituals for the consecration of a church and for the ordinations of priests and deacons were 'more advanced' in the Robert book than in any of the other near-contemporary English Pontificals with which he compared it; on the other hand, however, this was not true of theritesof monastic profession or the blessing of an abbot.[66] Three: the leading roles in Edgar's consecration at Bath in 973 were played, not by Aethelwold, but by Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald. In other words, while Aethelwold was a key figure, I believe, in the planning of that occasion, he may not have been so closely involved in the detailed revision of the *ordo* used for it. After all, those details were relatively insignificant compared with the major revision which I have argued was done a few years earlier, and probably by Aethelwold himself. lt is even possible that Aethelwold himself in 975 did not possess one of the 'books', that is ordo-texts, used, acording to the *Vita Oswaldi,* by the officiants in 973.[67] Even if he did (and a copy doesseem to have been at Winchester by the close of the tenth century), it could have been an understandable pride in his own work that led the bishop to allow 'his' *ordo* to be included in one of the most beautiful books produced in Winchester's 'golden age'.

[64] *Vita Oswaldi,* pp. 435-6.
[65] See above, pp. 297-8, 302-3.
[66] Turner, *Claudius Pontificals,* Introduction, pp.xx-xxviii, xxxiii-xxxix.
[67] Cf. above, n.57.

17

THE RITES OF THE CONQUEROR[1]

Tl1e two months between mid-October and ntld-December, 1066, were a limi.nal period duri.ng which, despite Hastings, a state of 'public war'[2] continued. and the political consequences of Harold'sdeath had to bepainfully worked out. Twocrucial events in this period were enacted through ritual. First came the subnlission of 'the metropolitan bishop Stigand' at Wallingford: 'he gave himself into [Duke \Villiam's) hands', wrote William of Poitiers, 'and confinned his faith with an oath'.[3] The second set of actions was perfonned soon after, at Little Berkhamstead, by the chief men of London, together with Archbishop Ealdred of York, the .€theling Edgar and Earls Edwin and Morcar: 'they bowed', according to the 'D' text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ' ... and they swore oaths (to Duke William) and he promised them that he would be a true lord to thent.'[4] The sinlilarities between Nounan and Anglo-Saxon versions of commendation are obvious: though the terminology of each source derives front a distinct tradition, both present the essential acts as the oath and the gesture of self-abasement, and both imply that the resultant personal relationship was modelled on that between lord and retainer. So if we cannot be sure that in either Norman or Anglo-Saxon practice personalised rituals of subordination were always - or even normally - used to constitute a formal relationship between duke or king on the one hand, and noble on the other,[5] it does seem that such a relationship was perceived in terms of the vassalage model[6] - *as if* such oaths and gestures had been perforined. Furthermore, Anglo-Saxon and

1 I am most grateful to H. E. J. Cowdrey for his criticisms of a draft of this paper, and to both him and Michael Lapidge for valuable advice. Any remaining errors of fact or interpretation are of course my own. I should also like to thank Simon Keynes and John Gillingham for their help, many other members of the Fourth Battle Conference for useful suggestions, and especially my friend and colleague Allen Brown for encouraging me to enlist.

2 See the Penitential Ordinance issued after Hastings, ed. C. Morton, 'Pope Alexander II and the Norman Conquest", *Laromus* xxxiv, I975, 382.

3 *Gesra Gui/le/ml*, 216. Translations of primary sources in this paper are my own.

4 *ASC"edd.* J. l::arle and C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, i, Oxford 1892, ·O·, s.a. 1066, 200. All my *ASC* references are to this edition.

s For eleventh-century Normandy, the evidence is scarce. In the *Gesta Gui/le/mi*, such rituals are mentioned only in exceptional cases concerning unusually asymme1rical relationships between Duke William and non-Norman magnates: 78-9, 88, 96, 104. The broader political context of such relations is well described by E. M. Hallam, "The King and the Princes in Eleventh-Century France', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* !iii, 1980, 143-56. For Anglo-Saxon England. the *Vita Eadwardi.* 22 and 27-8, is suggestive, as is the text printed by F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* i, Halle 1903, 396.

6 J. Le Goff, 'The Symbolic Ritual of Vassalage·, in *Time, Work and Culture in the J.fiddle Ages.* Chicago 1980, 237-87, offers many insights. though some of his conclusions are. in my view, questionable.

Norman rituals were mutually intelligible: Duke William In 1051 took Edward the Confe.ssor as his lord,7 while Harold In 1064 took William as his.[8] The sacred character of these procedures was obviously crucial. William of Poitiers describes Harold giving his oath to the duke as his retainer *(satelles)* 'according to the holy rite of the Christians'; and hence, appropriately, the duke at Hastings wore around his neck 'the relics whose favour Harold had alienated from himself by violating the faith he had pledged by swearing on them'. Duke William was no cynical manipulator of the holy, but a pious man In contemporary tenns, who 'frequently bought the prayers of the servants of Christ, especially when war or some other difficult assignment was looming'.[10] But he was also aware of the propaganda-value of ritual, and that awareness was heightened by his situation as Conqueror of the English kingdom.

The English magnates who bowed and swore to Duke William in 1066 saw these acts as more than tokens of personal submission: their collective public recognition of him as lord amounted, under the circumstances of an interregnum, to an acceptance of him as king.[11] This Isstated explicitly by William of Poitiers: '(After the oaths) they begged him to take the crown, asserting that they were accustomed to serve a king and therefore wished to have their lord as k.ing'.[12] The 'D' text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes the same point implicitly in its comment on the magnates' bowings: 'It was a great folly that they did not do so sooner>[13] - that is, instead of havingpublicly recognised theclaims of theA::theling Edgar in theaftermath of Hastings and hence provoked the Norman harrying of the Home Counties. Duke William surely knew quite well the meaning of the Englishmen's oathsand bowlngs_[14] But they were not the only men he had to reckon with. To his Norman followers, according to William of Poitiers, he gave three reasons for his reluctance to proceed immediately to consecration as king: the uncertain political situation, the wish for his wife *to* be consecrated alongside him, and the need to avoid haste when climbing a high peak_[15] William of Poiliers is clearly deploying the topos of modest hesitation, but, interestingly, he does not depict the duke's Norman retainers as responding with an Instant counterblast of encouragement to accede to the English request, but only with milder advice. TI1ey suggested, instead, that the whole army be consulted. This was an army consisting of many besides Normans, and it was not a Norman but an 'Aquitanlan', a Poitevin, who urged hiscomrades to follow the Englishmen's example and wish their lord to become a king. Even with this prompting, the army came round to the Poitcvin's view only after deciding 'that their advantage and lands would be increased by the duke's elevation'. When the duke finally yielded to 'the

1 *ASC* 'O'. s.a. 1051, 176. The historicity of Duke William's visit to England is accepted by M. Campbell,'A pre-Conquest occupation of England?' *Speculum* xlvi. 1971, 28-9. See also the important discussion by E. John, 'Edward the Confessor and the Norman Conquest', *English Historical Review* (hereafter *EHR)* xciv, 1979, 253-4.

8 *Gesta Gui/le/mi,* 104.

9 *Gesta Gui/le/mi,* 180-2.

10 *Gesta Gui/le/mi,* 128.

11 **H. M.** Chadwick, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon lnstitulions,* Cambridge 1905, 355-66, remains the fundamental account of such procedures in Anglo-Saxon England.

12 *Gesta Gui/le/mi,* 216, where Stigand's oath is also linked with his abandonment of Edgar -€theling.

13 *ASC,*'D',s.a. 1066, 200.

14 Cf. above, n.7.

is *Gesta Gui/le/mi,* 216-18.

requests and pressure of so many', he too acted on the prudential grounds that it would be easier as king to crush English opponents of his regime. Both these calculations, the duke's and his followers', were thuspresented by William of Poitlers as based on awareness of English sentiment: the Conqueror as kingcould hope for a large gain in English support; from the Conqueror as king his men could hope for access to English wealth. To become king, in short, was to acquire legitimacy and therefore increased effectiveness in the exercise of power in England. William of Poltiers' story thus suggests a contrast between Norman and Anglo-Saxon attitudes. The Conqueror's Norman followers were initially unenthusiastic, even wary. about his elevation to a royalty which wasnot only unfamiliar to them[16] but also threatened more regular, institutionalised pressure on their own Interests in the longer term. The Anglo-Saxon nobles, by contrast, expected, demanded, that their lord become their king, since to them kingship was the traditional, authoritative centre of power.[17] The consecration of Christmas Day, 1066, was planned and executed to further Norman objectives in England because ii conformed to English expectations.

This was the political context, then, in which the Conqueror's royal inauguration was performed. My purpose in the main part of this paper will be to identify the liturgical ordoused on that occasion. What follows might well be sub-titled 'Footnotes to Foreville', because, as Battle veterans will recall, Professor R. Forevllle gave a notable paper here in 1978 on Anglo-Norman and Angevin royal consecrations and coronation-oaths.[18] Foreville made it clear in that paper that she did not share the generally-held identification of the ordo of William the Conqueror as a version of the Second English Ordo, that is, of the ordo which had been used, with minor variations, for William's Anglo-Saxon predecessors since the beginning of the tenth

16 For the *de facto* situation in eleventh-century Normandy, see C. W. Hollister, 'Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman *Regnum', Speculum* li, 1976, 202-l 2; also J. Boussard, ·t.a notion de royaute sous Guillaume le Conquerant: ses origines et ses prolongements', *Anna/i de/la Fondazione /ta/iana per la Hlstoria Amministrativa* iv, 1967, 4 7-77, where, however, the strength of ducal jurisdiction in Normandy both before and after I066 seems rather overestimated.

17 For royal ideology in late Anglo-Saxon England, see Boussard, 'Notion de royaute·, 55-64; and the characteristically judicious survey of F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor,* London 1970, 60-72. Evidence for the reality of royal power is cogently presented by J. Campbell, 'The significance of the Anglo-Norman State in the administrative history of western Europe', *Francia* ix, 1980, 117-34, which should now be supplemented by S. Keynes, *The Diplomasof King Aethelred 'the Unready•. 978·1016,* Cambridge I980,especially 126-53,and **P.A.** Stafford, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organisation of King Edward's Estates in Domesday', *Economic History Review* xxxiii, 1980, 491-502. •

18 'Le sacre des rois anglo-normands et angevins et le serment du sacre', *ANS* i, 1978, 49-62. While acknowledging my debt to Professor Foreville, I must also register my disagreement with some of her views: the arbitrary selection of texts in her n.31 givesa misleading impression of the pre-Conquest development of the royal consecration-rite; 1066 was certainly not the first occasion on which a 'coronation-oath' was given in England (see above, chapter 14, pp. 329· 39 andchapter 12, pp. 283-307); and the *Carnren's* evidence on the Conqueror's consecration seems to me of questionable value (see below, p. 387).

• *Proceeding,of the Baule Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* (hereafter *ANS)*

Table. Main western royal ordines up roc.I I OO•

FinI English Ordob	*'Erdmorm' Ordo* (W. l·r,nk, i h. late ninth century)C	*S<xond English Ordo* *E4rl/er verdo11* (c.900)d	*Ordo o/97:J<*	*PRG King's Ordof*	Third *ti,g//sh Ordol*
	Peuuon of 81shops Rf::sponse of King Enquiry of BWtops to ptople Acc::lamationh\ *e deum*	P 1it1on of Bishops Response of King Enquiry of l:lishops to people A.,.'Clama1lonh\ *e deum* - Kinlf,', prostration	Anuphon: *F;nnerur* *Te deum* Three-fold promise	PraycrJ Rc n.sory Antiphon: *mine s,,Jvum /ac.* King's prostration Lttany Archbishop's enquuy to Kin$, K1l's promise Arc bb;hop'stnquuy to people Acclamation	Antiphon: *Pirmerur* King's prostration Litany Three-fold prom1sie Bishop's enquiry to ople Acclamation
Benedu:tions *Tt invocamus* *Tndi*ebus* Anointing Antif,hon: *Deus etectorum*	Senedtction *Deus qui populis* Anointing *Omn/,pottns.. deu1crnt0r* *nxerunl*	Benedictions *Tt invoccmus* *Deus1::},populis* *In dit* Anointini Antiphon: *Unxcrunr* *Deuselectorum*	Bentd1CIIOO:S *Tt invocamus* *Deus1::,popul/,* *In die* Anointing Antiphon: *Unxerunt* *Christe permige*	8enedlc::11ons *Btnedic domln.e In.meregtm* *Omnipotens• .. creator* *Deus JnenanabUis auc«>r* Anoinsing of Hands *Unguantur monusUre* Anointinis of head, breast. shoulders 3nd elbows wnh hles.;ed oll: *Unguo It.* *Splritus sancti g atill*	Benedictions *Omni{>Olens ... creator* *Bentdic dominehunc regem* *Deus intf{abi/1,,uctor* Anointtng of Hands *Unguantur mo.nusitte hospice* Anoin1inp of br st. shoufdcr5. elbows and head with blessed oil. then hc.:ad 3,!13tn with chrism.
&·eptre *Benedlc dom.in* Staff *baculus)* *Omnlpottns ... det* He1me1 *Benedlc ... fortitudinem*	Rmi *Accipei<* l) *DeuscuiUs* Sword *Accipekn)* Ctownin *Coroner u* *Omnlum dom.tne fons* Sceptre *Accipesceptrum* Staff *(baculud* *Accipe*	Rintc *Acc/pe'\2)* *Deuscuius* Swo,d *Acc/pek(J)* Crownrng *Coronet It* *Deus perperutratis* 54.-epuc *A ccipe scTotrum* *Omnium omine fons* Rod *(vlrga)* *Acc/.M virg,oml*	RorlJl *Accipe•(2)* *Deus culus* Sword Antiphon: *Confortare* Acclpek(I) Crowning *Coronet re* *Deus perperuitatis* Sceptre *Acdpe 1etptrum* *Omnium domine fom* Rod*(,irga)* *Accipe Yirgam*	Sword *Accipek\2)* Armlll-s and P.111 Rtng *Accipeicl)* Sccpue and staff *(baculus)* *AcclpevirgamJ* Crowning *Accipe coronam*	Sword *Accipt!k(2>* Armills: *Accipe* P,11: *Acc/pe* Bl iniofcrown: *Deus tuo,um* Crownin *Coronet le* *Deus perpetuitatis* Rini: A<cip,'(31 Sceptre *Accipe* *Omniumdomine fens* Rod*(Virga)* *Acct'pe11irgam*
Acclamation £nthtonemen1 *!H.us pe,petuilltis* Three precepts		Benedictions l:::nthronemen1 *Sta et rerl.neJ* Thu:e precepts Acctama1ion	8enedi4,.'tions t:nthronement *Sta erreline*	Scncdic11ons *Benedicat dbl* Enthronement *Sta et retineJ* Kiss of peace. *Te deum*	tkn dict1ons *Benedicat tibi* Kiss of peace. *Te deum* Enthronemen1 *Sta et retine*

century.[19] (See Table .) I must say at the outset that I am convinced Foreville was right to dissent from the prevailing consensus. But why then any need to echo her dissenting voice? Well, for one thing, not everyone has read his or her Foreville: for

19 For the basic sequence of the English Ordines, see L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, London 1901. P. E. Schramm summarised the results of his own researches in *A History of the English Coronation*, Oxford 1937. For further references and some revisions of Schramm's views on the First English Ordo, see above, chapter 15, pp. 341-60. See also, above, chapter 16, pp. 361-74.

Notes to Table

a This table is desifned 10 show the hasic structure of the various ordines and to allow comparisons to be made between those discussed in this paper. *Incipits* only of the prayers are given. The tahle is incomplete because (i) it does not show every detail of the ordines included (ii) it omits ordines for queens. and (iii) it omits some important Continental ordines of the ninth and early tenth centuries: for the ordines of Hincmar, the 'Seven-Forms' Ordo (also known as the 'StaveJot' Ordo) and other West Frankish texts. see *C'.* A. Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning*. Groningen I957, I63-75, and for full editions of the 'Seven-Forms' Ordo and the'Early German· Ordo. see C'. Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen fdeenwelt des Friihmiflelalters*. Berlin 1951, 8J-Q.

b See J. L. Nelson. 'The Earliest Royal *Ordo'*, in B. Tierney and P. Linehan edd .. *Authority and Power. Studies on /1,fedieval Law and Government presented to Walter l.fllmann on his seventieth birthday* (1980) ; above, chapter 15, pp. 341-60.

c See P. E. Schramm. 'Die Kronung bei den Westfranken und Angelsachsen', *Zeirschrift fur Rechtsgeschichte, Ka11onistlsche A bteilung* xxiii, I934, 201-5, reprinted *Kaiser, Konige und P{ipste,* Stuttgart 1968, ii, 216-19.

d See P. L. Ward, 'An early version of the Anglo-Saxon coronation ceremony'. *EHR* Jvii. 1942, 345-58.

e See Schramm. 'Kronung·, 221-8. *Kaiser, Konige und Piipste*. 233-Q; Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals'. in I'. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood edd., *!>fedieval Kingship,* Leeds 1977. 63- 70; above. chapter 12, pp. 283-308.

f See ('. Vogel and R. Elze. *le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixieme siecle*. i, Rome I <l63. 246-59.

g See **H.** /1. Wilson. *The Pontifical of Jfagdalen College,* Henry Bradshaw Society volume xxxix. 1910, 89-95.

h I have put this acclamation in square brackets hecaus it is implicit in the rubric: 'A!loquantur duo episcopi populum 'n ecclesia inquirentes eorum voluntatem. *Et si co11cordes fuerint*. agant deo gratias decantantes. *"Te* deum laudamus".'

The various ring-formulae are discussed hy Bouman. *Sacring,* Ð-31.

J This prayer is take.n from the West Frankish 'Seven-Forms· Ordo.

k For the sword-formulae. see Schramm, 'Kronung', 204, *Kaiser, Konige und Piipste*. 218. and Erdmann. *Forschungen*. 8'>.

instance, in two recent publications, Mr H. E. J. Cowdrey[20] and Ms J. L. Nelson[21] have continued to assert the probability that the Second English Ordo was used for the Conqueror. For another thing, all the best recent studies of the Conqueror and the Conquest seem to repeat or implicitly subscribe to that assertion.[22] It will, I predict, die hard; for it carries the imprimatur of the doyen of ordines-researchers, the late P. E. Schramm. To Schramm's work, historians naturally and rightly turn for information on En@lish ordines, and as naturally (but less rightly) tend to reiterate his views. Foreville Is therefore an honourable exception, and the force of her challenge deserves to be fully appreciated. In fact, she modestly concealed quite how exceptional she was by referring to J. Briickmano's work,[23] though he still agreed with Schramm about the ordo used for the Conqueror.[24]

What, then, is this ordo, according to Schramm? It is the ordo in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS44, a Canterbury pontifical of the second half of the eleventh century.[25] Here, Schramm argued, we have a unique version of the Second English Ordo containing several variants which can be linked specifically with the Conqueror's situation. The phrase 'by paternal suggestion' has been removed from one prayer, from another the words 'rejoicing in the flower of youth up to this oresent day' - words thought by Schramm to be inappropriate for a thirty-nine year old![26] More than merely verbal changes were the substitution of new antiphons for two of the four found in other Second English Ordo manuscripts, and the provision of seven other antiphons at each major stage in the rite.[27] Jo several of

20 'The Anglo-Norman *Laudes Regiae', Viator* xii, 1981, 39-78, at 51, n.47. Cowdrey carefully says only 'probably used'; and the identification of the Conqueror's Ordo was of course peripheral to his theme. My debt to this important paper will be very obvious in what follows.

21 'Earliest Royal Ordo", 48 and n.97. See alsoTurner. *Claudius Pontificals.* xxxi. noting this view, without adverse comment.

22 It may be enough simply to list the names of D. Douglas, C. N. L. Brooke, D. J. A. Matthew, F. Barlow, and R. A. Brown.

2J 'Sacre', 59 and n.41, with reference to J. Brtickmann, 'The *Ordines* of the Third Recension of the Medieval English Coronation Order", in T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke edd., *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, Toronto 1969, 99-115.

24 BrUckmann, *'Ordines'*, 102, n.7.

2s The royal ordo was edited by J. Wickham Legg, *Three Coronation Orders*, Henry Bradshaw Society, xix, 1900. 54-64, with notes, 162-73. On the pontifical, see Brilckmann. 'Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales', *Traditio* xxix. 1973, 403-404: 'probably ... Canterbury, possibly St Augustine's or Christ Church'. Cf. Turner, *Claudius Pontificals.* xxxi-xxxviii, making a good case for Christ Church.

26 'Die Kronung bei den Westfranken und Angelsachsen von 878 bis um 1000', *Zeitschrift fur Rechtsgeschichte, Kano11istische Abteilung* xxiii, 1934, I 17-242, now reprinted with additional references in Schramm's collected papers, *Kaiser, Konige und Piipsre,* 4 volumes, Stuttgart I 968, ii, 140-248, at I 81-2. (Here and below, page-references for Schramm's articles are given to the reprinted versions in *Kaiser, Konige und Piipste.)* See also idem, *English Coronation,* 28-9.

27 'Vivat rex' at the enthronement has a tenth-century precedent in the version of the Second English Ordo in the *Be,zedfctional of Archbishop Robert,* ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, xxiv, 1903, 147. Other Second Ordo manuscripts have only three antiphons, of which 'Firmetur manus tua' alone reappears in the Corpus 44 Ordo.

these Schramm noted terms like *'Anglisaxont* (so, Schramn1; but this should be corrected to *Ang/isaxonici), populus Ang/icus* and *Anglia,* which he contrasted with the phrase *regnum Anglorum vel Saxonum* in earlier versions of the Second Ordo. Schramm commented: 'A ri•uase highly commendable in the days of Dunstan is relegated to obscurity, for under the pressure of Danes and Normans the old racial units of the heptarchy have been welded into one *English* people'.[28] How a phrase can be said to have been 'relegated to obscurity' when it remains (twice) in the consecration-prayer at the very heart of the ordo,[29] is beyond me. And in any case, *Anglia* and *Anglisa.'<ones* were already quite old terms by the mid-eleventh century.[30] As for the verbalchanges in the prayers, these need not refer to William I. Edward the Confessor, oddly enough, was probably also thirty-nine when he was consecrated and he too could hardly be said to have succeeded 'by paternal suggestion'. Indeed, that is true more often than not in English and German royal inaugurations throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, when successions of brothers, nephews. cousins and others exceeded in total those of sons, yet the ordines in both realms continued to prescribe the enthronement-prayer: 'Stand and hold fast now the place that you have held to this time by paternal suggestion, (the place] delegated to you by hereditary right'.[31] This means, l think, that ontemporary relevance was not a consideration in the mindsof liturgists and that 'standard' texts usually continued to be copied out, and presumably used, without anyone's worrying about their precise aptness. Occasionally an attempt might be made to iron out a conspicuous discrepancy between ritual prescription and reality, as when a twelfth-century French scribe substituted 'the Franks, Burgundians and Aqultanians' for 'the Saxons, Mercians and Norlhumbrians' of his exemplar (which derived ultimately, of course, from an English ordo of c.900) - but few copyists baull<ed even at those![32] lt is possible that officiants actually omitted or changed such unapt phrases in perfonnance, but if so, in the lldture of things we have no record of this kind of verbal alteration. Schramm's view of the Corpus 44 ordo as an instance of such tailoring to suit a particular individual cannot be disproved, though there are few parallels for it in medieval ordines surviving in liturgical books. But in my view, the peculiarities of that ordo, including the removal of 'paternal suggestion' from the prayer 'Stand and hold fast', are better explained in tenns of a competent liturgist's attempt, in line with the timelessness of liturgical texts as such, to generalise the suitability of the Second English Ordo.

28 *English Coronation,* 28-9.

29 Ed. Wickham Legg, *Three Coronation Orders, 55.*

30 Ste e.g. Asser's *Life of Alfred,* ed. W. Stevenson, 1904, reissued with additions by 0. Whitelock, Oxford 1959, and editor's comments at 148-50:R..thelweard's *Chronicle,* ed. A. Campbell, London 1962, 9.

31 'Sta et retine amodo statum quern hucusque patema suggestione tenuisti hereditario iure tibi delegatum.' This is the text of other Second English Ordo manuscripts. Corpus 44 gives: 'Sta et retine regalem statum honoris videlicet et regni solium hereditario iure .. .' (etc.) Continental ordines containing this prayer (see Table.) have *success/one* instead of *suggestione,* but this is not significant for my present argument. For the reworkings in some of the other prayers in the Corpus 44 Ordo_, see Wickham Legg, *Three Coronation Orders,* xxxix-xl. The most extensive are in'Accipe virgam', *58.* The forms for the vesting with the pall, 59, are peculiar to this manuscript: see below, n.39.

32 See P. L. Ward, 'An early version of the Anglo-Saxon coronation ceremony', *EHR* lvii, 1942, 345-9; above,chapter 14,p. 333.

A further argt,ment against Schramm's identification is that a rite very close to that of Corpus 44 survives in a pre-Conquest manuscript: London, British Library MS Cotton Vitellius A.vii, a pontifical probably from Ramsey Abbey.[33] Unfortunately it is hardly possible to check the relevant variants in the prayer-texts, for this is a manuscript that suffered very badly in the fire of I73 I and only fragments of the ordines for king and que.en survive.[34] Still, enough can be deciphered to show t.'iat the king's ordo contained some (perhaps all?) of the antiphons that appear in Corpus 443s - *Angli-saxonici* included.u

There seem lo be some grounds, then, for questioning the belief that Corpus 44 contains the ordo of the Conqueror. But this raises the further question: was *any* version of the Second English Ordo used on Christmas Day I066? I turn now to the positive part of Foreville's alternative to Schramm, namely, her suggestion that the Conqueror was consecrated according to the Third English Ordo.[37] Since this means dating the useof the Third Ordo considerably earlier than had previously been done, the argument merits rather fuller exposition than has yet been possible. As the Table shows, the Third English Ordo Is a splicing together of forms from the Second English Ordo with forms from the king's ordo in the *Pontificate Ro,nano-Germanicum* compiled at St Alban's, Mainz, c.961, and thereafter diffused throughout western Christendom.[38] The mid tenth century thus provides a flrm *terminus post quen1* for the Third English Ordo,[39] while the extant manuscripts give a *terminus antequern*

33 The manuscript was ;ollated by Wickham Legg's son for the edition of the Corpus 44 Ordo in *Three Coronation Orders.* but has since been neglected by Schramm and others. I am very grateful to Simon Keynes for drawing my attention to its possible significance. For its date, see N. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo•Saxon.* Oxford I957, 278-9, where, given his dating ·s.Xl[1]·. ·t 130" is an obvious misprint for '1030' (the date of St Olafs death) and is included in the list on the corrigenda-slip. BrUckmann, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals', 437, unfortunately reproduces the error and gives a dating 'twelfth century'. Cowdrey,*'laudes Regiae'*, 56, correctly dates·s.XI in'.

34 Towards the end of 'Deus electorum', Vitellius A.vii gives the reading: 'te adiuvante', following other Second Ordo manuscripts, against Corpus 44's 'te inspirante'. and similarly in the Queen's Ordo prayer 'Deus cuius est omnis pote.stas'. gives 'digna' against Corpus 44's •firrna'. But \Vickham Legg's statement, *Three Coronation Orders,* xi, that Vitellius A.vii 'preserves the usual forms of the (Second Ordol recension in the prayers· is not 1•erifiable, since Corpus44's most significant variants occur in prayers now illegible in, or 1otally missing from, Vitellius A. vii.

35 This is true of the antiphons for the deliveries of ring, sword and crown. Apparently Vitellius A.vii had a further antiphon after the (King's Ordo) prayer 'Deus cuius est omnis potestas·, but only the rubric is now legible.

36 **n,e** ring-antiphon concludes: 'pax ... sit in nationibus cunctis anglisaxonicae gentis'. In the Queen's Ordo, the post-coronation antiphon, again common to Vitellius A.vii and Corpus 44, contains the phrase: 'hodie coronatur anglisaxonica divine virtutis gloria'.

37 Foreville, ·Sacre·. 60. For the manuscripts of the Third English Ordo, see below, n.42.

38 Ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, *le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixiemesiecle*, 3 volumes, Studi e Testi 226, 227 and 269, Rome l 963-72, with the *Ordo ad regem benedicendum* (= Ordo LXXII) at i, 246-59. I refer *to* the Pontifical hereafter as the *PRG.* On its various forms, see below, nn.42 and 72.

39 Three of its prayers were derived neither from the Second English Ordo nor from the *PRG* but were apparently composed for the Third Ordo itself: the prayers for the delivery of armills and pall, and for the blessing of the crown.

in the early-to-mid twelfth century. Schramm believed he could identify an Ideological thrust in the Third English Ordo which placed it in the age of the Investiture Contest and its composer amongst the 'ecclesiastical reformers': hence his label, 'the Ordo of Anselm'.[40] But successive recensions of ordinesought not to be treated like set texts In a Political Ideas course. Liturgy is not the place to look for polemic, and though political ideas can be found in the ordines, they are of the most general, uncontentious and normative kind. To say that many of the prayer• texts are catenae of cliches, scriptural or liturgical, is not perhaps a very helpful observation: nevertheless, the would-be seeker-out of new claims or theories in these formulae will find it disappointingly often true. Anyway, Schramm was wrong, I think, on one important feature of the Third English Ordo. Relying on Wickham Legg's printed edition of what is probably a second, revised version of the ordo, Schramm claimed that anointing-chrism was here replaced by 'the less noble oil ... of the catechumens'.[41] But the rubric in what I would regard as the ordo's

Though the *PRC* Ordo prescribes for the delivery of armills and pall, like its source the 'Early German' Ordo it gives no special prayers: see C. Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen ldeenwe/t des Friihmittelalters*, Berlin 1951, 66, 86; and Schramm, 'Die Kronung im Deutschland', *Zettschrift fur Rechts· geschichte, Kanonlstische Abteilung* xxiv, 1935, 184-332, reprinted *Kaiser, Konige und P<i'pste*, iii, 33-134, at 77. Widukind, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum Libri Tres*, ed. H. E. Lohmann, MGH Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum, 66. implies that a prayer accompanied the delivery of the pall to 0110 I in 936, but the prayer 'Accipe pallium· in the Third English Ordo is quite different both from this, and from the corresponding text in the Ordo of C'orpus 44, *Three Coronation Orders*, 59. The lhreeoriginal prayers in the Third English Ordo do not seem *to* me to offer any clues as to place or dale of composition let alone their author's identity:

> Armillas accipial diccnte metropolitano.
>
> Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapicntiac divinaeque circumdationis indicium quibus intelligas omnes operationes tuas contra hostes visibiles et invisibiles posse esse munitas.
>
> Cum datur pallium.
>
> Accipe pallium quattuor initiis formatum per quod intellii:as qualluor mundi partes divinae potestati esse suhicctas. nee quenquam posse feliciter regnare in terris nisi cui potcstas regnandi fueril collocata de caelis.
>
> Benedictio coronae regiae.
>
> Deus tuorum corona fidelium, qui in capilibus eorum ponis coronam de lapide prelioso, benedic et sanctifies coronam istam, qualinus sicut ipsa diversis preciosisque lapidibus adornatur. sic famulus tuus gestator ipsius multiplici pretiosarum virrutum munere tua largicnte gratia repleatur.

[40] *English Coronation*, 37: idem, 'Ordines-Studien Ill: die Kronung in England vom IO Jht. bis zur Neuzeit', *Arc/riv fur Urkundenforschung* xv, 1938, (I), 305-91 at 319-24. N. F. Cantor, *Kingship and lay /nvestirure in England, /089·1135*. Princeton 1958, 137-46, despite his polemic stance. makes similar assumptions. Cf. Turner, *Claudius Pontificals*, xii-xiii. with some sensible criticisms of Schramm·s interpretation.

[41] *English Coronation*, 37, following Wickham Legg's edition of London, BL Cotton Tiberius B.viii in *English Coronation Records*, 30-6, but neglecting the careful survey of all the manuscripts containing the Third Ordo by H. A. Wilson in his preface to *The Pontifical of 1\1agdalen College*, Henry Bradshaw Society, xxxix, 1910, xiii-xxxi.

original version directs a *double* head-anointing:

> et de oleo sanctiflcato crux fiat super caput eius, et postea de chrismate.[42]

F'orcville is in good company in assuming that the Third English Ordo could be considerably older than its earliest extant manuscript. That possibility was noted forty years ago by P. L. Ward,[43] and more recently, Mr Derek Turner has cast Lanfranc in the role of the ordo's composer.[44] But Lanfranc seems to have had no special interest in liturgical innovation, or indeed in liturgy, except in a monastic

[42] Oxford, Magdalen College, MS.226, ed. Wilson, *Pontifical of Magdalen Co/lege,* 9; London, BL Cotton Claudius A.iii, ed. Turner, *Claudius Pontificals,* I17. Wilson's arguments for the priority of the version of the Third Ordo contained in these manuscripts have been accepted by P. L. Ward, 'The Coronation Ceremony in Medieval England', *Speculum* xiv, I939, J60-78, at 174-S, and Turner, *Claudius Pontificals,* xii. A contrary view is expressed by Brilckmann, *'Ordines',* 109-10, but he has not so far published any counter-arguments to Wilson's. Brilckmann lays some stress on his own 'early twelfth-century' dating of Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ee. 2. 3, whose version of the Third Ordo belongs with that of Tiberius B.viii, but himself acknowledges that the relevant part of Claudius A.iii could also be early twelfth-century. Wilson. *Pontifical of Magdalen Co/lege,* xxiii-v, dated Cambridge, UL, Ee.2. 3 to 'about 1200', as did Turner, *Claudius Pontificals,* xi. Ward, art.cit., 175, thought that the identification of the *PRG* form behind the Third Ordo would settle the question of which of the latter's two vers•ons is the earlier, but I do not think this is so. The anointing-prescription of neither version is to be found in any *PRG* manuscript. Ward speculated that the'clumsy' rubric of the Magdalen CoUege version (quoted above) arose from the absence of any head-anointing in the composer's PRC-model. But this feature is not found in any extant *PRG* manuscript (though cf. the 'Early German' Ordo, ed. Erdmann, *Forschungen,* 85, and the imperial •c ncius I' Ordo, ed. Elze, *Die Ordines fur die Weihe und Kronung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin,* MGH Fontes Juris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum IX, Hannover I960, 2-3). Since the relevant *PRG* texts (see below. n.72) all include a head.anointing *de oleo sanctificato,* thenan alternative explanation for the clumsiness of the anointing-rubric of the Magdalen College version is the determination of the Third Ordo's composer, confronted with divergent Anglo-Saxon and German liturgical traditions, to preserve, and even stress, the Anglo-Saxon practice of royal chrismation (for which clear evidence can he found in (I) the el(tensive borrowings from the *Benedictio chrismatis* in the anointing-prayer *Deus electorum* in the First and Second English Ordines and (2) the use of chrism in the West Frankish Ordines drawn on in the Second English Ordo: cf. some details in chapters VI and VII of my unpublished Cambridge Oissertation (I 967), *Ritualsof Royal Inauguration in Early /lfedieva/ Europe).* The Norman Anonymous was using a form of the Second English Ordo hut, writing c.1100, insisted on the fact of the king's chrismation: *Die Texte des Normannischen Anonymus,* ed. **K.** Pellens, Wiesbaden 1966, 140-1. I hope to return in a future paper to the Third English Ordo. A full edition is ut· gently needed.

[43] 'Coronation Ceremony', 176.

[44] *Claudius Pontificals,* (l(i-lxii. **M.** Gibson, *f,anfranc of Bee,* Oxford 1980, 243 observes: 'The major difficulty in the view that I the Third OrdoI was *composed* with William Rufus in mind is the provision for crowning the Queen'. (Rufus, of course, was unmarried.) But Turner did not suggest that Lanfranc composed the ordo with any specific occasion in mind. It is worth recalling the unspecific, normative character of liturgical texts in general.

context, nor had he any special connexion with the Rhineland home of the *PRG.* From Lanfranc back to 1066 is only a short step. What evidence persuades me to take it? First, the most reliable testimony we have for the events of Christmas Day 1066 makes it clear that the rite included in Its opening stages something not to be found in the Second English Ordo, namely, the acclamation shouted by the 'people' *(popu/us)* Inside the church in response to an episcopal inquiry as to the new ruler's acceptability. William of Poitiers recorded the fact that this ritual question-and-answer happened on Christmas Day 1066 because he wanted to describe the famous accident that ensued:

> The armed and mounted men who had been stationed around the abbey to guard it, hearing the tremendous shouting in a language they could not understand, thought that something had gone wrong, and under thls misapprehension they set fire to the environs of the city.[45]

Orderic continues and elaborates the story:

> As the fue spread rapidly through the houses, the people who had been rejoicing in the church were thrown into confusion, and a crowd of men and women of every rank and status, impelled by this disaster, rushed out of the church. *Only* the bishops and a few clergy along With the monks stayed, terrified, in front of the altar, and only just managed to complete the consecration-rite over the king who was trembling violently. Nearly everyone else ran towards the raging fire, some to fight bravely against the force of the flames, but more hoping to grabloot forthemselves amid such great confusion. The English, reckoning there was **a** plot behind son1ething so completely unlooked-for, were extremely angry, and afterwards always held the Normans in suspicion, judging them treacherous ... [46]

This picture of the trembling Conqueror is an unforgettable one, and to my mind there is no more sensitive comment on it than Professor Allen Brown's:

> For William thls must have been the one terrifying moment of his life ... It must have seemed to him that in spite of all previous signs and portents he was wrong, unworthy, that his God had turned against him and rejected both him and his cause, and it isno wonder that he trembled until the awful moment passed.[47]

The episode probably mattered a good deal to the English too, and if Orderic's suggestion that it had far-reaching effects in alienating English public opinion from

45 *Gesta Gui/le/mi.* 220. The term *collaudatio* has become current in modern historiography but was not so in contemporary writers or liturgical texts. Though William of Poitiers does not state at what point in the consecration this ritual came, it clearly happened at any early stage as it was a precondition of the anointing. See Table . The opening rubric of the Second English Ordo, as Mr Cowdrey has kindly pointed out to me, certainly does not preclude an acclamation immediately following the 'Te Deum' and before the king's promise. But what does seem specific to the Third Ordo rather than the Second is the procedure of episcopal enquiry-people's response.

46 Orderic, ii. 184.

47 *The Normans and the 1Vonnan Conquest.* London I969, I 82.

the Normans is no mere literary embellishment,[48] the ill-omened acclamation would be one part of that consecration likely to survive in contemporary memories.

So it seems clear that this acclamation really took place. Those scholars who have maintained, nevertheless, that the Second English Ordo was the rite in progress have had to postulate a *collaudatio* specially imported for this occasion from the Continent, or else to assume a gap at this point between liturgical prescription and reality. Such gaps did sometimes occur, though rarely If ever at so critical a point in the ritual as we are dealing with here. As for the possibility of a Continental import, the accepted suggestion is of borrowing from the contemporary French rite, the so-called 'Erdmann' Ordo, as used for Philip I in I059 (and apparently for his Capellan and later-Carolingian predecessors as well:[49] see Table). In the nature of things, this can not be disproved, but it does seem implausible. Why should the *collaudatio* alone have been borrowed If the whole French ordo was in the hands of the designerof the Conqueror'sconsecration?[50] And can we afford to beg the whole question of who that designer might have been? There Is no evidence for the availability of that French ordo in England or in Normandy in the mid eleventh century, though it had of course been one of the components of the Second English Ordo a century and more earlier (see Table). Nor does there seem any good reason to expect liturgical influence from Rheims or Sens in the England of 1066. Lastly, a general objection can be made against needless multiplication of entities - in this case ordines - when one simple alternative explanation of the facts is available: namely, that the Conqueror's ordo, complete with an initial acclamation derived from the royal consecration-rite of the *PRG,* was after all the Third English Ordo.[51]

48 Dr Marjorie Chibnall in discussion at the fourth Battle Conference suggested that this whole passage was elaborated by Orderic, lacking other evidence than that of the *Gesta Guillelmi,* partly as a foil to his equally dramatic set-piece on William's death (iv, 100-102). DrChibnaUknowsOrderic better than any of us, and her stress on bi literary skill and purposes is a just corrective to any simplistic reading of his work as 'straight history'. Moreover, Orderic was writing fifty years or moreafter theevent: Chibnall, Orderic, ii, *xv.* Nevertheless, he sometimes did draw on 'good oral traditions·, Chibnall, Orderic, ii, xxii-xxiv, xxxiv-xxxv; and I think his account of the Conqueror's consecration could well be a case in point. If so. Brown's reconstruction of the Conqueror's reactions seems a useful bit of psycho-history.

49 Schramm, 'Kronung bei den Westfranken·, I 59-64, with the Ordo-text, 216-21: idem, *[)er Konig von Frankreich,* 2 volumes, 1939, reprinted Weimar I960, i, I02-3.

so For instance, the intimate connexion in 'Erdmann' between acclamation and 'Te Deum· might have suggested the latter's shifting to this phase of the rite. 'Erdmann' provides for an enquiry by two bishops of the people's will, but implies they act simultaneously. The *doubling* of the episcopal inquiry on Christmas Day I066 is a different matter and has an obvious alternative explanation in the need to address two distinct groups of magnates in two different languages. See also following note.

SI Here the rubric prescribes for only *one* bishop to enquire ahout the people's will. But the generalised nature of the ordines has 10 be taken into account, as does the obvious modelling on the *PRG* Ordo. 249-50. This 1s equally true of the reference to 'paternal succession' (rather than the Second English Ordo's 'suggestion') in the enthronement prayer: of course this was as unapt for the Conqueror as 'paternal suggestion' would have heen for any of three immediate predecessors, and as either 'paternal suggestion' or 'paternal succession· for several of his twelfth-century successors. But ordines in liturgical books were not designed to take account of such accidents. Cf. above, p. 381.

It needs to be stressed at this point that none of our (admittedly fairly meagre) sources for the Conqueror's consecration conflicts with the hypothesis that the Third English Ordo was used then. None, that is, except the *Carrnen de Hastingae Proelio,* and it conflicts with every royal ordo known to have been used during or before this period anywhere In Christendom.[52] But the battle over the *Carmen* - thouglJ it seems to be becoming a traditional exercise - is one I have no stomach for here. It is enough to say that asfar as the Conqueror's consecration is concerned, the *Carmen's* account seems to me to fall into Professor Davis's category of 'poetic license'.[53] If I think it very likely that Stigand did attend the Conqueror's consecration, that is not because of the *Carmen's* 'two metropolitans' but because of what we know from more reliable sources ofStigand's highstanding with Normans as well as English in the early years of the Conqueror's reign.[54] I certainly would not claim that the lbird English Ordo gives a complete picture of what happened on Christmas Day 1066. The very nature of an ordo is to provide a normative framework of essentials and prayer-texts which can be supplemented ad hoc. For instance, it looks as if at Edward the Confessor's consecration in I043, the officiating archbishop after receiving the king's oath delivered himself of a little homily, of which no ordo, naturally, preserves any record.[55] I mention this bit of ad hocery because It may help in the interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's account of the Conqueror's consecration:

> [the archbishop) consecrated him king at Westminster. And he pledged himself by his hand with Christ's book and indeed he swore, before [the archbishop) would then set the crown on his head, that he would rule this people as well as any king before him best dld, if they would be faithful to him.[56]

Schramm Inferred that William took two oaths, the second after the anointing and imrnediately before the crowning 'to appease the riot'.[57] Again my view is: possible

[52] This is acknowledged hy C. Morton and H. Muntz. *Carmen.* lvi-h•iii; and is very clear from a comparison of the rite dcscrihed hy the *Carmen* as convenienlly set out by Barlow, 'The *Carmende 1/astingae proelio·*, in *Studies in lnternaEional History presented to* JV. *1Vorton ft,fedlicott,* London 1967. 66. with those in Table I. foreville in putting a high valuation on the *Carmen·s* account as hi. torical evidence, *ante* i. 58-9 and ii. 18, stressed its concern with liturgical details 'faisant rcssortir ainsi sa parente avcc le sacre episcopal'. Parallels did of course exist between the two rites (cf. Nelson. above, chapter **14,** pp. 333-4) hut I suggest that the *parente* implied by the *Carmen* is loo close for historically-realistic comfort: the ritual sequence it present - interrogation. prostration a,1d litany, head-anointing, all set within the Mass - is exactly rhat of episcopal ordinations as generally practised in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: see for instance *PRC,* i,00-18. Theauthor of the *Cannen* was. I do not doubt, an ecclesiastic who knew how episcopal ordinations were conducted and may indeed have wished to hring out the *parente* noted by Professor Foreville. But it does not follow rhat he had special knowledge of what actually went on at the Conqueror's consecration. The critique of R. H. C'. Davis, ·The *Carmen de Hastingae proelio'. EHR* xc1ii. 1978. 51, seems to me very telling, and is now reinforced by Cowdrey. ·*Laudes Regiae'.* 50. nn.46 and 47.

[53] Davis.ANS ti, !-3.

[54] *Carmen,* II. 803-4:cf.*Gesta Gui/le/mi,* 2I4. and evidence cited helow, n.98.

[55] Seeabove, 337.

S, *ASC* ·D', s.a. 1066, 200.

[57] *English Coronation.* 185-6.

but unlikely. What I *think* the Chronicler is doing is, first, making the general statement that tlte consecration took place, and then, going on to give the details that seem to him most significant, stressing the oath as the precondition of the subsequent inauguration-rite. *As* for his terminology, he uses 'coronation' in the second place to refer (as we might) to the ritual as a whole.ss The phrase 'before (the archbishopI would then set the crown on his head' could be an allusion to a brief homily expanding on the obligations incurred in the oath, along the lines of 1043. And the conditional clause 'if they would be faithful to him', following the mention of William's oath, could be a reference to the people's assent asconveyed in the acclamation which immediately follows the king's three-fold promise in the Third English Ordo. The alleged 'discordance'[59] between the accounts of the oath in this Chronicler and in Florence of Worcester I think reflects only the difference between more or less reproducing the text of the oath as given in the ordo, which is what Florence does,[60] and giving a more impressionistic version of the oath's underlying signlficance, as expounded, perhaps, in the archbishop's homily, which Is what the Chronicler does. It is certainly interesting that Howden in his report of Richard I's inauguration mentions a second promise given immediately before the crowning.[61] But I do not think that such a double promise could have persisted in the consecration-rite continuously from I066 to 1189 without leaving any trace In the relatively numerous Third Ordo manuscripts of the twelfth century. In other words, like Briickmann,[62] I see no reason to doubt that twelfth-centuryconsecrations were conducted substantially according lo the Third Ordo; but, unlike Briickmann, I think that is also true of Christmas Day 1066.

But was that the *first* occasion on which the Third Ordo was used? The question seems relevant, because historians are agreed *that* the Conqueror's consecration gave legitimacy to his rule precisely by identifying ii as continuous with Anglo-Saxon tradition, affirming William's claim to succeed *iure heredilario.63* If continuity and tradition formed, so tospeak, the rite'sbasic message, wasa newordo an appropriate medium? Now It can certainly be argued that few lay persons, or indeed ecclesiastics, present at \Vestminster on Christmas Day I066, and perhaps not William himself,

ss As for instance in the Second English Ordo heading in Claudius A.iii, *Claudius Pontificals,* 89, and *Gestll Gui/le/mi,* 220. The synecdoche was naturally encouraged by the liturgical presentation of the anointing itself as a spiritual 'coronation' (see Nelson, above, chapter I 2, p. 295), and my impression is that it was becoming commoner (substituting for *consecratio* or *ordinatio)* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though there are Carolingian precedents. The prayer for the blessing of the crown in *the* Third English Ordo might be seen as highlighting the importance of the coronation proper: Ward, 'Coronation Ceremony', 175 with n.1, noting the parallel with Byzantine practice. See further, Nelson, 'Symbols in context: rulers' inauguration rituals in Byzantium and the West in the early Middle Ages', *Scud:es in Church History* xiii;above, 259-81. For the crown-kingdom synecdoche in the twelfth century and later, see K. F. Werner, 'Konigtum und Fiirstentum im franzosischen 12. *Jht.', Vortriige und Forschungen* xii, 1968, 218 wilh n. 108 (translated as 'Kingdom and principality in I 2th-century France', in T. Reuter ed., *The Medieval Nobility,* Amsterdam 1978, 270 with n.73).

59 Foreville, 'Sacre', 56.

60 Worcester, 229.

61 Howden,Chronica,ed. W. Stubbs,RS 1868-71, iii, 11.

62 *'Ordines',* 112·15, against H. G. Richardson, 'The Coronation in Medieval England', *Tr,1ditio* xvi, 1960, I8 I-89.

63 See Douglas, *William the Conqueror,* 250-1.

would appreciate the finer points of liturgical usage or realise whether or not the rite contained innovation so long as it presented the essential acts of oath, anointing, crowning, investiture and enthronement. Royal consecrations were not rites that were frequently performed, and were therefore, it might be thought, less liable than, say, priestly ordination-rites, to be fLxed by the inherent conservatism of liturgy. But in fact, after an initial period ofexperimentationin theninth and tenth centuries, royal ordines in therealmsof the Christian West (like the imperial ordoin Byzantium) tended to remain in use over long periods.[64] This tendency was promoted by the monopoly over royal consecrations established relatively early in each realm by one metropolitan. When that monopoly was breached because of special political circumstances, as for instance in France in 1108,6[5] thechance of a break in liturgical tradition too might be Increased: much could then depend on what ordo the 'alternative' archbishop had to hand.

From these general considerations, let us turn to the particular: the fact was that many, even most, Englishmen who participated In William's king-making had probably witnessed Harold's on 6 January of that same eventful year. In view of later attempts to present William as the rightful direct heir to Edward the Confessor and therefore to subject Harold's reign to a kind of *da,nnatio meniorime,* it is possible that William's consecration wasdesigned completely to supersede Harold's, replacing it by, so to speak, **a** carbon copy, performed in thesa,ne church[66] and by the same consecrator. However **it** was perceived by the Normans, \Ytlliam·s king-making presumably seemed to the English participants more acceptable, more correct, more legitimate and hence legitimising the more closely it resembled hls predecessor's. All this prompts the suggestion that if the Third English Ordo was used for William, it n1ay also have been used for Harold. To test this possibility, we need first to check the liturgical evidence, and here the crucial factor is the *PRG:* could this have been available to an English composer before the Conquest? The manuscripts relevant to tracing the *PRG's* early influence in England are four in number. The first, London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius C.i, a con1posite Salisbury pontifical dated to the mid eleventh century, consists in part of extracts from the *PRC* written in two German hands.[67] Professor Barlow has suggested that the import of these *PRC* texts into England might be linked with Bishop Herman of Ramsbury (Wilts).68 The second, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 265, Is from Worcester and dated to the mid eleventh century.[69] It contains various *PRG* texts, copied from an exemplar, dated between 1022 and 1035, of a Roman version of the *PRC.*[70] The third and fourth manuscripts arestill more significant, and what 1 said about them at the Fourth Battle Conference has needed some elaboration and

64 See nbove, chapter 14, 332-3.

6S Schramm, *Konig von Frankreich,* i, I 12-13. The political context emerges from Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi,* chapter xiv, ed. H. Waquet, Paris 1929, 84-8.

66 The location of Harold'sconsecration isnotcertain: E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England* 3rd revised edition, Oxford 1877, iii, 623·6. discusses the alternatives of St Paul's or Westminster Abbey. Douglas, *William the Conqueror,* 182, plumps for the latter.

67 Ker. 'Three Old English Texts in a Salisbury Pontifical, Cotton Tiberius C.i', in P. Clemoes ed., *The Anglo-Saxons. Studies ... presented to Bruce Dickins,* Cambridge, 1959, 262•79.

68 *The English Church, 1000·1066,* London 1963, 82, n.4.

69 Ker, *Catalogue,* 92; Brtickmann, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals', 407.

10 M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haul moyen lige, 5* volumes, 1, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense xi, 1931, 99.

revision In the light of **a** forthcoming study by Dr Michael Lapidge.[71] On the basis of **far** more detailed examination of the contents of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College **MS** 163 than ever previously made, !...apidge has concluded that this manuscript, dated to the mid eleventh century, is 'the most complete of (the) surviving copies of the Romano-German Pontifical which were written in Anglo-Saxon England'. Further. he has shown its close affinity with a *PRC* manuscript copied from one very probably made at Cologne between 1036 and 1056 for Archbishop Hermann II.[72] As for the last of the four manuscripts in our group. London, British Library MS Cotton Vitellius E.xii: it contains texts whlch Lapidge argues are so closely related to those in *CCCC* 163 that 'one must be a copy of the other, or both must be cop d from a common exemplar'.[73]

There can be no doubt, then, that the *PRC* was known in England before the Conquest, and in at least two versions, one of them having particular associations with Cologne. What historical context can be given to these data? Edward the Confessor had a well-known liking for foreign clerks, and one of them, the Lotharingian Herman (d.1075) has already been mentioned as a possible conveyor of the *PRC* to England. Herman wassent by Edward to Rome in I050, and may well

71 'The Origin of CCCC 163'. in *Transactions of the Cambridge Biblio,graphical Society* viii, 1982., 18-28.· I am grateful to Dr Lapidge for sharing his insights and generously allowing me to make use of his conclusions in advance of publication. We arrived independently at similar views about Ealdred's role in the diffusion of the *PRG* in England, but Dr Lapidge based hisarguments fa, more solidly by showing (I) the liturgical and paleographical indicationsof a Cologne connexion and (2) the extent and specificity of Ealdred's liturgical interests. My thanks are due also to Simon Keynes who showed Dr Lapidge a copy of my original paper as delivered to the Fourth Battle Conference.

72 London, BL Addit. MS. I 7004. Brilckmann, *'Ordines',* 108-9, states that the *PRG* version used in the composition of the Third English Ordo is that found in the manuscripts designated Rand *T* by Elze and Vogel. But a comparison of the relevant variants shows that more often than not those peculiar to *RT* are absent from the rubrics and prayers of the Third English Ordo in both its versions (cf. above n.42). Elze and Vogel did not coUate the readings of Addit. MS. 17004 in their edition of *PRG* Ordo LXXII, the king's ordo. Dr Lapidge has kindly informed me that the *PRG* texts in general in Addit. MS. J 7004 show more common readings than *RT* with those of English *PRG* manuscripts. My own comparison of the king's ordo in Addit. MS. 17004, ff. 140r-l 46r with the relevant readings in the Third English Ordo has bome out Lapidge's conclusion. It will be noted, however, that the arrangement ot the various anointings in the Third English Ordo differs from that in Addit. MS. I7004: see Table . But in this section of the Ordo, Addit. MS. 17004 coincides with *RT,* and the *PRG* manuscripts which in fact show the Third English Ordo's sequence of hand-anointing foUowed by anointings of head, breast, etc. are those designated *C* and *D* by Vogel and Elze,and regarded by them as 'preserving most faithfully the primitive arrangement' of the *PRG: Pontifical romano-germanique* 1, xiii. Yet in other respects, the Third English Ordo diverges from the comparable parts of the *CD* king's ordo. I infer that the composer of the Third English Ordo either had more than one *PRG* version of the king's ordo at his disposal, or used a version slightly different from any now extant. (The third possibility, that he arrived independently at *CD's* sequence of anointings, seems less likely.)

73 'Origin of CCCC 163', 21.

have travelled via the Rhineland[74] Others of Edward's foreign clerks, Lotharingian or Norman, are known to have been interested in liturgy, but cannot be linked either with the *PRG* or with its Rhineland area of origin.[75] There is one man, however, for whom precisely those links can be shown, or plausibly surmised: Ealdred, archbishop of York from 1060 to 1069.[76] I would like now to make a case for associating Ealdred with the bringing of the *PRG* into England and with the composition of the Third English Ordo.[77] Happily, his career is exceptionally well-documented because of his connexions with two churches where historical records were kept: Worcester and York.[78] After being a monk at Winchester[79] (he was presumably of West Saxon origin), he became bishop of Worcester in I046.[80] With his colleague Herman, he attended the Easter Synod at Rome in 1050 'on the king's errand'.[81] In 1054, Edward used him on another errand, th.is time to the Emperor Henry Ill. According to Florence of Worcester:

> He was received by the emperor and by Archbishop Hermann of Cologne with great honour, and he stayed (at Cologne I for a whole year. He suggested to the emperor on the king's i.e. Edward's behalf that envoys should be sent to Hungary and that he [Ealdred] should bring back from there the king's nephew Edward son of Edmund Ironside and get him to come to England.

Some lines further on, Florence adds a propos this royal nephew:

74 *ASC* •C• s.a. I049. I 71. Herman's route is unknown, but cf. *Vita Eadwardi* 34 for Englishmen travelling to Rome via the Rhineland in I060-1.

1s For Herman. Goscelin. Ciso, Leofric and Roherl. see Barlow, *English Church.* 82-6. Lapidge, 'Origin of CCC'C 163'. 26, n. l! notes that *PRC* texts were copied into the so-called Leofric Missal, ed. F. Warren, Oxford 1883, 256-62. Warren, lvii-lviii, linked their inclusion with Leofric bishop of Exeter (I 050-72) but did not discuss the problem of their transmission.

76 Still fundamental is Freeman, *Norman Conquest,* ii, Appendix GG, 668-73. See also Barlow, *Vita Eadwardi,* 34, n.4 and idem, *English Church,* 86-90; J.M. C'ooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York,* Borthwick Papers no. 38, University of York Borthwick Institute of Historical Research 1970, 23-9.

77 Note again the cue given by Foreville.'Sacre', 60.

78 The Worcester evidence is discussed by S. Komer. *The Battle of Hastings, England, and Europe /035-1066.* Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis xiv, Lund 1964, 43-6. Ealdred himself commissioned a *Life* of St John of Beverley from Folcard of St Bertin, ed. J. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York,* RS London 1879, i, 242. The dedicatory preface gives information on Ealdred's work as archbishop. (For the datr of the *Life,* 'shortly before 1066', see Barlow, *English Church,* 89, and idem, *Vita Eadwardi,* lvi-lvii.) More details are given in the twelfth-century *Chronicle of the Archbishops of York,* ed. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York* ii, 344-54. Lapidge, 'Origin of CCCC 163', 21-2 and n. 32, has drawn attention to further evidence hitherto neglected in this context: the *Miracula S. Swithuni,* ·apparently composed at Sherborne c.1100' and still unprinted. An edition is included in Lapidge's forthcoming *The Cult of St Swithun.*

79 Worcester, 199: testimony supported apparently independently by the *Miracula S. Swithuni,* London, BL Arundel 169, f.S9r: •… venerande memorie Aldredus ex monacho Wintoniensi Eboracensis archiepiscopus .. .'

80 *ASC* 'D's.a. 1047, 165. See Cooper, *Archbishops of York,* 23-4.

81 Cf. n.74 above.

> The king had decided to establish him as the heir to the kingdom after hlm.[82]

So Ealdred spent ayear at Cologne, and with a king-making in view. The anonymous Chronicle of the Archbishops of York shows us Ealdred putting his tiine In the great ecclesiastical centre to good use:

> He heard, saw and committed to memory many things that pertain to the dignity of ecclesiastical observance and many to the rigour of ecclesiastical discipline - things which he subsequently caused to be observed In the churches of England.83

Badow rightly sees a reference here to Ealdred's reforming of secular chapters as archbishop of York;[84] but *honestas ecc/esiastiCtie observantiae,* as distinct from *discip/ina,* could have a more specific cpnnexlon with liturgical improvenients, and Folcard In his *Life* of John of Beverley gives independent and strictly contemporary evidence of Ealdred's interest in liturgy.[85] One event that Ealdred may well have witnessed and must certainly have heard all about during his Rhineland stay was the royal consecration at Aachen of the child-king Henry (the future Henry IV) on I7 July l054, for the consecrator on this occasion was,exceptionally, by a special imperial decision to by-pass the claims of Mainz, the archbishop of Cologne, none other than Ealdred's host Hermann.[86] I suggest that among the things Ealdred read at Cologne was the royal ordo in the *PRC* and among the things he may have done with a view to increasing 'the dignity of ecclesiastical observance' back home was to compose or plan a new consecration-rite: the Third English Ordo. If he did this during his stay in Cologne or soon after returning *to* England,[87] he could well have

82 Worcester, 212, 215. Cf. *Miracu/a S. Swithuni,* Arundel 169, f.59r: 'gloriosi regis Eadwardi legatione (sic) **ad** regem Ahnannie tulit, a quo honorifice susceptus et multorum munerum lil>erali largitione donatus, negotio gratia cuius erat per iussione (sic) mittentissapienteret benecomposito ... in Angliam remeabat ...·

83 *Historians of the Church of York,* ii, 345.

84 *English Church,* 90.

85 *Historians of the Church of York,* i, 239-42, especially 24 I. For further evidence, see below, p. 130. On Folcard's career, see Barlow, *Vita Eadwardi,* li-lix.

86 uimpert of Hersfeld, *Anna/es* s.a. 1054, *lan,perti Opera,* ed. 0. Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum, Hannover and Leipzig 1894, 66: 'lmperatoris filius Heinricus consecratus est in regem Aquisgrani ab Herimanno Colonensi archiepiscopo, vix et aegre super hoc impetrato consensu Liupoldi archiepiscopi ad quern propter primatum Mogontinae sedis consecratio regis et caetera negociorum regni dispositio potissimum pertinebat. Sed imperator pocius Herimanno archi· episcopo hoc privilegium vendicabat propter claritatem generis eius, et quia intra diocesim ipsius consecratio haec celebranda contigisset'. For the date, see D. *von* Gladiss ed., *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV,* Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae vi, part 2, Weimar 1959, 639-4 I, no.471; H. Bresslau and P. Kehr edd., *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III,* Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae v, Berlin 1931, 442, no. 324; E. Steindorff, *Jahrbiicher des deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich III,* 2volumes, Leipzig 1874-81,ii, 279 with n. 3. Unfortunately, the exact date of Ealdred's arrival in Germany is unknown.

87 Two other liturgical books known to have been brought back to England by Ealdred had been presented to him by Henry Ill. For the full story, see William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani,* ed. R. Darlington, London 1928, 5, 15-16.

had in mind the consecrations of Edward A:theling and his wife Agatha (she wasa kinswoman of Hemy 111);[88] If he completed it after the R..theling's death in 1057, he may have been thinking of a specific alternative successor to the Confessor for, as Barlow suggests, he was perhaps in search of another English prince when he travelled to Hungary himself in I058 en route for Jerusalem.[89] But In any event, Ealdred could have composed his new ordo with the more general purpose of liturgical improvement and modernisation in line with the German practice which had so impressed him. The details of Ealdred's biography so far could account for the presence of two *PRC* versions in England (one from Rome, the other from Cologne) in the 1050s, and for the subsequent presence of *PRG* manuscripts in Ealdred's own see of Worcester, in Salisbury, successor-see to Ramsbury where Ealdred's travel-companion was bishop, and perhaps in Winchester, where had begun his career and with which he kept up connexions.[90]

But even if Ealdred had already composed the Third English Ordo in the I050s, it might never have entered English practice, remaining instead In the limbo of Schramm's 'non-received' ordlnes,[91] but for two further historical accidents: first Ealdred's own promotion to York In 1060,[92] and second the hardening of opinion against Stigand's intrusion at Canterbury. It was because of the question-mark over Stigand's position that Earl Harold asked Ealdred's predecessor at York to consecrate his foundation at Waltham probably in 1060,[93] but it is also relevant to recall the longstanding association of Ealdred with Harold and his family.[94] So, despite Stigand's presence at the Confessor's deathbed,[95] it was Ealdred whom Harold wanted to officiate at his consecration. On this point, I am convinced we should prefer the evidence of Florence and the York Chronicle,[96] well-Informed as they were on Ealdred's career, to that of \Villiarn of Poitiers whose claim that Stigand consecrated Harold should be assessed In the light of his obvious wish to contrast Harold's wrongful inauguration *non sancta consecratione* with the Conqueror's thoroughly correct one by the admirable Ealdred.[97] Writing after Lanfranc's

Lapidge, 'Origin of CCCC 163', 20, comments that this episode 'provides a plausible context for the advent of the exemplar of CCCC 163 in England'. Cf. also n.82 above.

88 *ASC'D',s.a.* 1057, 188.

89 Barlow, *English Church,* 87-8.

90 *Miracula S. Swithuni,* Arundel 169, f. 59r, records his donation of funds to the Old Minster in (or soon after) I 055. Lapidge, 'Origin of CCCC I 63',18,21,points out, however, that the conventional attributions of CCCC 163 and ViteUius E.xii to Winchester rest on no conclusive arguments, and he suggests alternative possibilities.

91 'Kronung bei den Westfranken', in *Kaiser, Konlge und Piipste,* ii, 160-1.

92 *ASC'D',s.a.* 1060, 189.

93 *De Invent/one Sanctae Crucis,* ed. W. Stubbs, *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey,* Oxford 1861, 21. This twelfth-century work can probably be trusted on this point: *Cooper.Archbishops of York,* 20-1.

94 *ASC'D',* s.a. 1051, 176; *ASC'C',s.a.* 1056, 186;Worcester,215;*VitaEadwardi,* 34-6. See also Barlow, *English Church,* 87; Cooper, *Archbishops of York,* 23-6; John, 'Edward the Confessor'. *EHR* xciv, I979, 257.

9S *Vita Eadwardi,* 76•7.

96 Worcester, 224; *Chronicle ofrhe Archbishops of York, Historiansof the Church of York* ii, 348. Cooper, *Archbishops of York,* 26, discusses evidence for Ealdred's relations with Harold during 1066.

97 *Gesta GuWelmi,* 146, 220. See Freeman, *Norman Conquest,* iii, Appendix Note E, 616·26. In discussion at Battle, Chibnall and Brown questioned whether

appointment to Canterbury, William of Poitiers was embarrassed at the degree of favour Stigand actually enjoyed in the early years of the Conqueror's reign,[98] and so had to underline the refusal of his ministrations on Christmas Day 1066 by an alleged contrast with Harold's acceptance of them only months before. As for the other sources claiming that Stigand consecrated Harold: Orderic of course simply copies William of Poitiers here,[99] and the Bayeux Tapestry, if it is not based directly on that same teY.t,[100] surely reflects similar Norman propaganda at this point. Its depiction of *Stigant archiepiscopus* apparently displaying the kingto his newsubjects after his enthronement [101] mlgh t, I suppose, reflect the final rubric and prayer of the lhlrd English Ordo: 'Tune dicat metropolitanus, "Sta et reline ... "'.[102]But I am not really convinced that the Tapestry-designer, as Dr Brooks has claimed,

William of Poitiers, writing within a few years of the event, could have mis• represented so well-known a fact as the identity of Harold's consecrator. But the character of his work is clearly crucial: it was written for the Conqueror, just as Asser's *Life of Alfred,* with an equally clear misrepresentation of {admittedly less recent) reality was almost certainly written for Alfred (see above, chapter 13, pp. 309-27-). In both cases the very slim manuscript tradition supports the view that circulation was always limited, essentially to a court audience, and that widespread 'publication' was never intended. In such circumstances, some tampering with historical fact is hardly surprising, given medieval notions of 'truth-telling'. See also the critique of William of Poitiers by Morton, 'Pope Alexander II', 378-80. John Palmer pointed out thai a similar, and sliU more blatant, misrepresentation may have occurred in the offic.ial record of Richard !l's surrender at Conway in 1399: the *Rolls of Parliament* state that the Archbishop of Canterbury was there, thus lending legitimacy to the Lancastrian case, but what Palmer argues is that our best source says nothing of the archbishop's presence. See J. J. N. Palmer, 'The authorship, date andhistorical value of the French Chronicleson the Lancastrian Revolution', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* !xi, no. I, 1978, 1-37, and !xi, no. 2, 1979, 38-61, especially 57-9. I am very grateful to Dr Palmer for bringing this case to my notice. Twentieth entury experience should have !nsured our willingness to entertain the possibility of lyinginofficial documents even when the truth can readily be ascertained from external *or* unofficial sources: the possibility surely increases when, as in the Middle Ages, there were few or no written records to set against those produced by, or for, the powers that were. The processes whereby ideology was formed and disseminated have not yet received enough attention from medievalists: merely to nod in the direction of the Church is to beg too many interesting questions.

98 *Gesra Guillelmi,* 244, 2S2. Bishop Remigius of Dorchester was consecrated by Stigand in 1067: this caused him some embarrassment after Lanfranc's appoint• ment. See M. Richter ed., *Canterbury Professions,* Torquay 1973, no. 32, with Richter's comments, !vi, lxi. Stigand took precedence over Ealdred in several charter-attestations in I068 and I 069: Cowdrey, *'Laudes Regiae'.* S2, n.52 and 54, n. *SS.*

99 Orderic, ii, 136-8, with Chibnall's comments, 138, n. I.

100 Foreville, Introduction to *Gesta Gui/le/mi,* xxii, supposes that *BT*was* a source for William of Poitiers. Other writers have argued for the inverse relationship: see N. **P.** Brooks, 'The authority and interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', *ANS* i, 1978, *5* with nn. 17 and 18.

IOI *BT,* pl. 34.

102 *Pontifical of Magdalen Colkge, 95;Claudius Pontificals,* 120.

• The Bayeux Tapestry (hereafter *BT).*

'clearly ... knew the coronation ordo',[103] for neither the laymen's presentation of the sword nor the king's holding an orb i1ave any liturgical counterparts at this period, but are presumably based on iconographic models.[104] The scene may, incidentally, be another instance of the kind of *double-entendre* noticed by Brooks elsewhere in the Tapestry, where there seems to be 'one message for Its Norman audience' yet at the same time 'a hint' of an English, indeed a Canterbury, version of events.[105] For if Brooks is right in seeing St Augustine's Canterbury as the likely home of the Tapestry's designer(s), then it is tempting to explain Stigand's prominence in this scene by its double reference - for Normans, to the unholiness of Harold's consecration, for Englishmen (especially those at Canterbury), to Stigand's patronage of St Augustine's at the expense of Christ Church.[106] Brooks rightly says that St Augustine's had reason to remember Odo with gratitude, but this was hardly less true of StJgand.

When the magnates gathered at Westminster at Ouistmas 1065, they were aware that the Confessor was dying. Under the circumstances, it is reasonable to suppose that Ealdred of York might have provided hintself for the eventuality of a new king•making. Given the shortage of time for lengthy discussion, Ealdred would have been free to use the ordohe had ready. Thus, Isuggest, the Third EnglishOrdo fortuitously entered English usage. It was because it had been used by Ealdred already on 6 January 1066 that the same consecrator used lt again on 25 December. In other words, the rite of Harold was also, and precisely because It had been Harold's, the rite of the Conqueror.

William's king-making was aimed primarily at English public opinion, an act of reconciliation marking the end of a time of harrying and war, and inaugurating

103 'Bayeux Tapestry', 20.

104 In *BT*, pl.34, the two laymen presenting the sword on Harold's right seem to be descended from similar soldierly figures in Carolingian and later ruler-portraits, all of which in turn go back ultimately to late-classical models: see e.g. Lothar l's picture in his Gospel-book, Paris, Bibliotheque nationale MS. lat. 266, reproduced in Schramm, *Kaiser, Konige und Piipste* ii, Abb. 12, with Schramm's comments, 102. For other examples, see Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und Kontge In Bildern ihrer Zelt*, Leipzig 1928, Abb. 29, 4 I, 85, 99, and Schramm and f. Miltterich, *Die Denkmale der deutschen Konige und Kaiser*, Munich I962, pl.56, I08, 111. The iconog.raphy of the sword presented to Harold, quite distinct from that of Carolingian models, may be another *BT double-entendre:* in late Anglo-Saxon illustrations of the Old Testament such as those of London, BL Claudius B.iv, ff. 22, 34,48,60b, 68b, 71, 76 and 84, the 'unguarded' sword {unsheathed and raised, point upwards) indicates impending conOict. For this information, I am very grateful to Jenny Kiff who is preparing a study of the Anglo-Saxon iconographical backg.rou11d to the *BT*. On Harold's orb, see Schramm, *Sphaira-Globus•Reichsapfel,* Stuttgart 1958, I 16- 17, relating this 10 the iconography of late Anglo-Saxon royal seals, and this in turn to contemporary German models. For illustrations of Ottonian and Salian seals showing orbs similar 10 Harold's in *BT,* pl.34, see Schramm, *Kaiser und Konige In 81/dern*, Abb. 59, 62, 68 etc., and for a similar seal-image of Robert the Pious, see J. R. Johnson, 'The Tree of Jesse window of Chartres: *Laudes Regiae', Speculum* xxxvi 1961, fig. 3. It is possible that Harold really had an orb among his regalia though it had no place in the inauguration-ordo; orbs have been found in the graves of contemporary German rulers: see e.g. Henry Ill's, Schramm and Mlitterfch, *Denkmale,* Abb. I 58.

105 Brooks, 'Bayeux Tapestry', 11-13.

106 Cf. Gibson, *lanfranc*, 168.

peace between conquerors and conquered.[107] Three months later there took place in Normandy a further series of rituals thatconfirmed the meaning of the consecration yet gave it a new, Norman, dimension. William's return was a triumphant *adventus* where he paraded not captives but new companions and followers[108] in his vastly expanded retinue. The two high-points were a *joyeuse entree* Into Rouen, the ducal 'metropolis', and the splendid Easter celebrations at Fecamp, the ducal house-monastery. William of Poitiers says of the former occasion:

> Nothing was left out that was customarily performed for the purpose of such doing of honour to the duke. Furthermore, if something new could be devised, it was added too.[109]

If a specific meaning can be given to that 'something new', I would propose the singing of *laudes regiae* such as those of Rouen origin preserved in an early twelfth-century manuscript[110] and including the acclamation:

> .N. Normannorum duel invictissimo pax salus et victoria.

William in 1067 seems agood candidate for identificationas the *duxitwictissimus.*[111] It is commonly assumed that *loudes regiae* had been sung in Normandy before I066, and Cowdrey in his recent fine survey of the evidence thinks this 'a reasonable supposition' In the light of the fact that a Norman *laudes regiae* text originating from Fecamp got over to England not long after the Conquest.[112] But Cowdrey goes on to stress that 'the absence of any reference to William as *rex* has no significance for the date, since [the Rouen text just quoted) indicates that the Norman king-dukes were never acclaimed as *rex* in texts that were sung within the *regnum Francorwn'.*[113] If it is possible that *laudes regiae* were the novelty in the Rouen *adventus,* it may be worth floating the further suggestion that the Fecamp community, not to be outdone by the cathedral clergy, devised its own form of *laudes regiae* and sang them for William on Easter Day 1067. William of Poitiers says that the duke took special care that 'thecrowds of soldiers and people' should

101 The consecration carries this significance of a temporal demarcator in the Penitential Ordinance: cf. n. 2 above. See also Cowdrey, 'Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance following the Battle of Hastings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xx, 1969, 234-5, and for the date of the Ordinance, idem, *'Laudes Regiae',* 59, n.68.

108 *Geata Gui/le/mi,* 242-4, and 256 where the term *adventus,* used to describe the Conqueror's entry into Rouen, may well have ritual connotations: see E. H. Kantorowicz, *laudes Regi.ae,* Berkeley 1946, 71-6.

109 *Gesta Guillelmi,* 256.

110 Rouen, Bibliotheque municipale MS 537, f.90r-v, now edited by Cowdrey, *'laudes Regiae',* 76-8.

111 This suggestion might be thought incompatible with the presence in the text of an acclamation: 'Regi Francorum .N. pax saluset victoria'. But this isstandard form in French *laudes regiae.* What is remarkable, indeed 'virtually unknown outside Normandy' (Cowdrey, *'Laudes Regiae',* 49) is the acclamation to a non-royal layman. Cf. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae,* 168-9, inferring 'the curious sovereignlike position' of Duke William.

112 *'laudes Regiae',* 48, with references at n.43 to other writers. The Fecamp *laudes regiae* present in Rouen, Bibi. munic. MS. 489, f.71 and in Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS 89, recto of title page, are edited by Cowdrey, *'Laudes Regiae·,* 68-9. They contain an acclamation: 'Guillelmo Normannorum duci salus t pax continua'.

113 *'laudes Regiae',* 48.

participate in that liturgical celebration, forcing them to 'break off for a while from their frivolous pastimes and hasten together to things divine'.[114]

So, whether or not Norrnan *laudesregiae* had beensung before, they very probably were sung In the Spring of l067. Why should they have been thought so apt? First and foremost, they expressed the sharing of the Norman Church, and especially the cathedral and monastery that had closest links with the ducal dynasty, in William's triumph - and in its rewards. The initiative in devising an elaborate liturgical performance would have been ecclesiastical rather than ducal. But the Norman Church knew what wasexpected of it, and the duke's behaviour at Fecamp suggests that heappreciated the usefulness of rituals that proffered 'an unparalleled blazoning of ducal power'.[11]s The stress on peace in the Fecamp *laudesregiae* may be linked with another important suggestion of Cowdrey's: that the Fecamp Easter assembly of I067 may have been the occasionof the promulgatingof the Penitential Ordinance with its reference back to Hastings and to the months of continuing 'public war' up to the consecration on Christmas Day.[116] If this association is correct - and it fits with William's preoccupation In 1067 with Issuing peace-edicts in Normandy and perhaps deciding to found Battle Abbey as an 'act of reparation' in England[117] - this might explain the omission from the Fecamp *laudes regiae* of the usual acclamation for 'the whole army' and the attachment of the soldier-saints Maurice and Sebastian to William instead.

There is no doubt, I think, that the message that William wanted to convey to his Norman followers was that of his own increased power, his own authority as arbiter of war and peace. Whether the *laudes regiae* were a very useful teaching aid in Normandy is more open to question. For there the *laudesregiae* were, it seems, usually performed in the duke's absence, their hearers largely consisting of clergy or monks.[118] This was preaching to the converted. In England, by contrast, the *laudes regiae* in the Conqueror's reign seem to have been particularly associated with great public occasions attended by important laymen. The fust was Matilda's consecration as queen on 11 May (Pentecost) 1068.[119] Cowdrey argues powerfully that this was probably the first time *laudes regiae* were sung in England, for such evidence as has been adduced for pre-Conquest *laudes regiae,* and indeed crown-wearings, is either too late or too flimsy to convince, wnile the *laudes* mentioned in the *Carmen's* account of William's consecration whatever they are can hardly be *laudesregiae.*[120]

114 *Gesta Gui/le/mi,* 260.

us *'Laudes Regiae',* 49.

116 *'Laudes Regiae',* 59. Cf. above. n. 107.

117 *Gesta Guillelml,* 262; Orderic, ii. 198,208. Cowdrey, *'Laudes Regiae',*60, notes a contemporary German parallel, and suggests the link with the decision to found Battle. Eleanor Searle, 'The Abbey of the Conquerors', ***ANS,*** ii, 1979, 156, puts the foundation in 'the 1070s', but one of her main arguments is its association with the Penitential Ordinance which she dates similarly. On the dating of the Ordinance, I have been persuaded by Cowdrey's arguments: see above n.107.

118 Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae,* 169; Cowdrey, *'Laudes Reglae·,* 46-7.

119 Like her husband, in Westminster Abbey: *ASC* 'D'. s.a. 1067 (for 1068), 202. Cowdrey, *'Laude, Regiae',* 52 with n.52, cites charter evidence to show that the occasion coincided with a well-attended Pentecost court.

120 Cowdrey, *'Laudes Reglae·,* 50, n.46, to my mind effectively refutes the arguments of H. G. Richardson and G. 0. Sayles, *The Governance of Medieval England,* Edinburgh 1963, Appendix I, 403-11; and 50-1, n.47, shows the difficulty of accepting II.805·8 of the *Carmen* as evidence of *laudes regiae.*

The 1068 text has now been edited and discussed in detail by Cowdrey[121] and shown to be a remarkable and unique composition. But I must confess to being rather less impressed than Cowdrey by a 'symmetry' which, as he himself notes, is achieved at the cost of some curious, if not inept, pairings of heavenly and earthly personages - notably when Mary Magdalen and three holy virgins are assigned as intercessors for 'the chief men of the English and the whole army'.[122] More seriously, I am not entirely convinced that this text 'expressed to perfection the "political theory» of the Norman Conquest': not even when 'political theory' is put in inverted commas![123] *Laudes regiae* always carried one basic ideological message of hierarchical order in heaven as the template for an earthly hierarchy headed by the pope with the king (or more rarely the local bishop) second and the various ecclesiastical and secular powers ranked beneath. For all its peculiarities, the 1068 text seems to me to have no more complicated message than that; and so it is only in this general sense that the formula can be said to have been 'well suited to William's purposes in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest of England'.[124] If it did have a 'theory' to present, then whatever purposes we discern should be attributed to a clerical composer rather than directly to William himself.

In discussing the sources of the 1068 text, Cowdrey has shown that a first and major one was a distinctively English litany of the Saints, but has also suggested that another possible source may have been German *laudes regiae* texts, especially those associated with the Emperor Henry III.[125] This second suggested source could tally, in the most general way, with 'an attempt on William's part to display his newly-won regality upon a German, rather than a Capetian model',[126] since from William's standpoint, the far more prestigious German monarchy was the obvious one to imitate. But, as Cowdrey has observed, German liturgical influence could give a clue to the composer of the 1068 text. After considering several possible candidates, Cowdrey plumps for Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion, who may have visited Normandy in 1067 and 'may have advised William about his ecclesiastical plans in England including the queen's coronation'.[127] Certainly, Ermenfrid, as a conlldant of German kings, is likely to have been familiar with German *laudes regiae.* But is not a likelier candidate one whose career could account as well for the English as for the German component in the 1068 text? My own hunch is that the composer was Ealdred of York, who was also Matilda's consecrator; and the likelihood of some kind of connection, at least, with Ealdred is much strengthened by Lapidge's analysis of the other contents of Vitellius E. xii[128] and his demonstration that their

121 *'Laudes Regiae',* 52-5, with the text edited at 70-1, from Vitellius E. xii.
122 *'Laudes Regiae',* 61.
123 *'Laudes Regiae', 53.*
124 *'Laudes Regiae',* 53, and cf. 55: 'The *Laudes regiae* of 1068 were drafted ... to express William J's view of divine and human affairs as he at that time wished to communicate it to his subjects both French and English .. : It is true that the *prlncipes* attending the Pentecost court of 1068 would have heard sung *laudes regiae* which included the acclamation: 'Omnibus principibus Anglorum ... vita et victoria'; but were they themselves aware of that liturgical detail, or did they simply receive a general impression of ritual splendour and refinement? This again raises the problem referred to at the end of n.97, above.
125 *'Laudes Regiae',* 55-8.
126 *'laudes Regiae'.* 58.
127 *'laudes Regiae',* 60.
128 Cf. above, 390.

special features are best explicable by reference to the known interests and doings of Ealdred.[129] There may be a parallel between 1068 and Edgar's consecration in 973: on both occasions, perhaps, a crucial factor was that one of the officiants had become familiar with German ritual and sought to transplant some of it to England.[130] The *laudes regiae* of 1068 could thus be seen as a post-Conquest import but in no sense a Norman one. The use of the imperial epithet *serenissimus*[131] should be seen in the context of Anglo-Saxon ideas of Imperial kingship and of a persistent English admiration for German Imperial models. As for the 'political theory' to be read in this text, it is entirely in line with Anglo-Saxon tradition.

I cannot end this paper without saying something about the festal crown-wearings[132] with which performances of the *laudes regiae* were often associated.[133] There is indirect evidence for these from the early years of William's reign. A *sublimatio* was staged at London for Christmas 1067, when the king, apparently in seasonal spirit, 'sweetly invited all to kisses' - kisses of peace, as Orderic's translator has assumed, or kisses associated with renewed oaths of fidelity?[134] It seems likely that William wore his crown for Matilda's consecration at Pentecost 1068,[135] and this may well have been the occasion for a true *Festkronung*. Before Christmas 1069, William, *inter bella*, sent from the North to Winchester for 'his crowns, royal insignia and plate', so that a crown-wearing could be held at York.[136] In the 1070s, the evidence fails: we have little more than occasional references to the king's spending Easter at Winchester (1070, 1072, 1076), Pentecost at Windsor (1070) and Christmas at Westminster (1075). Perhaps regular crown-wearings continued. **Mr** Gillingham has pointed out to me that a Pentecost assembly at Clarendon (or possibly Salisbury) is implied for 1072(?) by the famous Evesham writ which also seems to suggest that those summoned were expected to be 'prepared' to take an

129 Lapidge, 'CCCC 163', 21•2. Lapidge thinks it even possible that Vitellius E. xii could be a remnant of Ealdred's own manuscript, compiled over a period from 1054 to 1068, though he also notes some difficulties in this hypothesis. Against my suggestion that Ealdred himself composed the *laudes regiae*, Lapidge, n. 28, drawing attention to the fact that the text is heavily-neumed, proposes Folcard, whose musicianship was praised by Orderic, vi, 150. Perhaps client and patron collaborated? Lapidge promises a full discussion of Folcard's possible authorship in a forthcoming article in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.

130 *Vita Oswaldi*, ed. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York* i, 435-6, describes Oswald's visit to Rome in 972. While there, he may have witnessed, or would surely have heard about, the coronation by the pope of Otto II's bride Theophano: J. F. Böhmer, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto II*, revised edition by H. L. Mikoletzky, Graz 1950, 270. *Vita Oswaldi*, 435, mentions Edgar's contacts with the Ottonian court in the 960s. On the imperial connotations of 973, see above, chapter 12, 300-3.

131 *Laudes regiae* of 1068, ed. Cowdrey, *'Laudes Regiae'*, 70: 'Wilhelmo serenissimo a deo coronato magno et pacifico regi vita et victoria'.

132 See K.-U. Jaschke, •Frühmittelalterliche Festkrönungen"?', *Historische Zeitschrift* ccxi, 1970, 556-88.

133 Cowdrey, *'Laudes Regiae', 41-8*.

134 Orderic, ii, 210: •Adventui regis Angli occurrerunt: ipsumque tam honorificentia monasteriali quam saecularibus officiis sullimaverunt. Rex ... dulciter ad oscula invitabat .. .'

135 Cf. above, n. 119.

136 Orderic, ii, 232.

oath to the king.[137] We have more Information towards the close of William's reign, notably the statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's epitaph on the Conqueror:

> He was very dignified. He wore his royal crown three times a year as often as he was in England at Easter at Winchester, at Whitsuntide (Pentecost) at Westminster, at Christmas at Gloucester. On these occasions all the great men of England were assembled about him: archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, thegns and knights.

But there is no break in the Chronicle's text there; it continues:

> He was so stern and relentless a man that no-one dared to do anything against his will ...

And the Chronicler goes on to speak of 'earls imprisoned' and 'bishops deprived of their sees and abbots their abbacies'.[138] We recall that it was at the 1075 Christmas court at Westminster that the king wreaked vengeance on those who had joined the great revolt of that year.[139] Given their political context, it was hardly surprising that William's crown-wearings made such an impression, anyway towards the end of the reign when perhaps their staging assumed greater regularity. It was in these last years that William may have felt a still greater need than before for impressive rituals that demonstrated the Anglo-Norman Church's support for his regime and presented the king to his great men and their vassals as the divinely appointed ruler exalted over them all. A similarly increased need for new oathsand bowings[140] was the natural corollary. The Domesday Survey belongs here too: ordered at the Gloucester Christmas court of I085[141] and conducted as a kind of vicarious royal progress, it had a purpose, so Dr aanchy has observed, not only practical but also symbolic. The name 'Domesday' is contemporary, and must have evoked 'the tremendous Image of Christ in majesty seated as judge .. .' [141] The crown-wearing king intended to project an earthly version of just that tremendous image.

And there I might have chosen to leave the rites of the Conqueror. But instead I will end by looking briefly at the image from another perspective. The Chronicler qualified his account of William's crown-wearings with the phrase, 'as often as he was in England'. What about Normandy? Was it that the Chronicler simply did not know about crown-wearings there, or was he implying a real contrast? In view of William's continuing care to preserve formal Capetian precedence in Normandy and to assert for himself no more than ducal status there, it seems fairly clear that he staged no crown-wearings in the duchy.[143] There was also the matter of Norman

137 *EHD** ii, 895. The date 'before the Octave of Easter' is mistakenly given in *Regesta*, i, 17. (John Gillingham also kindly drew my attention to this error.) Possible parallels between this occasion and the Salisbury Oaths of I086 have been noted by Matthew, *The Norman Conquest*, London 1966. 117-20.

us *ASC'E',s.a.* 1086, 219-20.

139 *ASC* •O·,s.a. 1076{for 1075). 212.

140 *ASC* 'E', s.a. 1085 (for 1086), 217: '] ealle hi bugon to him.] weron his menn. I him hold s sworonp hi woldon ongean ealle ()()re men him holde beon.' Earle and Plummer, 362, treat *ho/de* here as a nominative plural - the product of a semantic evolution paralleling that of Latin *fide/is, fide/es.*

141 *ASC*'E',s.a. 1085, 216.

142 M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, London 1979, 18 and I 21 • 2.

143 See the canons of the Council of Lillebonne {I 080) as cited by J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, Oxford 1976, 239 n.2. I am grateful to Mr Cowdrey for help on this point.

attitudes to royalty, and here it is relevant to recall one more well-known story, told in the anonymous *Life* of Lanfranc attributed to Milo Crispin:

> It was one of those three great festivals on which the king, wearing his crown, is accustomed to hold his court. On the day of the festival, when the king was seated at table adorned in crown and royal robes, and Lanfranc beside him, a certain jester *(scurra)*, seeing the king resplendent in gold and jewels, cried out in the hall in great tones of adulation: 'Behold, I see God! Behold, I see God!' Lanfranc turning to the king said: 'Don't allow such things to be said of you ... Order that fellow to be severely flogged, so that henever dares to say such thingsagain'.[144]

This story has been cited by some historians to illustrate the tremendous image of the *rex coronatus* and the propaganda impact of crown-wearings on the Conqueror's subjects.[145] But is this really what it implies? Ought we to take as seriously as Lanfranc reportedly did the exclamations of the fool? If this *scurra* was a Norman (and William would hardly have had an English jester) he may have been expressing a more than merely personal reaction to William's ritual efforts. And since high Ideological solemnity is not what we expect from a fool, that reaction, I suggest, was something less than reverential. We can remember the Conqueror's wariness about using his royal title in relation to his Norman subjects, his care to maintain some kind of distinction (if not a logical one) between his roles in kingdom and duchy.[146] Kingship of any sort can have meant little in Normandy before 1066: Dudo's story of Rollo's refusal to kiss the foot of Charles the Simple, and of Rollo's man lifting the royal foot and throwing the king backwards,[147] was more than a Norman banana-skin joke: it reflected a sturdy scepticism about royal claims, which presumably appealed to a Norman audience. By 1086, the cult of kingship had made so little headway amongst laymen in Normandy that the Conqueror's corpse was abandoned and left 'almost naked' by those who had attended his deathbed, and when the clergy arranged his burial at Caen, one of the locals popped up with a claim to the burial ground.[148] The response of the fool, confronted with the most imposing spectacle majesty could offer, was parody. Did he not expect the duke to share the joke (he was at table, after all) with his old *contubemales?*[149] And might not the Conqueror have done so too? But the shocked Lanfranc intervened, and the king, self-consciously playing out his theocratic role, presumably had the blasphemer whipped. The crown-wearing Conqueror, God's anointed, *serenissimus*, knew much about the uses of royal rites, but knew at the same time, and never more so than in his latter years, the limits imposed by the political realities of Norman sentiment and power. To eleventh-century Normans, even the most angelic royal image had feet of clay. We should leave the last word - *magna adu/ationis voce* - with the Conqueror's fool: *Ecce deu1n video. Ecce deu1n video.*

144 *Vita Lanfranci*, cap. I 3, PL I 50, 53-4. On the atlribution of this work, see Gibson, *Lan franc.* 196-8. For the meaning of *scurra,* see J. D. A. Ogilvy, *'Mimi, scurrae, histriones', Specul11m* xxxviii, 1963, 603-19. Cf. Gibson. *Lanfranc*, 140 with n.2. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 258, writes of Lanfranc ·reproving' a 'clerk'(!)

145 See Douglas and Gibson in works cited in previous note; also Cowdrey, *'f.audes Reg/ae',* 52.

146 Hollister,'Anglo-Norman *Regnum',Spec11lum* li, 1976. 207-8.

147 Dudo, 169.

148 Orderic, iv, 100-106. But cf. n.48 above.

149 Jecho the term used in *Gesta Gui/le/mi*, 104.

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